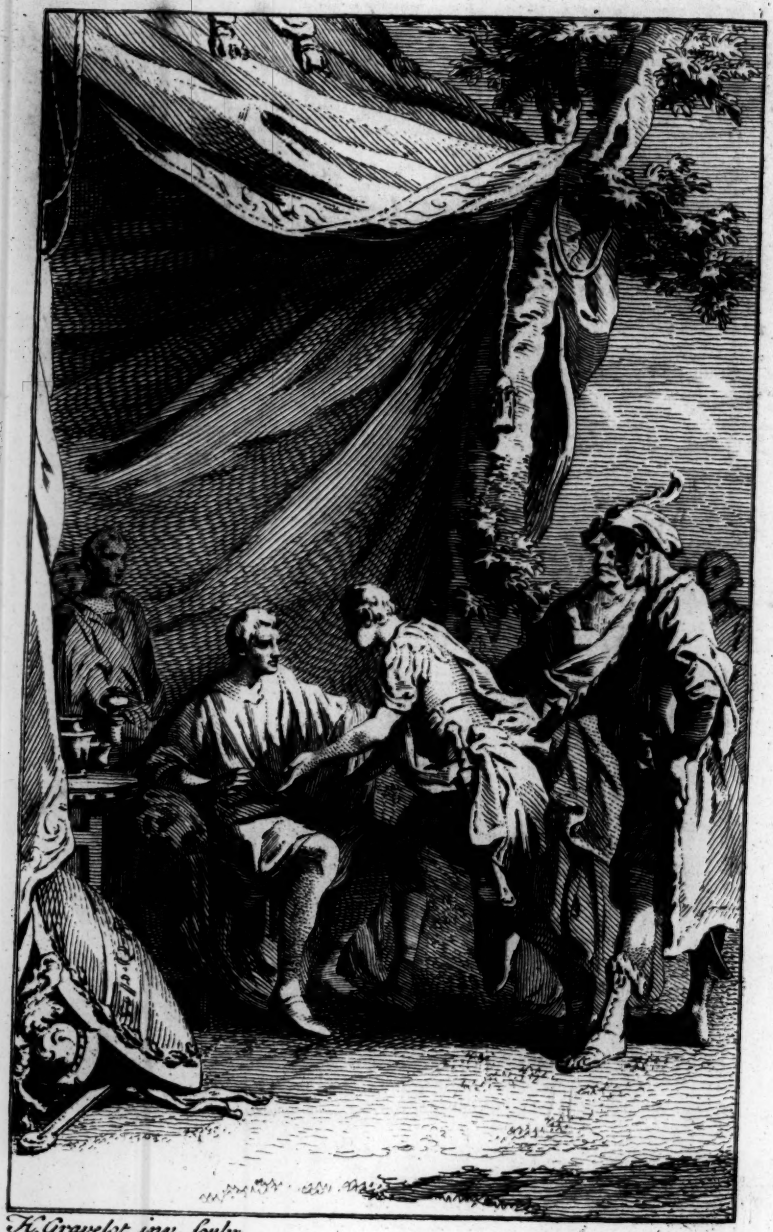
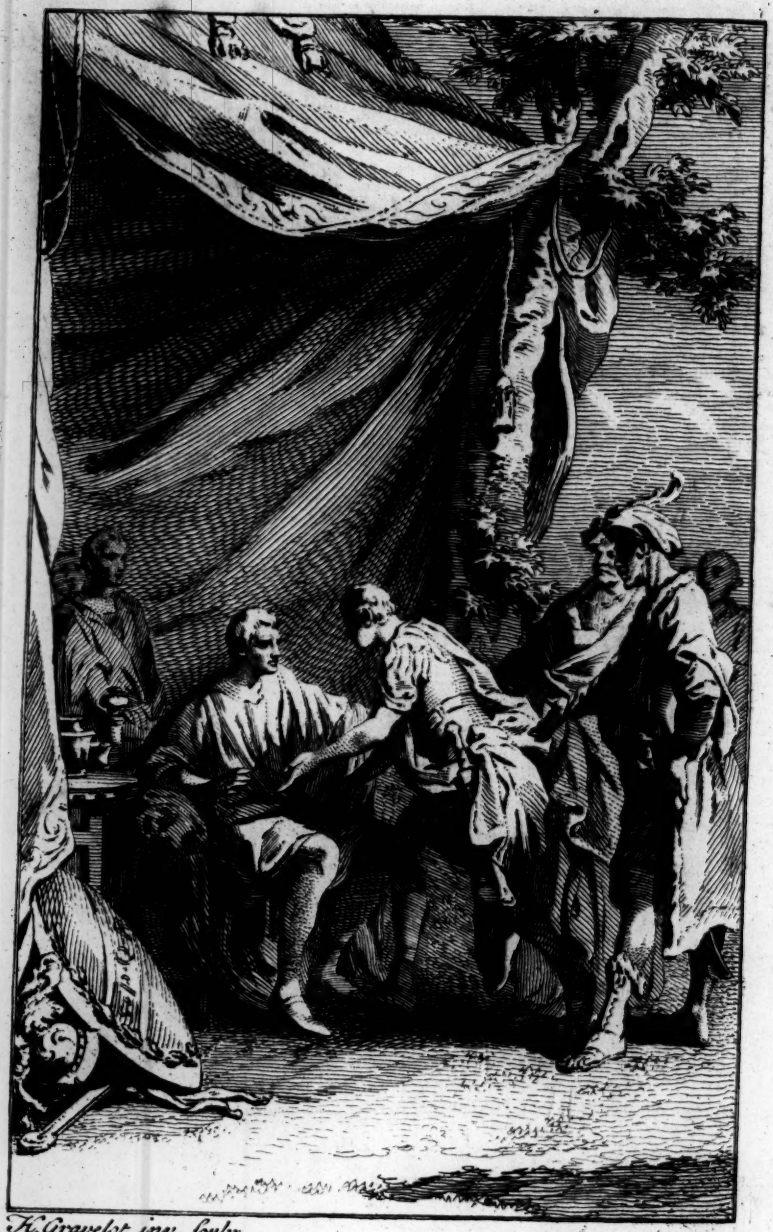


H. Gravelot inv. sculp.

The AMBASSADORS *of* ANTIOCHUS *sent to* SCIPIO AFRICANUS *with his* SON, *without Ransom.*

Publish'd Sept. 29. 1742. by T. & P. Knapton.



H. Gravelot inv. sculp.

The AMBASSADORS *of* ANTIOCHUS *sent to* SCIPIO AFRICANUS *with his* SON, *without Ransom.*

Publish'd Sept. 29. 1742. by T. & P. Knapton.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

FOUNDATION of ROME

TO THE

BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. V.

THE THIRD EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON,

Printed for J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, HAWES CLARKE and COLLINS, R. HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN, T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, Z. STUART, ROBINSON and ROBERTS, and NEWBERY and CARNAN.

MDCCLXVIII.


BRITISH MUSEUM

CONTENTS of VOL. V.

BOOK XXII.

SECT. I.

UPON the report which the commiſſioners returned from Greece make in the Senate concerning Nabis, Quintius is left at liberty to act as he ſhould judge expedient. The war with Nabis is reſolved in the aſſembly of the allies ſummoned to Corinth by Quintius. He approaches Sparta in order to form the ſiege of it. Taking of Gythium by Quintius's brother. Quintius brings over the allies into his opinion, which was to grant Nabis peace. Conditions propoſed to that tyrant. An interview proving ineffectual, Quintius preſſes the ſiege of Sparta with vigour. Nabis ſubmits. Peace is granted him. Argos recovers its liberty. Quintius preſides there at the Nemæan games. Diſcontent of the allies concerning the treaty concluded with the tyrant. Quintius, during the winter, regulates the affairs of Greece. Fine ſpeech of Quintius in the aſſembly of the allies at Corinth. The Roman ſlaves diſperſed throughout Greece are reſtored to Quintius. He makes the Roman garriſon evacuate the citadel of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. He regulates the affairs of Theſſaly. Quintius returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. AFFAIRS OF GAUL. *Good ſucceſs of the two Conſuls. A triumph is granted to one of them, and refuſed to the other. New defeats of the Gauls. New war with that People. The Conſul Minucius delivered from extreme danger by the bravery of the Numidians. Furious animoſity of the Ligurians. Victory and triumph of the Conſul Naſica over the Boii.* AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. *Blow given the Romans in Hiſpania Citerior. Cato ſets out for Spain. Deſcription of Emporia. Cato's ſtratagem. He gains a victory over the Spaniards. He diſarms all the States*

on this ſide of the Iberus, and demoliſhes all the walls of the cities. Praiſe of Cato. He goes to Turdetania to the aid of the Prætor. Cato's triumph, 2

Sect. II. *Conteſts in Rome concerning the law Oppia. Speech of the Conſul Cato in favour of that law. Speech of the Tribune Valerius againſt the law. It is aboliſhed. Sacred Spring. Diſtinguiſhed places for the Senators in the games. Rumour occaſioned by the diſtinction of places granted to the Senators in the ſhews. Regulation againſt uſury. Ambaſſy of the Rhodians to Antiochus King of Syria. Anſwer of the Roman commiſſioners to the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus. Embaſſy of the Romans to that Prince. Return of the ten commiſſioners to Rome. They ſhew, that it is neceſſary to prepare for a war with Antiochus. Hannibal becomes ſuſpected by the Romans. Ambaſſadors ſent from Rome to Carthage. Hannibal quits Carthage and eſcapes. He goes to Antiochus at Epheſus. Diſcourſe of a philoſopher in the preſence of Hannibal. Conference between Quintius and the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus, which was ineffectual. Antiochus takes meaſures with Hannibal for the ſucceſs of the war with the Romans. Conteſt between Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians left undetermined by the Roman deputies.* Luſtrum *cloſed. Strong caballing for the Conſulſhip. The credit of Quintius carries it againſt that of Scipio Africanus,* 34

Sect. III. *The Ætolians ſend Ambaſſadors to Nabis, Philip, and Antiochus, to induce them to take arms againſt the Romans. Nabis begins the war. Roman Ambaſſadors to Antiochus. Converſation between Scipio and Hannibal. Interview of Villius with the King, and then with his miniſter. Antiochus holds a great council upon the war with the Romans. Hannibal enters into an eccliarciſſement with Antiochus, and is favourably heard. Return of the Ambaſſadors to Rome. Deputies ſent into Greece. Expedition of Philopæmen againſt Naples. Thoas is ſent by the Ætolians to Antiochus, and preſſes him to come to Greece. Quintius unde-*

undeceives the Magneſians; they continue more attached than ever to the Romans. General aſſembly of the Ætolians, in which, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Quintius, Antiochus is called in to deliver Greece. Perfidious enterprize of the Ætolians againſt three cities. Death of the tyrant Nabis. Antiochus meditates going to Greece. Thoas makes him conceive jealouſy of Hannibal. Antiochus goes to Europe. Speech of that Prince in the aſſembly of the Ætolians. He is declared Generaliſſimo. He makes an ineffectual attempt upon Chalcis. Aſſembly of the Achæans. Speech of Antiochus's Ambaſſadors. Speech of the Ambaſſador of the Ætolians. Quintius's anſwer. The Achæans declare againſt Antiochus. That Prince makes himſelf maſter of Chalcis and of all Eubæa, 61

BOOK XXIII.

Sect. I. *Religious preparations for the war with Antiochus. Military preparations for the ſame. Departure of the Conſul Acilius for Greece. The Senate's anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of Philip, Ptolomy, Maſiniſſa, and the Carthaginian, who came to offer the Romans aid. Antiochus holds a council of war at Demerias. Fine ſpeech of Hannibal, which is followed in nothing. Antiochus takes ſome cities of Theſſalia. He marries a young woman of Chalcis, and paſſes the whole winter in feaſting. The Conſul Acilius arrives in Greece. Many cities ſurrender to him. Antiochus, deſtitute of all aid, retires into the ſtreight of Thermopylæ. Conſiderable victory gained by the Conſul Acilius over King Antiochus in the paſs of Thermopylæ. Cato had a great ſhare in this victory. Antiochus retires to Chalcis, and from thence to Epheſus. Cato carries the news of the victory to Rome. Acilius endeavours ineffectually to bring over the Ætolians by gentle methods. He beſieges Heraclea, and takes it after above a month's reſiſtance. Philip beſieges the city of Lamia. It ſurrenders. The taking of Heraclea determines the Ætolians to demand peace. The hard conditions preſcribed by the Conſul, diſguſt them.*

Acilius forms the ſiege of Naupactus. Quintius ſaves that city, which was upon the point of being reduced. Ambaſſadors from Philip to Rome. Hannibal awakens Antiochus from the ſecurity in which he continued at Epheſus. Victory at ſea gained by Livius, Admiral of the Roman fleet, over that of Antiochus, near the port of Corycus. L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius are elected Conſuls. 81

Sect. II. *The Ætolian Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed without having obtained peace. Scipio Africanus cauſes Greece to be given his brother as his province. The Senate leave the Conſul at liberty to go to Aſia, if he ſhould judge it proper. Cornelius ſets out from Rome. The Senate cauſe a new fleet to be built. Anxiety of the Ætolians. Return of their Ambaſſadors. The new Conſul arrives in Greece. After many refuſals, he at laſt grants the Ætolians a truce of ſix months to ſend Ambaſſadors to Rome. The Conſul ſets out for Aſia, after having firſt ſounded Philip's diſpoſition. That Prince receives him and his army with royal magnificence. Great preparations of Antiochus, eſpecially to fit out a new fleet. Livius puts to ſea, goes to the Helleſpont, and takes Seſtos. Polyxenidas, having deceived Pauſiſtratus, entirely defeats the Rhodian fleet. Livius abandons the ſiege of Abydos. The Rhodians fit out a new fleet. The two united fleets approach Epheſus, and cannot bring the enemy to a battle. Æmilius Regillus takes upon him the command in the room of Livius. Seleucus beſieges Pergamus. Eumenes, and ſoon after the Romans and Rhodians come to the aid of that city. Antiochus ſends propoſals of peace to the Prætor Æmilius, but ineffectually The Achæans, commanded by Diophanes, cauſe the ſiege of Pergamus to be raiſed. Antiochus's fleet, commanded partly by Hannibal, is defeated by the Rhodians. Antiochus endeavours to engage Pruſias in his party. He is determined to join the Romans by letters from the Scipios. Sea-fight between the Prætor Æmilius and Polyxenidas near Myonneſus, in which the Syrians are defeated,* 108

Sect. III. *Antiochus, in his confuſion for the loſs of the naval battle, abandons the paſſage of the Helleſpont to the Romans. Reflexion upon the imprudence and blindneſs of Antiochus. He draws together as many troops as he can. Æmilius ſends gallies for the Conſul's paſſage. He beſieges Phocæa, which ſurrenders. The Conſul paſſes the Helleſpont, and enters Aſia. Antiochus ſends propoſals of peace to the Romans. His Ambaſſador endeavours to gain Scipio Africanus by conſiderable offers. Fine anſwer of Scipio. Antiochus prepares for the war. He ſends Scipio's ſon to him. The Conſul marches in queſt of the King to give him battle. The armies draw up in a battle on both ſides. Chariots armed with ſcythes. Battle fought near Magneſia. The King's army is defeated and cut to pieces. The cities of Aſia Minor ſurrender to the Romans. Antiochus demands peace. Speech of his Ambaſſadors. Anſwer of Scipio Africanus. Conditions of peace impoſed upon the King. Eumenes ſets out for Rome with the Ambaſſadors. Cotta gives the Senate and People of Rome an account of the victory gained over Antiochus. Audience granted Antiochus's Ambaſſadors. Treaty of peace ratified. Ten commiſſioners appointed to regulate the affairs of Aſia. Principal conditions of the treaty. Naval triumph of Regillus. L. Scipio, on his return to Rome, is ſirnamed* ASIATICUS, *and has the honour of a triumph. The conqueſt of Aſia introduces luxury into Rome. Reflexions upon the conduct of the Romans in reſpect to the Grecian Commonwealths, and of the Kings both of Europe and Aſia; and at the ſame time upon the relation which all thoſe events have to the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Church,* 128

BOOK XXIV.

Sect. I. *Manius Acilius triumphs over the Ætolians. The Romans defeate in Spain under Paulus Æmilius. Youth of Paulus Æmilius. That General's family. The Ætolian Ambaſſadors are ordered to quit Rome and Italy,*

without having obtained peace. Death of the Prætor Bæbius. Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Luſitanians in Spain. Warm conteſt in reſpect to the Cenſorſhip. Amynander is reinſtated in his kingdom by the Ætolians. The news of the approaching arrival of Conſuls occaſions great conſternation amongſt the Ætolians. The Conſul Fulvius arrives in Greece. He forms the ſiege of Ambracia, which makes a vigorous defence. The Ætolians demand and at length obtain peace. Ambracia ſurrenders. The Ætolian Ambaſſadors ſet out for Rome. The treaty of peace is ratified there. The Conſul Manlius makes war againſt the Gallo-Grecians. He arrives in their country, and exhorts his ſoldiers to do their duty well. Two of the three bodies of the Gauls retire to mount Olympus. The Romans attack and defeat them there. The Conſul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls. Extraordinary action of a female Gauliſh priſoner. Second victory over the Gauls. Manlius returns to Epheſus. Cenſorſhip exerciſed with abundance of lenity. The Conſul Fulvius takes Samos by aſſault, and reduces the whole iſland of Cephalenia. New Conſuls. Eclipſe of the ſun. Embaſſy from the ſtates of Aſia to Manlius. Embaſſies from Antiochus, the Gauls, and Ariarathes. Conditions of the treaty concluded between the Roman People and Antiochus. Reflexions upon Antiochus. Unfortunate death of that Prince. Decrees and regulations in reſpect to the Kings and cities of Aſia. Manlius returns to Europe, and leads back his army into Greece, 167

Sect. II. *Two Romans delivered up to the Carthaginians. Liguria given to the two Conſuls for their province. Fulvius accuſed by the Ambracians at the ſollicitation of the Conſul Æmilius. Decree of the Senate in favour of the Ambracians. Departure of the Conſuls. Manlius demands a triumph, which is diſputed with him by the commiſſioners of the Senate. Speech of the commiſſioners againſt Manlius. Triumph decreed to Manlius. Scipio Africanus is ſummoned before the People. Grievances of the Tribunes againſt Scipio Africanus. Scipio, in-*

inſtead of anſwering them carries the whole aſſembly with him to the capitol, to thank the gods for his victories. He retires to Linternum. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's enemy, declares for him againſt his colleguès. Reflexions of Livy upon P. Scipio. Different accounts of hiſtorians concerning Scipio. Scipio's daughter married to Gracchus. Law propoſed concerning the ſums of money received from Antiochus. L. Scipio ſentenced for embezzling the public money. He is ordered to priſon. Speech of Scipio Naſica in his favour. Gracchus prevent L. Scipio from being impriſoned. The ſale and ſmall value of Scipio's eſtate juſtify him, 197

Sect. III. *Deſcription of the country of the Ligurians, the perpetual enemies of the Romans. They are ſubjected by the two Conſuls. Juſtice done the Galli Cenomanes. Regulation in reſpect to the Latin Allies. M. Fulvius demands a triumph, and obtains it notwithſtanding the oppoſition of a Tribune of the People. Strange and abominable fanaticiſm of the Bacchanalians diſcovered, and puniſhed, at Rome. Q. Marcius is ſurprized, beaten, and put to flight by the Ligurians. Better ſucceſs in Spain. Combat of Athletæ. Origin of the war with Perſeus. Philip's grievances in reſpect to the Romans. He prepares for renewing the war. Upon the complaints of ſeveral States againſt Philip, Rome ſends three commiſſioners into their countries, who, after having heard the ſeveral parties, make regulations. Good ſucceſs in Spain, and in Liguria. Return of the commiſſioners from Greece to Rome. The Senate ſends new deputies thither. Philip cauſes the principal perſons of Maronæa to be aſſaſſinated. He ſends his younger ſon Demetrius to Rome,* 222

Sect. IV. *Very warm diſpute concerning the Cenſorſhip. Cato is choſen Cenſor notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the Nobility. L. Valerius is his collegue. Cato nominates his collegue Prince of the Senate. He degrades L. Quintius Flaminius. Cato's efforts againſt luxury. Gauls who paſs the Alps into Italy. They build a town, which the Romans oppoſe. Complaints againſt Philip brought*

brought to Rome. Demetrius his ſon, who is there, is ſent back into Macedonia with the Ambaſſadors. Death of three illuſtrious Generals. Gauls driven out of Italy, where they are deſirous to ſettle. New colonies. Different rumours upon the return of Demetrius into Macedonia. He gives his brother great diſquiet, and his father much jealouſy. Violent and cruel proceedings of Philip in reſpect to his ſubjects. Philip, upon the information of falſe witneſſes ſuborned by Perſeus, puts Demetrius to death. He himſelf dies of grief. Perſeus ſuccceds him. Diſpute between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa. Succeſsful expedition againſt the Ligurians. Conſiderable defeat of the Celtiberians. The tomb of Numa found in the earth. Firſt gilt ſtatue at Rome. The Ligurians aſk peace. Hoſtages reſtored to the Carthaginians. The Ligurians called Apuani are tranſported into Samnium. The Celtiberians are defeated by Fulvius, in the very ambuſcades they had laid for him. Fulvius, crowned with glory, returns to Rome. Expedition of the Conſuls in Liguria. Complaints againſt Gentius King of Illyricum. Great number of poiſoners condemned. Fulvius triumphs over the Celtiberians, and is elected Conſul. Firſt law called Annalis. *Games celebrated by the Conſul Fulvius. Reconciliation of the two Cenſors, who had long been declared enemies,* 249

Sect. V. *Characters of, and compariſon between, Hannibal and Scipio Africanus,* 278

BOOK XXV.

Affairs of Spain, 297

War of Iſtria, 298

Expeditions in Liguria, 303

Affairs of Sardinia and Corſica, 309

Affairs that happened at Rome, 310

Sect. I. *Deſign formed by Philip to tranſplant the Baſtarnæ into the country of the Dardanians, bordering upon*

upon Macedonia. Ambaſſadors from Perſeus to the Romans. The latter confirm the treaty made with Philip his father. Good beginnings, and virtuous qualities of Perſeus. Ambaſſadors from the Dardanians to Rome concerning the Baſtarnæ. Ambaſſadors from Perſeus to Carthage. Report of the Roman Ambaſſadors at their return from Macedonia. Eumenes comes to Rome to exhort the Senate to the war with Perſeus. That Prince's Ambaſſadors ill-received. That Prince ſuborns murtherers to kill Eumenes. The Senate, after having declared the crimes of Perſeus, prepare for the war, and cauſe it to be declared againſt him by Ambaſſadors. Gentius becomes ſuſpected by the Romans. Diſpoſition of the kingdoms and free ſtates, in reſpect to the Romans and Perſeus in the war of Macedonia. War declared in form againſt Perſeus. The levies are made with extraordinary application. Diſpute concerning the Centurions. Speech of an old Centurion to the People. Perſeus's Ambaſſadors referred to the Conſul, who is ſoon to repair to Macedonia. Ambaſſadors from the Romans to their allies. Interview of Perſeus and the Roman Amboſſadors. Truce granted Perſeus, in order to his ſending new Ambaſſadors to Rome. Commotions in Bœotia. Almoſt the whole province declares for the Romans. Succours ſupplied by the Achaian league. The Rhodians fit out a conſiderable fleet to join the Romans. Embaſſies of Perſeus to Rhodes. Stratagem of the Deputies cenſured by the antient Senators. The Ambaſſadors of Perſeus receive orders to quit Rome and Italy, 347

Sect. II. *Departure of the Conſul Licinius. Perſeus holds a council, in which the war is reſolved. He aſſembles his troops, and harangues them. He takes the field, and ſtops in Theſſaly. The Conſul moves thither alſo. Eumenes joins the Conſul. Slight ſkirmiſh. Action of the cavalry, in which Perſeus has the advantage. The Conſul makes his troops paſs the river Peneus in the night, to poſt them in ſafety. Perſeus perceives the errors he has committed. Grief and ſhame of the Romans. Joy and triumph of Perſeus and his army. He*

ſends

ſends to demand peace of the Conſul. Upon his anſwer, he prepares again for the war. Want of prudence in Perſeus. The Greeks applaud the victory of that Prince. Taking of Haliartus. The two armies, after ſome ſlight expeditions, retire into winter-quarters. Epirus declares againſt the Romans. Livy's opinion concerning prodigies. Expedition of Perſeus againſt Illyricum. Sordid avarice of that Prince. The Romans are received into Stratus inſtead of Perſeus. The Conſul Marcius advances towards Macedonia. Succours prepared by the Achæans for the Conſul. Perſeus poſts bodies of troops in the paſſes of the mountains. Marcius marches through ways of incredible difficulty. Manner in which the elephants are made to deſcend from the ſteep declivity of the mountains. Polybius tells the Conſul the offers of the Achæans. He ſets out on his return to Achaia. Extreme terror of the King on the approach of the enemy. The Conſul enters Macedonia. Various expeditions. Return of Polybius into Achaia. Pruſias and the Rhodians ſend Ambaſſadors to Rome in favour of Perſeus. The Senate's anſwer to the inſolent diſcourſe of the Rhodians. Letters of the Conſul Marcius to the Senate. Oneſimus a Macedonian Noblemen goes over to the Romans, 371

Sect. III. *General concern at Rome in reſpect to the approaching election of Conſuls. Paulus Æmilius is elected Conſul with Licinius Craſſus. Wiſe precautions of Paulus Æmilius. Embaſſy from Egypt to Rome. The Commiſſioners returned from Macedonia, give an account of the armies by ſea and land. The departure of the Generals is haſtened. Number of the forces. Attention in chuſing the Legionary Tribunes. Speech of Paulus Æmilius to the People before his departure. Preparations of Perſeus againſt the Romans. Different embaſſies of that Prince to Gentius, the Rhodians, Eumenes, and Antiochus. Perſeus, through his avarice, deprives himſelf of the powerful aid of the Baſtarnæ. Avarice and perfidy of Perſeus in reſpect to Gentius. Rapid conqueſt of Illyricum by the Prætor Anicius. Perſeus incamps advantageouſly. Paulus Æmilius reinſtates diſci-*

diſcipline in his army. He diſcovers water in a place where it was wanting. News of the victory gained in Illyricum arrives. The Ambaſſadors of the Rhodians arrive in the camp. Paulus Æmilius deliberates upon the manner of attacking Perſeus. He ſends Scipio Naſica with a great detachment to ſeize Pythium. He amuſes Perſeus by ſlight ſkirmiſhes upon the banks of the Enipeus. Scipio ſeizes Pythium, and remains in poſſeſſion of the paſs. Perſeus quits the Enipeus, and advances towards Pydna, reſolved to venture a battle there. Paulus Æmilius wiſely defers engaging. Sulpicius Gallus foretells an eclipſe of the Moon to the Romans. Paulus Æmilius explains his reaſons for deferring the battle. The battle is at laſt fought. Perſeus is defeated and put to flight, 402

Sect. IV. *Perſeus flies from Pella to Amphipolis, and from thence into the iſland of Samothracia. The Conſul marches in purſuit of that Prince. Perſeus's letter to Paulus Æmilius. The Roman fleet anchors at Samothracia. Evander of Crete is accuſed and cited before the judges. The King cauſes him to be killed. He contrives to eſcape; and is betrayed by Oroandes. He ſurrenders himſelf to Octavius, who cauſes him to be carried to the Conſul. Paulus Æmilius receives him and ſpeaks mildly to him. Diſcourſe of Paulus Æmilius to the young Romans. End of the war and of the kingdom of Macedonia. Fate of that kingdom. News of the victory of Paulus Æmilius brought to Rome. Commiſſioners appointed for Macedonia and Illyricum. Regulations in reſpect to thoſe two new conqueſts. Anicius, after having reduced Epirus, returns into Illyricum. Promulgation of the new regulations concerning Illyricum. Paulus Æmilius viſits the cities of Greece. He returns into Macedonia. He ſettles the affairs of that province in concert with the commiſſioners. Young Scipio exerciſes himſelf in hunting. Paulus Æmilius gives magnificent games at Amphipolis. His noble diſintereſtedneſs. Epirus plundered. Paulus Æmilius arrives at Rome, and after him Anicius and Octavius. The Senate decrees them a triumph. The ſoldiers of Paulus Æmi-*

Æmilius, at the inſtigation of Galba, combine to prevent his triumph. Speech of Servilius in favour of Paulus Æmilius. A triumph is granted him with unanimous conſent. He loſes two of his ſons, the one before and the other after his triumph. His ſpeech to the People. Perſeus is kept under a guard with his ſon Alexander. Triumph of Octavius and Anicius. The ſon of Cotys is ſet at liberty, 434

BOOK XXVI.

Sect. I. *Ambaſſadors ſent by the Senate into Egypt. They go out of their way to Rhodes. In conſequence of their diſcourſe, all who had declared for Perſeus againſt the Romans are put to death. Haughtineſs of Popilius: Anſwer of King Antiochus. Return of the Ambaſſadors to Rome. Embaſſies of the Kings of Syria and Egypt to Rome. Maſgaba, ſon of Maſiniſſa, comes Ambaſſador to Rome. He is received there very honourably. Honours paid to his brother Miſagenes. The Freedmen are all reduced into a ſingle Tribe. Embaſſy of Attalus to Rome. He hearkens to the wiſe remonſtrances of Stratius his phyſician. The Rhodians are ill received at Rome. Harangue of their Ambaſſadors. Cato declares in favour of the Rhodians. The Senate's anſwer. The alliance of Rome is at length granted to the Rhodians. Lamentable complaints of the Ætolians to Paulus Æmilius. They do not obtain juſtice. The credit and inſolence of the partiſans of Rome increaſe extremely. Unjuſt and cruel policy of the Romans. The Achaians, ſuſpected of having favoured Perſeus, are ſent to Rome, baniſhed, and diſperſed into different cities. The Achaians ſend ſeveral deputations to Rome in favour of the exiles, but always ineffectually. The exiles are at laſt ſent home to their own country. Great friendſhip between Scipio the younger and Polybius. Meanneſs of ſoul of Pruſias. End of Livy's hiſtory,* 464

Sect. II. *Different embaſſies at Rome. The Senate prevents Eumenes from entering Rome. Pruſias by his Ambaſſadors accuſes Eumenes before the Senate. Attalus*

talus and Athenæus justify their brother Eumenes. Imprudent conduct of Sulpicius in Asia against Eumenes. Alliance renewed with Ariarethes Philopater. Censorship of Paulus Æmilius and of Marcius Philippus. Sun dial. Troubles in Syria after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius demands in vain permission of the Senate to return into Syria. Murther of Octavius. Demetrius escapes from Rome, and is universally acknowledged King. Sickness and death of Paulus Æmilius; his funeral; and praise. Love of poverty of Tubero, and his wife the daughter of Paulus Æmilius. Generous and noble use which Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, makes of his riches on various occasions. Tubero compared with Scipio Æmilianus. Nasica prevails upon the People to have a Theatre almost finished, demolished. AFFAIRS OF ROME. *Decree for banishing philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome. Embassy of Carneades to Rome. Two Consuls abdicate upon account of the want of some religious forms in their election. Tribune of the People punished for having failed in respect to the Pontifex Maximus.* WARS *with the Dalmatians and some states of the Ligurians. The Dalmatians are defeated by Figulus and Nasica. The Massylians are revenged by the Romans on the Oxibians and Deceates.* AFFAIRS OF MACEDONIA. *Andriscus, who called himself the son of Perseus, seizes Macedonia. He is at length defeated, taken, and sent to Rome. Two new impostors rise up in Macedonia, and are defeated,* 492

THIRD PUNIC WAR.

Sect. III. *Origin and occasion of the third Punic war. Rome shews little favour to the Carthaginians in their differences with Masinissa. War between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Great anxiety and fear of the Carthaginians in respect to the Romans. Rome deliberates, whether war shall be declared against Carthage. It is resolved. Alarm of the Carthaginians. They send Deputies to Rome. Hard conditions proposed to them. They accept them. They send three hundred of their principal citizens as hostages. They deliver up all their arms.*

arms. They are at length told that they muſt quit Carthage, which will be demoliſhed. Grief and horror of the Deputies. Deſpair and fury of Carthage, when that news is made publick there. Reflexion upon the conduct of the Romans. Generous efforts of Carthage to prepare for the ſiege. Invocation of the tutelar gods of Carthage to quit it, and the form of devoting that city. Carthage beſieged by the two Conſuls. Scipio diſtinguiſhes himſelf above all the other officers. Death of Maſiniſſa. The new Conſul continues the ſiege with great languor. Scipio, who ſtands only for the Ædileſhip, is elected Conſul, and charged with the war of Africa. He arrives in Africa and delivers Mancinus from great danger. He re-eſtabliſhes diſcipline amongſt the troops. He carries on the ſiege with vigour. Deſcription of Carthage. Aſdrubal's barbarous cruelty. Sea-fight. Scipio, during the winter, attacks and takes Nepheris, a place in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The ſiege continued. The city at length ſurrenders. Aſdrubal alſo ſurrenders. His wife kills her children, and throws herſelf with them into the flames. Scipio's compaſſion on ſeeing the ruin of Carthage. Noble uſe which he makes of the ſpoils of that city. Joy which the news of the taking of Carthage occaſions at Rome. Ten Commiſſioners ſent into Africa. Deſtruction of Carthage. Scipio returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. Carthage re-eſtabliſhed, 514

Sect. IV. *Trouble excited in Achaia. The Achaian League declares war againſt Lacedæmon. Bœotia joins the Achaians. Metellus defeats the army of the Achaians. He makes himſelf maſter of Thebes and Megara. The Conſul Mummius arrives before Corinth. The beſieged raſhly give battle, and are defeated. The city of Corinth is taken, burnt, and entirely deſtroyed. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province. Great plunder is taken at Corinth. Paintings of great value. Diſintereſtedneſs of Mummius. That Conſul's ſimplicity. Polybius's zeal for the honour of Philopæmen. His diſintereſtedneſs. He eſtabliſhes order and tranquillity in Achaia. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius,* 546

BRITISH 22 AP 87 MUSEUM

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE FOUNDATION of ROME TO THE BATTLE of ACTIUM.

BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

THIS book contains about the ſpace of ſix years, from the 555th to the 561ſt of Rome. It principally treats of the war with Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the care of Quintius in regulating the affairs of Greece, the war with the Gauls, the military exploits of Cato in Spain, the diſpute excited at Rome upon the occaſion of the law Oppia, and the preparations and beginnings of the war with Antiochus.

SECT. I.

Upon the report which the commiſſioners returned from Greece make in the Senate concerning Nabis, Quintius is left at liberty to act as he ſhould judge expedient. The War with Nabis is reſolved in the aſſembly of the allies ſummoned to Corinth by Quintius. He approaches Sparta in order to form the ſiege of it. Taking of Gythium by Quintius's brother. Quintius brings over the allies into his opinion, which was to grant Nabis peace. Conditions propoſed to that tyrant. An interview proving ineffectual, Quintius preſſes the ſiege of Sparta with vigour. Nabis ſubmits. Peace is granted him. Argos recovers its liberty. Quintius preſides there at the Nemæan games. Diſcontent of the allies concerning the treaty concluded with the tyrant. Quintius, during the winter, regulates the affairs of Greece. Fine ſpeech of Quintius in the aſſembly of the allies at Corinth. The Roman ſlaves diſperſed throughout Greece are reſtored to Quintius. He makes the Roman garriſons evacuate the citadel of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. He regulates the affairs of Theſſaly. Quintius returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. AFFAIRS OF GAUL. *Good ſucceſs of the two Conſuls. A triumph is granted to one of them, and refuſed to the other. New defeats of the Gauls. New war with that People. The Conſul Minucius delivered from extreme danger by the bravery of the Numidians. Furious animoſity of the Ligurians. Victory and triumph of the Conſul Naſica over the Boii.* AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. *Blow given the Romans in Hiſpania Citerior. Cato ſets out for Spain. Deſcription of Emporia. Cato's ſtratagem. He gains a victory over the Spaniards. He diſarms all the States on this ſide of the Iberus, and demoliſhes all the walls of the cities. Praiſe of Cato. He goes to Turdetania to the aid of the Prætor. Cato's triumph.*

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. A.R. 557.
M. PORCIUS CATO. Ant. C. 195.

THE war with Nabis may be conſidered as a ſequel of that with Philip, which had juſt before been terminated. I place it here, to avoid breaking in upon what relates to Quintius. Liv. xxxiii. 44, 45.

The ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent into Greece, being returned to Rome, gave an account to the Senate of what concerned the peace concluded with Philip. After which they informed the Senate, "that they were upon the point of having another no leſs important war to ſuſtain againſt Antiochus King of Syria; and that the Ætolians, a reſtleſs people, full of ill-will to the Romans, were inclined to take arms againſt them, and to join Antiochus." I ſhall defer ſpeaking of the circumſtances that induced this war, for the ſake of throwing all the events that relate to it together, and ſhewing them in one point of view. The commiſſioners added, "That Greece nurtured a dangerous enemy in her own boſom in the perſon of Nabis, then tyrant of Sparta; and who would ſoon become ſo of all Greece, if he could; a tyrant, infamous for his avarice and cruelty, and who equalled all that antient times had ever ſeen of moſt horrid in that kind." After having long diſcuſſed, whether there was ſufficient foundation for immediately declaring war againſt him, or whether they ſhould content themſelves to leave Quintius at liberty to act, in that reſpect, as he ſhould judge moſt expedient for the good of the Commonwealth; the latter was reſolved, and the whole was referred to his diſcretion.

All the people of Greece enjoyed in perfect tranquillity the bleſſings of peace and liberty, and in that ſtate no leſs admired the temperance, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his valour and intrepidity in war. Things Liv. xxxiv. 22—24.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. were in this ſituation, when Quintius received the decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war againſt Nabis. Upon this, he called an aſſembly of the allies at Corinth, and after having explained to them the matter in queſtion; "You ſee, "(ſaid he) that the buſineſs of the preſent deliberation regards only you. The queſtion is to reſolve "whether Argos, a city equally antient and illuſtrious, ſhall enjoy its liberty like the other cities, or "whether we ſhall leave it in the hands of the tyrant of Sparta, who has poſſeſſed himſelf of it. The "Romans have no intereſt in this affair, except that "the ſlavery of a ſingle city might deprive them "of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece "from bondage. You have therefore to deliberate "upon what is to be done: and your reſolutions ſhall "determine my conduct."

The opinions of the aſſembly were not dubious. The Ætolians only could not forbear venting their diſcontent againſt the Romans, and went ſo far as to tax them with breach of faith, becauſe they retained Chalcis and Demetrias, at the very time they boaſted of having given liberty to all Greece. They were no leſs warm againſt all the reſt of the allies, eſpecially the Athenians, whom they reproached with having become, from the zealous defenders of liberty which they antiently were, the abject flatterers of the Roman power. The allies, exaſperated at ſuch diſcourſe, demanded that they might alſo be delivered from the robberies of the Ætolians, who were Greeks only by the language, but true Barbarians by their manners and diſpoſition. As the diſpute grew warm, Quintius obliged them to confine themſelves ſolely to the affair propoſed; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that war ſhould be declared againſt Nabis tyrant of Sparta, if he refuſed to reſtore Argos to its antient liberty; and each promiſed to ſend ſpeedy aids; which was faithfully executed.

Ariſtenes,

Ariſtenes, General of the Achæans, joined Quintius near * Clæonæ, with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. Philip, on his ſide, ſent fifteen hundred foot, and the Theſſalonians four hundred horſe. Quintius's brother arrived alſo with a fleet of forty galleys, which were joined by thoſe of the Rhodians and King Eumenes. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles repaired to the camp of the Romans, in hopes of recovering their country. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta appertained by right. Whilſt he was an infant he had been expelled by the tyrant Lycurgus after the death of Cleomenes. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

Their firſt deſign was to open the campaign by the ſiege of Argos: but Quintius thought it more expedient to march directly againſt the tyrant. The latter had taken care to fortify Sparta well, having ſurrounded it with a foſſé, palliſade, and rampart; and he had cauſed a thouſand choſen troops to be brought from Crete, which he added to a thouſand more before in his ſervice. He had beſides theſe three thouſand ſtrangers in his pay, and ten thouſand troops of the country, without including the Helots. Liv. xxxiv. 26—29.

Nabis at the ſame time took meaſures to ſecure himſelf againſt inteſtine commotions. Having cauſed the People to aſſemble without arms, and having poſted his armed guards around the place, he declared, "that the preſent conjuncture obliging him to uſe extraordinary precautions for his own ſafety, he was going to ſeize and confine a certain number of citizens. That he choſe rather to prevent thoſe, whom he ſuſpected, from betraying him, than to puniſh their treaſon. That when he ſhould have repulſed the enemy without, from whom he had not much to fear, if things were quiet within, he would releaſe thoſe priſoners." He nominated about fourſcore of the principal youth of Sparta, confined them in a ſecure place, and the next night cauſed them all to be butchered.

* A city of Argolis in Peloponneſus.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. chered. He alſo cauſed abundance of the Helots to be put to death in the villages, who were ſuſpected of inclining to go over to the enemy. Having thus ſpread terror on all ſides, he prepared for a vigorous defence, being fully determined not to quit the city in the preſent emotion it was in, and not to hazard a battle with troops much ſuperior to his in number.

Quintius having advanced as far as the Eurotas, which runs almoſt under the walls of the city, whilſt he was intrenching his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops againſt him. As the Romans did not expect this ſally, hitherto not having been oppoſed in their march, they were at firſt put into ſome diſorder: but, ſuſtained by the aid that arrived immediately, they ſoon reinſtated themſelves, and repulſed the enemy quite into the city.

The next day, Quintius having marched his troops in order of battle along the river and city, when the rear-guard had paſſed, Nabis made his foreign troops charge it. The Romans then faced about, and the action became very rude on both ſides: but at length the foreigners were broke, and put to flight. The Achæans, who knew the country, purſued them vigorouſly, and made a great ſlaughter. Quintius incamped near Amyclæ, and after having ravaged all the fine country around the city, he returned to incamp on the banks of the Eurotas, and from thence ruined the valleys at the bottom of Mount Taggetus, and the country near the ſea.

Liv. xxxiv. 20. At the ſame time, the Proconſul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, formed the ſiege of * Gythium, at that time a very ſtrong and important place. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians arrived very happily; for the beſieged defended themſelves with great bravery. The Proconſul alſo marched thither at the head of four thouſand men. At length, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, the place ſurrendered.

* This city was the port of the Lacedæmonians.

The

The taking of Gythium alarmed the tyrant. He ſent an herald to Quintius to demand an interview, which was granted. "Beſides many other reaſons, which Nabis urged in his favour, he inſiſted ſtrongly upon the almoſt recent alliance, which the Romans, and Quintius himſelf, had made with him in the war againſt Philip: an alliance, upon which he relied the more, as the Romans declared themſelves faithful and religious obſervers of treaties, which, they boaſted, they never infringed. That on his ſide, there had nothing been changed ſince the treaty: that he was the ſame he had always been before, and that he had given the Romans no cauſe of complaint and reproach." This reaſoning was concluſive; and to ſpeak truth, Quintius had nothing ſolid to object to it. Accordingly, in his anſwer, he only expatiated in looſe indefinite complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny. But was he leſs avaricious, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of making the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this firſt interview. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. Liv. xxxiv. 30—32.

The next day Nabis agreed to evacuate the city of Argos, as the Romans inſiſted upon it; and alſo to deliver up the priſoners and deſerters to them. He deſired Quintius, if he had any other demands to make, that he would reduce them to writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends. Quintius having agreed to that, held a council with the allies. "Moſt of them were for continuing the war with Nabis, which could not be glorioufly terminated, without extirpating the tyrant, or at leaſt the tyranny: that otherwiſe it could not be ſaid, that liberty had been reſtored to Greece. That the Romans could make no agreement with Nabis, without ſolemnly acknowledging him, and authorizing his uſurpation." Quintius was inclined to peace. "He apprehended, that the war with Sparta might be ſpun out in length. That during that time the war with Antiochus might break out on a ſudden, in which caſe, the whole forces both of the Romans and allies Ibid. 33, 34.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. would be neceſſary for oppoſing ſo powerful an enemy." Theſe were the reaſons he alledged to determine them to an accommodation. Perhaps private motives united with thoſe of the public. He apprehended, that a new Conſul might have Greece for his province, and come to deprive him of the glory of terminating an enterprize, he had ſo far advanced, by a compleat victory.

Seeing that his reaſons made little impreſſion upon the allies, he ſeemed to give into their opinion, and thereby brought them all over to his own. "Well "then, ſaid he, let us beſiege Sparta, as you judge "it proper, and let us ſpare nothing that may con- "duce to the ſucceſs of our enterprize. As you "know, that ſieges frequently take up more time "than one would deſire, let us make diſpoſitions for "taking up our winter-quarters, if it be neceſſary: "this reſolution is worthy your valour. I have a ſuf- "ficient number of troops for the ſucceſs of the ſiege: "but the greater their number, the more occaſion we "ſhall have for proviſions and convoys. The winter, "which approaches, ſhews us nothing but a naked "country, and leaves us without forage. You ſee "of what extent the city is, and conſequently how "many rams, catapultæ, and other machines of all "kinds will be wanting. Let each write to his city, "in order that they may ſupply us abundantly, and "ſoon with all that is neceſſary. It is for our honour "to puſh the ſiege vigorouſly, and it will be ſhame- "ful, after having undertaken, to be obliged to quit "it." Each then reflecting upon the propoſal made to them, diſcerned abundance of difficulties, which they had not foreſeen, and perceived how ill the propoſal they were going to make to their cities would be received, when private perſons ſhould ſee themſelves obliged to contribute to the expences of the war. Accordingly, immediately changing opinion, they left it to the Roman General to act as he ſhould think moſt for the good of his own Commonwealth, and that of the allies.

Quintius

Quintius then having held á council, to which he called only the principal officers of the army, ſettled with him the conditions of peace, that might be offered the tyrant. The principal were: "That in leſs than ten days he ſhould evacuate Argos, and all the other cities in Argolis, where he had garriſons. That he ſhould reſtore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them, and ſhould retain only two barks of ſixteen oars for himſelf. That he ſhould reſtore to the cities in alliance with the Roman People all their priſoners, deſerters, and ſlaves. That he ſhould alſo reſtore to the baniſhed Lacedæmonians their wives and children, who ſhould be willing to follow them, however, without compelling them to do ſo. That he ſhould give five hoſtages, ſuch as the Roman General ſhould chuſe, of which number his ſon ſhould be one. That he ſhould actually pay an hundred talents, (an hundred thouſand crowns) and afterwards fifty annually during eight years. That a truce of ſix months ſhould be granted him, that each ſide might ſend to Rome, and the treaty be ratified there." A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. Liv. xxxiv. 35.

None of theſe articles pleaſed the tyrant, but he was ſurprized, and thought himſelf fortunate, that they had not mentioned the return of the exiles. This treaty, when the particulars of it were made known in the city, occaſioned univerſal diſguſt. Thoſe who had married the wives of the exiles, ſlaves made free by the tyrant, and the ſoldiers themſelves loudly murmured againſt them. Accordingly peace was no longer talked of, and the war was begun again.

Quintius then intended to puſh the ſiege vigorouſly, and began by examining the ſituation and condition of the city. Sparta had long been without walls, and would have no other fortification but the valour of her citizens. * It was only ſince tyrants had ruled there,

* It was a little more than an hundred years ſince Sparta had been fortified with walls, firſt when Caſſander, one of Alexander's ſucceſſors attacked ſeveral cities of Greece: and afterwards when it was attacked by Demetrius, and then by Pyrrhus. And laſtly, Nabis had added new fortifications to it. JUSTIN. PAUSAN.

that

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. that walls had been built; and that only in places which were open and of eaſy acceſs: all the reſt was defended by its natural ſituation, and by bodies of troops poſted there. As Quintius's army was very numerous (it amounted to above fifty thouſand men, becauſe he had drawn together all the troops both of ſea and land) he reſolved to extend his forces around the city, and to attack it at the ſame time on all ſides, in order to ſpread terror, and to make the beſieged incapable of looking about them. Accordingly, the attack being made the ſame inſtant on all ſides, and the danger being the ſame every where, the tyrant neither knew what choice to make, what orders to give, nor whether to ſend ſuccours, and was quite out of his wits.

The Lacedæmonians ſuſtained the attack of the beſiegers, who had entered the city, for ſome time as long as they fought in defiles and narrow ways. Their darts and javelins however had little effect, becauſe being in very cloſe order, they had not room to diſcharge them with vigour. The Romans continually gaining ground, on a ſudden found themſelves overwhelmed with ſtones and tiles, diſcharged upon them from the tops of the houſes. But having placed their bucklers upon their heads they advanced in that manner, called the Tortoiſe, and neither darts nor tiles could hurt them in the leaſt. When they arrived in the broader ſtreets, the Lacedæmonians not being able to ſuſtain their charge, nor ſtand before them, fled, and retired to the higheſt and ſteepeſt places. Nabis, believing the city taken, fought in great perplexity how, and on what ſide, he might eſcape. Pythagoras, one of the principal officers of his army, ſaved the city. He cauſed the buildings neareſt the walls to be ſet on fire. The houſes were preſently in a blaze: the flames gained ground every moment, and the ſmoke alone was capable of ſtopping the enemy, by blinding and rendering them incapable of acting. The Romans were overwhelmed, not only with a ſhower of tiles and ſtones, but with the fall of burning

ing planks and beams, which ſeparated every moment. For which reaſon thoſe who were ſtill without the city, and were preparing to enter it, removed immediately from the walls; and thoſe who had entered firſt, apprehending, leſt the flames they ſaw behind them ſhould cloſe up all ways out, retired as ſoon as poſſible. Quintius in this unexpected diſorder, cauſed the retreat to be ſounded; and after having ſeen himſelf in a manner maſter of the place, was reduced to lead back his troops into the camp. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

The three following days, he took advantage of the terror he had ſpread throughout the city, ſometimes by making new attacks, and ſometimes by cloſing up different places, to deprive the beſieged of all iſſues and hopes of eſcaping. Nabis ſeeing himſelf without reſource, ſent Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Proconſul at firſt refuſed to hear him, and ordered him to quit the camp. But the ſuppliant falling upon his knees, and referring the fate of Nabis to the diſcretion of the Romans, at length obtained a truce for his maſter upon the ſame terms, as had been before preſcribed him. The money was paid down directly, and the hoſtages put into Quintius's hands. Liv. xxxiv. 40.

During all theſe movements, the Argives, who upon the advices they had received from time to time, already concluded that Sparta was taken, re-eſtabliſhed their liberty themſelves, and drove out their garriſon. Quintius, after having granted Nabis peace, and taken leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians and his brother, who returned to their fleets, repaired to Argos, which he found in incredible tranſports of joy. The celebration of the Nemæan games, which could not be performed at the cuſtomary time on account of the troubles occaſioned by the war, had been deferred till the arrival of the Roman General and his army. It was he, as we have related above, who did the honours, and diſtributed the prizes of them; or rather was himſelf the ſhew. The Argives particularly could not take their eyes off him, who had undertaken this Ibid.

war

A.R. 557. Ant. C. 195. war expreſsly for them, who had delivered them from a cruel and ſhameful ſlavery, and juſt before reinſtated them in their antient liberty, the ſweets of which they taſted with a more lively ſenſe, as they had long been deprived of it.

Liv. xxxiv. 40. The Achæans ſaw with ſenſible pleaſure the city of Argos reunited with their league, and reſtored to all its antient privileges. But a tyrant ſupported in the middle of Greece, and ſlavery, though in a manner retrenched in Lacedæmon, from whence it was always in a condition to make itſelf feared, left a diſquiet in the minds of men that abated the common joy.

As to the Ætolians, it may be ſaid, that the peace granted Nabis was their triumph. From that ſhameful treaty, for ſo they called it, they exclaimed againſt the Romans every where. They obſerved, that in the war with Philip, they had not laid down their arms, nor deſiſted from purſuing that prince with the utmoſt vigour, till they had obliged him to abandon all the cities of Greece. That upon this occaſion the tyrant was ſuffered to retain the peaceable poſſeſſion of Sparta, whilſt the lawful King (they meant Ageſipolis) who had ſerved under the Proconſul, and ſo many illuſtrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to paſs the reſt of their lives in miſerable baniſhment. In a word, that the Roman People had made themſelves the guards and protectors of the tyrant.

The Ætolians in theſe complaints, which were not without foundation, confined themſelves to the advantages of liberty only: but in great affairs, every thing is to be conſidered, and perſons muſt be contented with what can be executed with ſucceſs, without taking in all things at once. And this was Quintius's diſpoſition, as we ſhall ſee from his own conduct in the ſequel.

Ibid. 48. Plut. in Quint. 375. Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had ſet out for this war with Sparta. We have related before, at the end of the preceding volume, that he paſſed the whole winter in rendering juſtice to the States, in reconciling the cities to each other,

other, in appeaſing enmity between principal citizens, and in re-eſtabliſhing good order every where, which were the true fruits of peace, the moſt glorious of employments for the victor, and a certain proof, that the war had been undertaken only from juſt and reaſonable motives. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

In the beginning of the ſpring, Quintius repaired to Corinth, where he had called a general aſſembly of all the cities. He repreſented in it, that Rome had complied with joy and paſſion with the intreaties of Greece, which had implored her aid, and had made an alliance with her, of which he hoped there was no reaſon to repent. He ran over in few words the actions and enterprizes of the Roman Generals, who had preceded him, and repeated his own with a modeſty, that much exalted their merit. He was heard with general applauſe, except when he came to ſpeak of Nabis, on which the aſſembly, by a gentle murmur, expreſſed their ſurprize and grief, that the deliverer of Greece had left in the boſom of ſo illuſtrious a city as Sparta a tyrant, not only inſupportable to his country, but formidable to all the other cities and ſtates. Liv. ibid. 48—50.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the people's diſpoſition in regard to him upon that head, thought it incumbent upon him to give an account of his conduct in few words. "He owned that no conditions were to be hearkened to with the tyrant, if that could have been done without hazarding the entire ruin of Sparta. But, there being room to fear, that the ruin of Nabis might be attended with that of ſo conſiderable a city, it had ſeemed more prudent to leave the tyrant weakened, and not in a condition to hurt, than to hazard perhaps ſeeing the city deſtroyed by too violent remedies, and the very endeavours employed to ſave it.

"He added to what he had ſaid of the paſt, that he was preparing to ſet out for Italy, and to carry back the whole army. That in leſs than ten days they would hear, that the garriſons of Demetrias and Chalcis were withdrawn; and that he was going before their eyes to give up the citadel of Corinth to the Achæans.

That

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. That they would thereby ſee which were moſt worthy of faith, the Romans or the Ætolians; and whether the latter had reaſon for ſpreading abroad, that the Greeks could not do worſe than to confide their liberty to the Roman People, and that they had only changed the yoke by receiving the Romans for maſters, inſtead of the Macedonians. But that it was well known, the Ætolians did not pique themſelves upon prudence or diſcretion either in their actions or diſcourſe.

"That as to what regarded the other ſtates, he recommended it to them to judge of their friends by actions, and not words; and to diſtinguiſh aright between thoſe they ought to truſt, and thoſe againſt whom they ought to be upon their guard. He exhorted them to make a moderate uſe of their liberty; in repreſenting to them, That kept within due bounds, it was ſalutary to private perſons as well as cities: that without ſuch moderation, it became injurious to others, and pernicious to thoſe who abuſed it. That the principal perſons of the cities, the different orders of which they are compoſed, and the cities themſelves in general, ſhould make it their care to preſerve a perfect union between them. That as long as they ſhould continue united, neither King nor tyrant could do any thing againſt them. That diſcord and ſedition would open a way for all kinds of danger and calamity, becauſe the party which ſhould find itſelf weakeſt within, would ſeek ſupport without, and chuſe rather to call in ſtrangers to their aid, than to give way to their fellow-citizens.

"He concluded his diſcourſe, by conjuring them with goodneſs and tenderneſs to maintain and preſerve by their wiſe conduct the liberty, for which they were indebted to foreign arms; and to convince the Roman People, that in making them free, they had not placed their protection and ſervices amiſs."

This advice was received as that of a father. On hearing him ſpeak in this manner, they all wept with joy, and Quintius himſelf could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expreſſed the ſentiments of the

the whole aſſembly. They looked upon one another, A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. full of admiration of what they had juſt heard, and exhorted each other to retain deep in their memories and hearts counſels, which they ought to revere as oracles.

Quintius then having cauſed ſilence to be made, Liv. deſired them to make an exact enquiry after ſuch Ro- 43—50. man citizens as might remain ſlaves in Greece, and to ſend them to him in Theſſaly in the ſpace of two months. He repreſented to them, that it would be very unbecoming in them to leave thoſe in ſlavery, to whom they were indebted for their liberty. The whole aſſembly cried out with applauſe, and thanked Quintius for having been pleaſed to apprize them of ſo juſt and indiſpenſible a duty. The number of theſe ſlaves was very great. They had been taken by Hannibal in the Punic war, and as the Romans would not ranſom them, they had been ſold. It coſt Achaia only an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thouſand crowns, to reimburſe maſters for the prices of ſlaves, for each of which were paid five hundred Denarii, that is, about twelve pounds ten ſhillings. The number in conſequence amounted to twelve hundred. The number of the reſt may be judged in proportion.

The aſſembly was not broke up, when the garriſon Ibid. was ſeen coming down from the citadel, and then marching out of the city. Quintius followed it immediately, and retired amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the Greeks, who called him their preſerver and deliverer, and made a thouſand prayers and vows to heaven for his happineſs.

He alſo drew off the garriſons from Chalcis and Ibid. Demetrias, and was received at both places with the ſame applauſes. From thence he went to Theſſaly, with deſign, not only to reinſtate the liberty of the cities of that country, but to re-eſtabliſh a ſupportable form of government, after the confuſion and diſorder that had ſo long prevailed in them. For it was not only the misfortunes of the times, and the tyranny of Kings, which had occaſioned thoſe trou-

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. bles amongſt them; but their naturally turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition; there having never been amongſt them, from their origin to the times of which we are ſpeaking, and even to that when Livy wrote, any particular Aſſembly in each city, or States-general of the whole nation, that had not been embroiled by the tumults of parties and ſeditions. He made the eſtates of particulars his principal rule in the choice of judges, and in forming a Senate: convinced, that one of the moſt efficacious methods for reinſtating good order amongſt that people, was to depoſite authority and power in the hands of thoſe, who, by their circumſtances and fortunes, had the moſt intereſt in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of the nation.

Liv. xxxiv. 35. Nabis did not long enjoy the peace, which had been granted him. Some years after, having broke the treaty he had made with the Romans, the Achæans, to whom Flamininus on his ſetting out for Rome, had recommended to keep a watchful eye over that tyrant, attacked him under the command of Philopæmen, and after having defeated him in a battle, obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in his city. Some time after, Alexamenes, under pretence of bringing him an aid of Ætolians, killed him treacherouſly. Philopæmen repairing thither immediately after, obliged Sparta to enter into the Achæan league. We ſhall treat theſe facts in the ſequel with ſomething greater extent.

Ibid. 52. Quintius having ſettled the affairs of Theſſalia, croſſed Epirus to Oricum, embarked for Italy, and arrived at Rome, whither all his troops repaired alſo. The Senate gave him audience without the city, according to cuſtom; and after he had given an exact account of all he had done, the Senators with unanimous conſent, decreed him the honour of a triumph, which he had ſo well deſerved. The ceremony continued three days; during which the precious ſpoils he had taken in the war with the King of Macedonia were exhibited to view. Demetrius ſon of Philip, and Armenes ſon of Nabis, were amongſt the hoſtages,

A MAP OF GAUL

In the Condition it was at the Time of the Conquest of it by CÆSAR.

For the Roman History *of* M^r. CREVIER,

By the Sieur D'ANVILLE.

*TO render this MAP the more complete several Towns or People among the Gauls, and their Capital Cities, altho' not mentioned in Cæsar's Commentaries but at the same time, judged convenient, are inserted here; and distinguished by an *.*

Some Capitals whose Names were given them in Honour of Augustus, which could not be written in the Map it self, have Figures joined to them of which the following is an Explanation.

1 Aquæ Agustæ Tarbellicæ.
2 Augustoritum.
3 Cæsarodunum.
4 Juliamagus.
5 Juliobona.
6 Augusta Verom.
7 Augustobona.
8 Augusta Trever.' 9 Augusta Raurac.'

Some of these Cities which are the same under other Names.

10 Augustodunum.
11 Augustonemetum.
12 Cæsaromagus.
13 Augusta Suess.' 14 Augusta Ause.'

Roman Miles
25 50 75 100
Leagues of Gaul.
25 50 66⅔
Leagues of 2500 Toises.
5 10 20 30

R.W. Seale sculp

tages, and ſerved to adorn the victor's triumph. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
its greateſt ornament were the Roman citizens
vered from ſlavery, who followed the chariot with
ir heads ſhaved in token of the liberty they had
ly regained. He cauſed twenty-five Denarii to be
ributed to each of his ſoldiers (about twelve ſhil-
gs and ſixpence) twice as much to the centurions,
thrice to the horſe.

I have already ſaid, that I ſhould take the liberty
ner of deferring or anticipating certain facts, with-
confining myſelf to relate year by year what paſſed,
order to avoid interrupting the thread of our hiſ-
y too much, and to ſhew various events under the
ne point of view. The dates, which are always in
margent, make it eaſy to bring the things that
ppened at the ſame time into the order in which
ey paſſed. I return therefore from whence I di-
eſſed.

C. Cornelius Cethegus, A. R. 555. Ant. C. 197.
Q. Minucius Rufus.

Theſe two Conſuls had Gaul for their province. Liv. xxxii. 29—31.
fter having diſcharged the uſual duties of religion,
ey both ſet out for their command. Cornelius
arched directly againſt the Inſubrians, who were
ctually under arms with the Cænomani their allies.
rixia was the capital of the latter, and Milan of the
nſubrians. Q. Minucius inclining to the left, march-
d towards the ſea, and advancing on the ſide of Ge-
oa, firſt attacked the Ligurians. He ſucceeded en-
rely, and reduced all the States on this ſide of the
o, except the Boii, and Iluates; the firſt of whom
ere Gauls, and the other Ligurians. Fifteen towns
re ſaid to have ſurrendered to him, with twenty thou-
nd of their inhabitants. From thence the Conſul
narched his legions into the territory of the * Boii.

Not long before his arrival, the Boii had paſſed
he Po with their army, and had joined the Æno-

* Bononia was their capital, now called Bologna.

A. R. 555. Ant. C. 197. mani and Inſubrians to oppoſe the Conſuls with all their forces. But, when they were informed that one of them was ruining their country, they returned to defend it. In the mean time the Inſubrians and Cænomani incamped upon the banks of the river Mincio; and the Conſul Cornelius about five thouſand paces below them. That Conſul having brought over the Cænomani, prevailed upon them to remain neuter during the battle. It was fought, and the Inſubrians were entirely defeated. It is ſaid, that they left thirty-five thouſand men upon the ſpot, and that ſix thouſand were taken, with an hundred and thirty enſigns, and above two hundred carriages. The cities of the Cænomani, who had joined in the revolt of the Inſubrians, ſubmitted to the victors.

The Boii, who had returned home, having received advice of the entire defeat of the Inſubrians, did not dare to venture a battle with Minucius, and diſperſed into the towns of their country. Upon advice of this, the Iluates, a people of Liguria, ſubmitted, without attempting a vain reſiſtance. The Conſuls informed the Senate of their good ſucceſs. It was decreed, that the temples ſhould be open three days together, and that during that time thankſgivings ſhould be paid to the Gods for all theſe advantages, which were conſidered as a ſenſible effect of their protection.

Liv. xxxii. 22, 23. When the Conſuls returned to Rome, the Senate gave them audience in the temple of Bellona. They jointly demanded, that the Senate would grant them a triumph for the advantages they had gained over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Upon which two of the Tribunes of the People declared, that they would not permit them to make their demand in common; it not being reaſonable, that the ſame reward ſhould be granted for ſervices that did not equally deſerve it. Notwithſtanding all alledged in favour of Minucius by Cornelius, who did not fear leſſening his own glory by dividing it with his colleague, after long debates they were obliged to make their

their demands ſeparately. Cornelius was granted a triumph for having defeated the Inſubrians and Cænomani: but as for Minucius, he could not obtain the ſame honour of the Senate. But he made himſelf amends in triumphing by his own authority on the Alban mountain, after the example of ſome other Generals, whoſe caſe had been the ſame with his. A. R. 555. Ant. C. 197.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO. A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

The Gauls, except the Cænomani, were far from being entirely ſubjected, or totally conquered. They again found employment for the new Conſuls. In a firſt battle, Marcellus, attacked by the Boii, loſt three thouſand men. He ſoon made himſelf amends for that loſs. Having paſſed the Po, he led his troops into the territory of Coma, where the Inſubrians were incamped with the inhabitants of the country, whom they had made to take arms. A battle was fought, in which, if we may believe an hiſtorian (Valerius of Antium) Marcellus killed above forty thouſand of the enemy, took five hundred enſigns, four hundred and thirty-two carriages, and a great number of gold chains, of which he offered a conſiderable weight to Jupiter Capitolinus. The ſame day the camp of the Gauls was ſtormed and plundered. Some days after the city of Coma was taken, and twenty-eight forts ſurrendered preſently after.

The two Conſuls having united their forces, entered the country of the Ligurians, whither the Boii followed them. A ſecond battle was fought, in which, ſays Livy, it fully appeared, that anger is highly capable of exalting valour. For the Romans, incenſed that the Gauls ſhould perpetually harraſs them by their revolts, and regarding victory leſs than revenge, abandoned themſelves to their reſentment in ſuch a manner, that they ſcarce left a ſingle man of the enemy, to carry home the news of their defeat.

A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196. When advice of theſe ſucceſſes in the Conſuls letters arrived at Rome, the Senate decreed thankſgivings to all the Gods in the temples during three days. Soon after Marcellus returned to Rome, where a triumph was decreed him over the Inſubrians and the inhabitants of Coma. He left his collegue the hopes of triumphing over the Boii.

Liv. xxxiv. 21. The next year the Conſul Valerius Flaccus alſo gained a victory over the Boii.

Ibid. 46, 47. Scipio Africanus was Conſul for the ſecond time in the year 558. He ſeems to have thought it below him to deſcend to enemies ſo unworthy of his ſword. He left to Ti. Sempronius his collegue the too eaſy glory of conquering the Inſubrians and the Boii. It however coſt him very dear. They at firſt attacked him in his camp with great vigour, and he loſt abundance of men in repulſing them; but at length he put them to flight, and cut them to pieces. Eleven thouſand Gauls, and five thouſand Romans fell in the field of battle.

The war with the Gauls and Ligurians was in reſpect to the Romans become in a manner anniverſary; but it broke out with more violence, and occaſioned more terror in the year upon which we are now entering, the 559th of Rome, than it had done before. On the news that fifteen thouſand Ligurians had entered the country of Placentia, and put all to fire and ſword, having advanced as far as the walls of the colony, and to the banks of the Po, and that the Boii after their example were upon the point of taking arms, the Senate declared, "that there was a TUMULT." This was a form of words, that implied the importance of the war, and was uſed particularly in reſpect to the Gauls, as I have already obſerved elſewhere. On this declaration all exemptions ceaſed, and it was lawful to make ſuch citizens take arms as were exempted from them in common wars.

Liv. xxxv. 3—5. The hopes of plunder brought new troops to the Gauls every day, and above forty thouſand men were already aſſembled round Piſa. The arrival of the Conſul

Conſul Minucius with his army ſaved the city. The enemy immediately removed their camp to the other ſide of the Arno, and the Conſul followed them the next day, and incamped at a thouſand paces from them. He defended the lands of the allies from his poſt, by falling upon the troops ſent out by the enemy to ravage them: but he avoided coming to a battle with them, as they deſired, not relying ſufficiently upon his troops, which were new raiſed, and drawn together from different parts. A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196.

The other Conſul L. Cornelius Merula, marching on the confines of Liguria, had led his army into the country of the Boii, where he acted againſt thoſe people quite in a different manner than his collegue did againſt the Ligurians. He offered the Boii battle, which they did not dare to accept, chuſing rather to ſee their lands laid waſte than to hazard a general action. The Conſul having deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword, quitted it, and marched towards Modena. The Boii followed him without noiſe; and in the night ſeized a defile through which he was neceſſarily to paſs, where they expected to ſurprize him. But the Conſul having diſcovered their deſign, and avoided the ambuſcade they had laid for him, he marched againſt them, and obliged them to come to a battle. It was long and bloody. The Boii were at length put to the rout, and cut to pieces. Fourteen thouſand of them were left on the ſpot: near eleven hundred were taken priſoners, with two hundred and twelve enſigns, and ſixty-three chariots. The Romans paid dear enough for this victory. They loſt five thouſand men, citizens and allies, amongſt whom were ſeveral officers of diſtinction.

Towards the end of the year the troops of the Commonwealth were twice expoſed to great danger in Liguria. Firſt the enemy attacked the camp of the Romans, and were very near making themſelves maſters of it: and ſome few days after the Conſul having entered a defile, the Ligurians ſeized the way through which he was to paſs out of it. Minucius ſeeing the Liv. ibid. 11.

A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196. way cloſed up before him, prepared to return back: but part of their troops had alſo ſhut up that, by which he had entered: which put the troops in mind of the ambuſcades at Caudium, and preſented an image of them to their eyes. The Conſul had about eight hundred Numidians amongſt the auxiliary troops of his army. The officer, who commanded them, came to him, and offered him to open a paſſage through the enemy, and to preſerve the army; adding, that he had a certain means for that effect. Minucius gave him the higheſt praiſes, and promiſed to reward ſo important a ſervice as it deſerved. The Numidians immediately mounted their horſes, and began to gallop up to the poſts of the Ligurians, however without making any attack. At firſt ſight, nothing ſeemed more contemptible than this cavalry. Both the men and horſes were little and lean. The horſemen had no belts, and were armed only with javelins. The horſes had no bridles, and ran in a diſorderly manner, with their necks and heads low and ſtretched out. To augment this contemptible appearance, they fell off their horſes with deſign, making themſelves a ſight, and expoſing themſelves to the laughter of the enemy. Moſt of the Ligurians, who at firſt kept on their guard in their poſts, in readineſs to defend themſelves in caſe of being attacked, threw down their arms, and only looked with folded arms upon a ſight, that made them laugh. However the Numidians continued galloping up on every ſide, then flying back the ſame way they came, advancing however by degrees towards the end of the defile, as if againſt their will, and ran away with by their horſes. At length ſpurring them on full ſpeed, they forced the Ligurians to open, and give them paſſage. They then ſet fire to the firſt houſes that came in their way, and afterwards to the firſt town they came to, and to ſeveral others in like manner, killing all that fell into their hands. The Ligurians, from the place where they were incamped, firſt perceived the ſmoke of their fires; and preſently after heard the cries of the unhappy

happy creatures they were burning and maſſacring in the towns and villages; and at length the old people and children, that had eſcaped the fury of the Numidians, came and ſpread terror and diſmay throughout the whole camp. Moſt of the Ligurians, upon this, without either taking counſel, or waiting orders from any body, ran each his own way to defend their families and eſtates. In few hours the camp was abandoned; and the Conſul delivered from the danger, continued his march, and arrived where he firſt intended. A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196.

The year following (560) the ſame Minucius gained a conſiderably important victory over the Ligurians. And their country was ſoon after laid in ruins by the Conſul Quintius: whilſt on another ſide his collegue Domitius reduced part of the Boii into ſubjection. Liv. xxxv. 21. Ibid. 40.

The inveteracy of the Ligurians againſt the Romans, had ſomething like madneſs in it. They had (in the year 561) ſet an army on foot upon the principle they called "the Sacred Law," by which the ſoldiers engaged under the moſt dreadful oaths never to depart from the battle except victorious. They came on a ſudden during the night to attack the camp of the Proconſul Minucius. That General kept his troops under arms till day, taking great care that the enemy ſhould not force any part of his intrenchments, in which he kept cloſe. As ſoon as day appeared, he made a ſally upon them through two gates at once. But he did not repulſe the Ligurians by this firſt effort, as he had hoped. They diſputed the victory above two hours. At length, exhauſted by the fatigue of the battle and long duty, they were not able to reſiſt freſh troops, that continually ſucceeded each other; and fear effacing the remembrance of their oaths, they at length turned their backs. On their ſide four thouſand men were killed; and the Romans loſt three hundred. Liv. xxxvi. 38.

About two months after the Conſul P. Cornelius Scipio, ſirnamed Naſica, gained a great battle againſt the army of the Boii, and made himſelf maſter of their

A.R. 556. Ant. C. 196. camp. The Conſul obliged them to give him hoſtages, and deprived them of half their territory, in order that the Roman People might ſend colonies into it if they thought proper. He ſoon after ſet out for Rome, after having diſmiſſed his army, and aſſigned them a day for their return to the city, in order to triumph with him. For he did not doubt, but a triumph would be granted him: which however met with more difficulty than he imagined. The day after his arrival, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the Senate in the temple of Bellona; and after having given an account of the victory he had gained, he demanded permiſſion to enter the city in triumph. P. Sempronius Blæſus, Tribune of the People, "acknowledged, that he highly deſerved that honour; but added, that he was not for having it granted him immediately. That he had been a little too haſty in diſmiſſing his army, and in returning to Rome. That they might have done the Commonwealth great ſervice by marching into Liguria, and that it would be very proper to ſend back the Conſul and his legions thither, in order to the entire reduction of the Ligurians. That then it would be the proper time to grant him a triumph."

The Conſul replied, "that the lots had not given him Liguria, but the country of the Boii, for his province. That he had overcome that People in a pitched battle, had taken their camp, and two days after reduced the whole nation to ſurrender. That it was over them he aſked to triumph, and not over the Ligurians. That for the reſt, they ought not to wonder, that the victorious army, having no longer any enemies in the province, was returned to Rome to honour their General's triumph. That to ſend it back again, as the Tribune propoſed, would be a diſgrace it undoubtedly did not deſerve, no more than himſelf. That as to what perſonally regarded him, he thought himſelf too much honoured for his whole life by the glorious teſtimony of the Senate in his favour, when they choſe him as the moſt worthy man of the Commonwealth, to receive the Mother of the Gods,

Gods. That that title only, though thoſe of Conſul and Triumpher were not added to it, would ſuffice to make his name famous throughout all ages." Remonſtrances ſo reaſonable engaged the whole Senate in his favour, and even induced the Tribune to deſiſt from his oppoſition. Accordingly he triumphed over the Boïi in a more honourable manner for himſelf, than if he had found no difficulty upon that head. A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196.

After having ran over the affairs of Gaul and Liguria, I now proceed to thoſe of Spain. It cannot be ſaid that there abſolutely was no war there, during the four years that Philip principally employed the Roman arms, as Cn. Cornelius, who had been ſent thither in 552, in the year 556, of which we are going to ſpeak, obtained an ovation for his ſucceſſes in Spain. But thoſe wars had been little conſiderable, as we may conjecture from the ſilence of Livy. Liv. xxxi. 50.

Soon after the treaty of peace had been concluded with Philip, the joy that happy event occaſioned, was interrupted by the bad news received from Spain. It formed two provinces: Hiſpania Citerior, which (as I have ſaid) was on this ſide the Iberus, and Hiſpania Ulterior, on the other ſide of that river. Advice came, "that the Prætor C. Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated in Hiſpania Citerior; that his army had been defeated and put to flight; and that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction had been killed in that action. That Tuditanus himſelf had been carried off from the field of battle dangerouſly wounded, and had died ſome few days after." Liv. xxxiii. 25.

L. Valerius Flaccus,
M. Porcius Cato. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

Cato had Hiſpania Citerior for his province. Before he ſet out for it, a famous conteſt aroſe concerning the law Oppia, in which he had a great ſhare. I ſhall ſpeak of it in the ſequel, after I have related his military expeditions.

After

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. Liv. xxxiv. 8. After this diſpute had been terminated, Cato ſet out with twenty-five galleys, of which the allies furniſhed five, and repaired to the Port of * Luna, where he had ordered his army to aſſemble. Having cauſed all the veſſels along the coaſt, of whatever kind they were, to be drawn together, he embarked his ſoldiers in them, and commanded them to follow him to the port Pyrenæus, from whence it was his deſign to advance directly againſt the enemy, with his whole fleet. He arrived at † Emporia, where he landed all his troops, except thoſe for the ſea-ſervice.

Ibid. 9. Emporia was two cities, ſeparated by a wall, one of which was inhabited by Greeks originally of Phocæa, as well as the Maſſilians, and the other by Spaniards. It is ſurprizing, that foreigners, expoſed on the one ſide to incurſions from the ſea, and on the other to the attacks of the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike nation, ſhould be capable of ſupporting themſelves ſo long upon that coaſt, and of preſerving their liberty. This wonderful effect is only to be aſcribed to vigilance and diſcipline, which nothing ſupports more amongſt the weak, than the fear of being ſurprized by neighbours more powerful than themſelves. The part of the wall on the ſide of the country was very well fortified, having but one gate, the guard of which was confided to one of the magiſtrates, who never quitted it. During the night, one third of the citizens were always poſted upon the walls for their defence. And they diſcharged this duty, in which they relieved each other, not out of form and in obedience to the law, but with as much care, vigilance, and exactneſs, as if the enemy had been at the gates. They admitted no Spaniard into their city, and quitted it but ſeldom and with great precaution; but they were at entire liberty to do ſo by ſea. As to the gate on the ſide of the Spaniſh city, they never went out of that except in great numbers; which uſually

* In the gulf of Specia on the coaſt of Genoa.
† Now Ampourias, a city of Spain in Catalonia.

were

were that third of the inhabitants who guarded the walls during the night. The reaſons that induced them to quit the place were as follows. The Spaniards, little accuſtomed to navigation, were highly fond of trading with this People, and to buy of them the foreign goods, which they imported in their ſhips; ſelling them in their turn the product of the country which they could ſpare from their own occaſions. This mutual dependance on each other, gave the Greeks entrance into the Spaniſh city. The protection of the Romans, whoſe amity they cultivated with no leſs zeal than the Maſſilians, though they were not ſo powerful as them, contributed alſo to their ſecurity. And it was for this reaſon, they then received the Conſul and his army with abundance of ardour and joy. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

M. Helvius, who had defeated the Celtiberians in Hiſpania Ulterior, and taken the city of * Illiturgis, at his return to Rome received the honour of an ovation; and Q. Minucius, who had commanded in Hiſpania Citerior, was honoured with a triumph. Liv. xxxiv. 10.

Whilſt the Conſul was incamped at no great diſtance from Emporia, Ambaſſadors came to him from the Prince of the Illergetes, in company with his ſon, " to demand aid of him againſt the rebels, without which they were not able to reſiſt them. They repreſented to him, that five thouſand men ſufficed for defending their country, and that the enemy would no ſooner ſee them appear, than they would retire." Cato replied, " that he was much affected with the danger, and anxiety of that Prince: but, having ſo great a number of enemies around him with whom he was every day upon the point of coming to blows, he could not, without manifeſt danger, weaken his army by dividing it." The deputies, after hearing this diſcourſe, proſtrated themſelves at the Conſul's feet, " conjuring him not to abandon their country Ibid. 11—13. Frontin. iv. 7.

* A city of Spain in Andaluſia.

in

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. in the ſad ſituation to which it was reduced: for what would become of them, if they were rejected by the Roman People? That they had no allies beſides them, nor any other reſource in the world. That they might have preſerved themſelves from the calamity that menaced them, if they could have departed from their engagements, and taken up arms with the reſt. But that they had contemned the threats of their neighbours from the hope that the Romans would be powerful enough to defend them. That, if, contrary to their expectations, they ſhould ſee themſelves abandoned, and the Conſul inexorable to their prayers, they called Gods and men to witneſs, that it was againſt their will they entered into the revolt of the other States of Spain; and that if it was their neceſſity to periſh, at leaſt they ſhould not periſh alone."

Cato diſmiſſed them that day without any anſwer. Two cares equally affecting diſturbed his repoſe during the whole night. He was unwilling to abandon his allies, and at the ſame time was deſirous not to divide his troops. He ſaw great inconveniences in both: but he came to a reſolution. He anſwered the deputies the next day, that though he apprehended weakening himſelf by lending his troops to others, however he had more regard to the danger that threatened them, than to the ſituation he was in himſelf. He commanded the third part of the ſoldiers of each cohort to prepare proviſions, and to carry them on board the ſhips; and the Captains of the veſſels to be in readineſs to ſet out in three days. Having given theſe orders, he diſmiſſed two of the Ambaſſadors to give the King of the Illergetes advice of them, and kept the ſon of that Prince with him, whom he treated with great amity, and made him great preſents. He did not let the Ambaſſadors ſet out, till they had ſeen the ſoldiers embarked.

All this was only ſtratagem and feint. Cato, not being able really to ſupply the allies with the reinforcement of troops they demanded, had conceived this method

method of giving them hopes of them at leaſt. * He knew, that often, eſpecially in war, appearances produce the ſame effects as reality, and that the idea only of an aid, though not yet received, but upon which there are reaſons entirely to rely, ſuffices to inſpire confidence and boldneſs. And accordingly this news being ſpread as certain throughout the country, convinced not only the Illergetes, but alſo the enemy, that the Romans were upon the point of arriving; upon which the rebels retired immediately. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

As the ſeaſon admitted taking the field and acting, Cato marched and incamped at a thouſand paces from Emporia; and from thence, leaving always part of his ſoldiers to guard his camp, he ſent the reſt to plunder the enemy's country, ſometimes in one part, and ſometimes in another. They acted ſo well, that the Spaniards did not dare to quit their fortreſſes. When he was ſufficiently aſſured of the diſpoſition of his people, and of that of the enemy, he aſſembled his troops, and told them: "That hitherto they had confined themſelves to plundering the enemy; that the queſtion now was to fight them, and to inrich themſelves not only with the product of their lands, but with the ſpoils of their cities. That it was a diſgrace for the Romans to have the poſſeſſion of a country diſputed with them, of which they were ſo lately maſters. That it was neceſſary to recover it ſword in hand, and to force a people, who knew better how to revolt with temerity, than to ſuſtain a war with conſtancy, to reſume the yoke they had thrown off." Seeing them full of ardor, he declared, that the next night he would lead them to the enemy's camp. In the mean time, he ordered them to take nouriſhment and repoſe. Liv. xxxiv. 13—16.

After having conſulted the auſpices, he ſet out at midnight to ſeize the poſt he had in view before the

* Sociis ſpem pro re oſtentandam cenſet. Sæpe vana pro veris, maximè in bello, valuiſſe; & credentem ſe aliquid auxilii habere, perinde a que haberet, ipsâ fiducia, & ſperando atque audendo ſervatum. Liv.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. enemy ſhould perceive it, and made his troops march beyond and behind the enemy's camp. His deſign, as he told his ſoldiers, was to reduce them to the neceſſity of conquering, leaving them no other reſource but their courage. When day appeared, after having drawn up his troops in battle, he detached three cohorts to the foot of the enemy's intrenchments. Thoſe Barbarians, amazed to ſee the Roman army behind them, ran to their arms. The three cohorts immediately retired, as they had received orders, to engage the Spaniards, by that diſſembled flight, to quit their intrenchments. And this accordingly happened. Whilſt they were in motion in order to form themſelves in order of battle, Cato, who had had time to draw up in the beſt manner, fell upon them before they could poſt themſelves. He firſt made the cavalry of both wings advance againſt them. But that of the right being preſently repulſed and put to flight, had put the infantry itſelf into ſome diſorder. The Conſul upon that ordered two choſen cohorts to move behind the right wing of the enemy, and to ſhew themſelves at their backs, before the infantry on both ſides came to blows. The Spaniards were at firſt terrified by this motion, ſeeing themſelves attacked at the ſame time both in front and rear; but they made a vigourous defence. After having diſcharged their darts and javelins, they came to cloſe fight, and the battle began again with new ardor. Cato perceiving that his troops began to grow weary, made ſome reſerved cohorts advance to ſuſtain and encourage them. As they were entirely freſh ſoldiers, and waited the ſignal with impatience, they had a great advantage over troops exhauſted by the fatigues of a battle, which had already continued a great while. Accordingly, drawn up in the form of a wedge, they broke into the Spaniards, made them give way, and at length entirely routed them; ſo that being diſperſed about the country, they endeavoured to regain their camp.

Cato ſeeing them in ſuch diſorder, ordered the ſecond legion, which he had left in the *corps de reſerve*, to

to march directly and aſſault the enemy's camp. The victorious troops had already began the attack. The Conſul, who was attentive to every thing, ſeeing the enemy leſs numerous at the gate than on his left, haſtened thither at the head of the Principes and Haſtati of the ſecond legion. Thoſe who defended that gate could not reſiſt the vigour with which it was attacked; and the reſt, ſeeing the Romans had entered their lines, and were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of their camp, began to throw down their arms and enſigns, and to fly to the oppoſite gates in order to eſcape. But as they were too narrow to give paſſage to the throng that crowded to them, the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion fell upon them, and made a great ſlaughter, whilſt the reſt plundered the camp. Livy tells us, that an hiſtorian (Valerius of Antium) affirms, that above forty thouſand Spaniards were killed in this battle. But the ſame Livy, in more than one place, accuſes that writer of being apt to exaggerate, and even to falſify; and * Cato, who certainly could not be ſuſpected of leſſening his advantages, contented himſelf with ſaying, that abundance of the enemy were killed, without mentioning their number. A. R. 557 Ant. C. 195.

The States, after this victory, came from many parts to ſubmit to the Romans; and when Cato arrived at Tarraco, all that part of Spain ſituated on this ſide of the Iberus, and therefore called Citerior with reſpect to Italy, ſeemed entirely ſubjected.

Their bodies were ſo, but not their minds; which appeared from the repeated revolts of ſome States, which after having ſubmitted, reſumed their arms as ſoon as the Conſul was removed. Cato, apprehending that others might do the ſame, choſe to diſarm all the Spaniards that inhabited on this ſide of the Iberus. Thoſe fierce nations, to whom to live without the uſe of arms, was not to live, were ſo much affected with that affront, that many of them killed themſelves upon Liv. xxxiv. 17, 18. App. de Bell. Hiſp. 277.

* Cato ipſe, haud ſane detrectatur laudem ſuarum, &c.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. it. The Conſul, having received advice of this deſperate reſolution, ſummoned the Senators of all the cities to an aſſembly, and told them, "It is more "for your intereſt than ours, that you ſhould remain "quiet under us, as your revolts have always been "attended with more calamity to your own people, "than difficulty to our armies. The only means I "have to prevent your defections, is to make it im-"poſſible for you to take arms. My deſign is to uſe "the moſt gentle method for reducing you to that "happy neceſſity. And you ought to aſſiſt me in this "with your counſels. I am ready to follow ſuch as "you ſhall give me in preference to all other." Seeing that they continued ſilent: "I give you," added he, "ſome days to reflect upon this." As they gave him no anſwer in a ſecond aſſembly, he reſolved for himſelf; and, keeping them, according to appearance, in ſuſpence, he ſent couriers to all the cities of the country, who were inſtructed on the ſame hour of the ſame day to deliver letters from the Conſul into the hands of the elders and magiſtrates. They contained orders to demoliſh all their fortifications that inſtant, with menaces to make all ſlaves, who did not obey directly. The uncertainty of each city, whether the like orders had been given to the reſt, or related only to itſelf, and the impoſſibility of holding a council, and concerting together, determined them to obey, and the order was executed the ſame day by moſt of the States. As ſoon as Cato received advice of this, he marched to reduce the reſt of the rebels, which he eaſily effected.

In the diſpoſition to revolt, that prevailed throughout the whole nation, becauſe after having taſted the ſweets of liberty, all ſubjection was become inſupportable to them, Cato thought himſelf obliged, even for the good of the province, to deprive them of all reſource or means of reſiſtance. And it was evident, that the leaſt delay would be attended with a general inſurrection: on this occaſion appeared of what value

the

the ability of a General is. * The Conſul, whoſe capacity equalled his reſolution and courage, ſaw and examined every thing with his own eyes, and was entirely attentive to important enterprizes, without neglecting the leaſt affairs. He did not content himſelf with meditating what was to be done, and giving orders accordingly to his ſubaltern officers: he executed the greateſt part of his projects in perſon. There was not a ſingle man in the whole army upon whom he impoſed more pains and fatigue than upon himſelf, always taking the moſt arduous part of the ſervice for own ſhare. He piqued himſelf upon not giving place to the meaneſt of his ſoldiers in frugality, labour, and duty. To conclude, he had nothing in the army peculiar to himſelf, and that diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt, except office and command. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

The Prætor P. Manlius, who had been ſent with Cato to aid him in the ſervice, made war againſt the Turdetani, who, ſuſtained by ten thouſand Celtiberians, gave him employment enough. He wrote in conſequence to the Conſul, and demanded aid of him. Cato marched immediately to him. Not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he advanced into a country, which had not yet felt the calamities of war, and put every thing in it to fire and ſword. After ſome other expeditions, having left the greateſt part of his army with the Prætor, he kept only ſeven cohorts with himſelf, with which he returned towards the Iberus, where he again ſubjected ſome States who had taken up arms in his abſence. Liv. xxxiv. 19, 20.

Cato, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. This was in the 558th year of Rome. Ibid. 46.

The following years there were ſome inſurrections in Spain, but nothing very conſiderable paſſed in effect.

* In Conſule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per ſe adiret, atque ageret: nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quæ in rem eſſent, ſed pleraque ipſe per ſe tranſigeret; nec in quemquam omnium gravius ſeveriuſque quam in ſemetipſum imperium exerceret; parſimonia, & vigiliis & labore, cum ultimis militum certaret, necquicquam in exercitu ſuo præcipui, præter honorem atque imperium, haberet.

SECT. II.

Conteſts in Rome concerning the law Oppia. Speech of the Conſul Cato in favour of that law. Speech of the Tribune Valerius againſt the law. It is aboliſhed. Sacred Spring. Diſtinguiſhed places for the Senators in the games. Rumour occaſioned by the diſtinction of places granted to the Senators in the ſhews. Regulation againſt uſury. Ambaſſy of the Rhodians to Antiochus King of Syria. Anſwer of the Roman commiſſioners to the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus. Embaſſy of the Romans to that Prince. Return of the ten commiſſioners to Rome. They ſhew, that it is neceſſary to prepare for a war with Antiochus. Hannibal becomes ſuſpected by the Romans. Ambaſſadors ſent from Rome to Carthage. Hannibal quits Carthage and eſcapes. He goes to Antiochus at Epheſus. Diſcourſe of a philoſopher in the preſence of Hannibal. Conference between Quintius and the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus, which was ineffectual. Antiochus takes meaſures with Hannibal for the ſucceſs of the war with the Romans. Conteſt between Maſſiniſſa and the Carthaginians left undetermined by the Roman deputies. Luſtrum cloſed. Strong cabalting for the Conſulſhip. The credit of Quintius carries it againſt that of Scipio Africanus.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. PORCIUS CATO.

I HAVE deferred ſpeaking hitherto of the famous conteſt, that aroſe in the Conſulſhip of Cato in reſpect to the jewels and ornaments of the Roman ladies, in which that Conſul had a great ſhare.

Liv. xxxiv. 1.

In the interval between two important wars, of which the one (with Philip) was ſcarce terminated, and the other (with Antiochus) upon the point of breaking out, a quarrel happened at Rome concerning a thing inconſiderable enough in itſelf, but which however was the occaſion of great feuds. M. Fundanius

danius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the People, pro- A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
poſed the abrogation of the law Oppia. It had been eſtabliſhed in the Conſulſhip of Q. Fabius and Tl. Sempronius, when the war with Hannibal was at its greateſt height, and ſoon after the battle of Cannæ, ſo fatal to the Commonwealth. By this law the Roman ladies were prohibited "to uſe above half an ounce of gold in their dreſs; to wear habits of different colours; and to be carried either in Rome, or a thouſand paces round it, in chariots drawn by horſes, except on the occaſion of public ſacrifices." Two other Tribunes of the People, of the family of Junius Brutus, took upon themſelves the defence of the law, and declared that it ſhould not be aboliſhed.

For the honour of the ladies in reſpect to the preſent queſtion, it is proper to remember, that from the earlieſt times they had been highly zealous for the public good, and little attached to their jewels, as Liv. v. 25. they had carried in all their gold and ornaments to the public treaſury to be uſed for the accompliſhment of a vow made by Camillus on the occaſion of the taking of Veii. The Senate did not ſuffer ſo pious and generous a liberality to go unrewarded, and granted the ladies permiſſion to be carried to the ſacrifices in the more diſtinguiſhed and honourable kind of chariot, *pilento*; and on all other occaſions, whether on feſtivals or not, in the more common chariot, *carpento*. It is a matter of ſurprize, that in the ſpeeches which we are going to repeat, that this fact, which relates ſo much to them, ſhould not be mentioned.

It is very probable, that the law Oppia, the inſtitution of which is not related by Livy in its place, had remained without execution as to the firſt article which regards the gold; as ſome years after the battle of Cannæ, when the funds of the Commonwealth were entirely deficient, and all the gold and ſilver of the citizens were brought into the public treaſury, the ladies had an ounce of gold allowed each of them to be uſed in their ornaments. Conſequently they were

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. not reduced at that time to the half ounce preſcribed by the law Oppia. Having made theſe obſervations, I proceed to relate the fact.

Many of the principal perſons of the city joined the Tribunes in this diſpute, ſome in favour of the law, and ſome againſt it. The Capitol was filled with multitudes of the populace, who were divided in opinion as well as the rich. The ladies convinced that they ought not to confine themſelves to the common rules of decency in an affair wherein they were ſo ſenſibly and perſonally intereſted, diſperſed themſelves in the ſtreets, and beſieged all the avenues to the Forum, intreating all thoſe who paſſed, to permit the ladies, at a time when the Commonwealth was reſuming its former ſtate, and the fortunes of individuals were increaſing every day, to reſume alſo their antient ornaments. They went ſo far as to addreſs the Conſuls, Prætors, and other magiſtrates, and to conjure them to favour their cauſe.

Liv. xxxiv. 24. M. Porcius Cato, one of the Conſuls, inexorable and deaf to their prayers, ſpoke thus in favour of the law, that it was propoſed to aboliſh. " Romans, if " every one of us had known how to preſerve his " authority in his own houſe, and to make his wife " pay him due reſpect, we ſhould not be at this time " ſo much at a loſs to keep them within the bounds " of their duty. But, becauſe we have ſuffered them " to give us the law at home, that imperious ſex is for " impoſing it upon us even in the Forum; and af- " ter having got the better of each of us in particular, " they are now in hopes of overcoming us all toge- " ther, and in a body. Do we not know, that there " is nothing more dangerous, than to ſuffer the wo- " men to hold private aſſemblies, and to form in- " trigues and cabals together. What then is become " of that antient modeſty and reſerve that prevailed " amongſt the ſex? As for me, I declare it was not " without bluſhing, that I paſſed through theſe crowds " of women to get to the Forum. If I had not been " more prevented by the reſpect I have for each of them

" in

A.R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

" in particular, than for them all in general, and had " not been deſirous to ſpare them the ſhame of a Con- " ſul's expoſtulations, I ſhould certainly have aſked " them: Are you not aſhamed, ladies, to run in this " manner from ſtreet to ſtreet, to block up the " ways and paſſages, and to addreſs requeſts, and " make your court to men who are not your huſbands? " The very favour in queſtion could you not have " aſked in private at home of your huſbands? Are " you then more liberal of careſſes in public than in " private, and to ſtrangers, than to thoſe to whom alone " you owe both your love, and the marks that denote " it. But, to expreſs myſelf better, you ſhould only " be informed at home of what paſſes here, and of " what laws are annulled or eſtabliſhed, if you confined " yourſelves within the bounds which modeſty pre- " ſcribes your ſex? Our anceſtors did not permit the " women to tranſact any affair even of a private kind, " without being authorized; and always kept them " in ſubjection to their fathers, brothers, or huſbands. " And now, if the Gods do not order it otherwiſe, " we ſhall ſoon admit them to ſhare in the government " of the ſtate!

" Do not believe, Romans, that their ſole end is " to recover the advantages of which the law Oppia " hath deprived them. They aſpire at a liberty, or, " to ſpeak more juſtly, at a licence without bounds. " You know by how many laws, as by ſo many curbs, " our anceſtors ſubjected them to their huſbands; " and how much difficulty we ſtill have, notwith- " ſtanding thoſe ties, to keep them within their duty " and obedience. If they once attain to break " through them one after another, it will not be poſ- " ſible for you to ſupport them. As ſoon as they " ſhall become your equals, they will believe they " have a right to govern you.

" But, ſome body may ſay, all they demand is, " that no new ſervitude be impoſed upon them: it is " not from juſtice that they deſire to be exempted, " but from a ſlavery unjuſtly impoſed upon them.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. "No, Romans: their pretenſions do not terminate "in that. In forcing you to aboliſh a law, the uti- "lity of which you have experienced ſo many "years, they are for ſtriking at all the reſt. * There "is no law equally commodious to all; and all "that is propoſed in eſtabliſhing ſome new one is, "that it may be beneficial to the greater part of the "citizens, and to the Commonwealth in general. "If thoſe to whom the law is diſagreeable, are al- "lowed to cauſe it to be annulled; to what purpoſe "would the people make inſtitutions, that were to "be cancelled by thoſe againſt whom they were "made?

"But after all, what is the important affair then, "that alarms the ladies ſo much at preſent, and which "makes them run about as if they were in deſpair, "and almoſt thruſt themſelves into the aſſemblies of "the Roman People? Do they come to aſk us to "ranſom their fathers, huſbands, children, or bro- "thers, become the priſoners of Hannibal? Thanks "to the Gods, the Commonwealth is ſafe from theſe "calamities, and we have reaſon to believe it will "be ſo for ever. But however, when that was the "caſe, you were deaf to their prayers, how legiti- "mate ſoever in their foundation. If it be not ten- "derneſs for their families, it is perhaps through a "motive of religion that they aſſemble; to receive "the mother of the Gods, juſt arrived from Peſſinus "in Phrygia? For, in a word, I ſhould be glad that "they could give ſome ſpecious reaſon for their in- "ſurrection. Let us hear what they ſay themſelves, "Romans. We demand, ſay they, that we may be "ſuffered to appear before your eyes, glittering with "gold and purple; to ride through the city, on fe- "ſtivals and other days, in our chariots, as in triumph, "and trampling under foot the law, that reſtrains "our pride; in a word, that bounds may be ſet no

* Nulla lex ſatis commodo omnibus eſt: id modo quæritur, ſi majori parti, & in ſummam prodeſt.

"longer

" longer either to our expences, or our luxury. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
" And it is to this, properly ſpeaking, their requeſts
" tend.

" I have * often complained to you of the luxury
" of the women and that of the men, as well magi-
" ſtrates as private perſons. You have often heard
" me ſay, that the Commonwealth was ſick of two op-
" poſite diſtempers, avarice and luxury; ſcourges
" which have ſubverted the greateſt empires. The
" ſtate becomes more flouriſhing every day; it conti-
" nually makes new acquiſitions: it hath already ex-
" tended its ſway into Greece and Aſia, opulent
" countries, that abound with all that can attract
" the paſſions: we have already poſſeſſed ourſelves
" of the riches of Kings. But it is this very opulence,
" that alarms me, and makes me tremble for the
" Commonwealth. I am afraid, that the ſpoils of
" the vanquiſhed will be fatal to us, and that having
" ſeized ſo much riches, we ſhall become ſlaves to
" them. Believe me, Romans, when Marcellus
" brought ſo many exquiſite ſtatues into this city
" from Syracuſe, he introduced dangerous enemies.
" I hear nothing now but People admiring the orna-
" ments of Corinth and Athens, and deriding the
" earthen ſtatues of our Gods, placed in the front of
" the temples of Rome. As for my part, I prefer
" thoſe Gods, ſuch as they are, to thoſe of foreign
" nations: for they have hitherto been favourable to
" us, and I hope always will, as long as we leave
" them in their places, and do not think of ſubſtitut-
" ing others to them.

" In the time of our fathers, King Pyrrhus directed
" Cineas his Ambaſſador to make preſents, not only

* Sæpe me quærentem de fæminarum, ſæpe de virorum, nec de privatorum modò, ſed etiam magiſtratuum ſumptibus audiſtis; diverſiſque duobus vitiis; avaritia & luxuria, civitatem laborare: quæ peſtes omnia magna imperia everterunt. Hæc ego, quo melior lætiorque in dies fortuna reipublicæ eſt, imperiumque creſcit, & jam in Græciam Aſiamque tranſcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, & regias etiam attrectamus gazas, eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos operint, quam nos illas.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. " to our men, but our women, in order to engage " them in his intereſts. The law Oppia was not then " in being againſt the luxury and levity of the ſex. " However, not one of them accepted the proffered " gifts. What reaſon can be aſſigned for ſo generous " a refuſal? The ſame which our anceſtors had for " not making a law upon this head: Becauſe there " was no kind of luxury to reſtrain. As Diſeaſes " muſt be known, before proper remedies are ſought " for them; ſo vices muſt ariſe before laws are made " to check their growth. At a time when the ladies " refuſed the gold and purple offered them, there " was no occaſion for laws, againſt the abuſe of them. " Things are much changed. If Cineas were to re- " turn now with his preſents, he would find the wo- " men in the public places entirely ready to receive " them.

" As for me, there are paſſions of which I cannot " well comprehend the cauſe. For, as I ſhould not " wonder, that a lady ſhould think it a kind of diſ- " grace, and felt ſome indignation, if ſhe were prohi- " bited what were allowed to others; ſo I cannot ſee, " what ſhould give pain to any one in particular " in a law, which makes no difference between them " in reſpect to their dreſs and ornaments. It is a vi- " cious and reproachable ſhame, to bluſh either for a " prudent œconomy, or for poverty itſelf. But the " law ſpares you this ſhame, in taking upon itſelf, " by the equality it eſtabliſhes between the rich and " poor, your not wearing the ornaments and pomp, " which are not ſeen in your dreſs.

" This is exactly that equality, ſays a rich lady, that " I cannot bear. Why am not I diſtinguiſhed from " others by the gold and purple, which I am in a con- " dition to diſplay in my attire? Why is the poverty " of others concealed under the ſhadow of this law, ſo " that the ſimplicity of their appearance may be attri- " buted to the prohibition, and not to the want of means. " Are you deſirous, Romans, to excite an emulation " of luxury between your wives, which would induce

the

" the rich to provide themſelves with jewels and or- A. R. 557.
" naments that others cannot attain; and the poor to Ant. C.
" make efforts above their fortunes, to avoid the con- 195.
" tempt, which ſo evident a difference would draw
" upon them. Certainly, as ſoon as they once begin
" to think That ſhameful, that is not ſo, Vice, which
" is the only thing they ought to bluſh at, will ceaſe
" to give them confuſion. She who hath money
" enough of her own, will adorn herſelf at her own
" expence: and ſhe who hath not, will aſk it of her
" huſband. Unhappy the huſband, who either grants
" his wife her requeſt; or refuſes her; when he ſhall
" ſee her receive from another, what he was unwilling
" to give her himſelf. Do we not already ſee them,
" publickly and without ſcruple, make requeſts to
" men, who are not their huſbands; and earneſtly
" ſollicit favourable ſuffrages, which they even ob-
" tain of ſome, whilſt themſelves are inexorable in
" what regards their families? Reflect well upon
" this. As ſoon as the law ſhall ſet no bounds to the
" expences of your wives, it will not be poſſible for
" you ever to do ſo yourſelves. And do not imagine,
" Romans, that things will remain upon the ſame foot,
" as they were before the eſtabliſhment of the law.
" * It is better for a criminal not to be accuſed, than
" to be acquitted! and we may ſay alſo of luxury,
" that if it had not been attacked at all, it would have
" been more ſupportable and leſs exceſſive, than it
" will be for the future, like ſome wild beaſt, whom
" chains have only enraged, and which, when looſe,
" becomes in effect more furious than it was before.
" My opinion is, Romans, that you ſhould let the
" law Oppia ſubſiſt in all its force. Whatever you
" may reſolve, I hope the Gods will make it for the
" good and glory of the Commonwealth."

The Tribunes then who had affirmed, that they would oppoſe the attempt of their collegues, having

* Et hominem improbum non accuſari tutius eſt, quam abſolvi: & luxuria non mota tolerabilior eſſet, quam erit nunc, ipſis vinculis, ſicut fera beſtia, irritata deinde emiſſa.

ſeconded

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. ſeconded Cato's diſcourſe with ſome arguments of the like nature; L. Valerius anſwered their objections with the following ſpeech. "If only private perſons "had appeared either againſt or for the propoſal we "have made to the People, I ſhould have contented "myſelf with the reaſons on both ſides, have been "ſilent, and quietly left the deciſion to your ſuffrages. "But as the Conſul hath attacked it, a perſon highly "worthy in his private capacity, and to oppoſe us, "hath not only uſed his authority, which alone would "have been of no ſmall weight, but alſo an elaborate "diſcourſe of ſufficient length, I find myſelf obliged "to anſwer him.

"And after all, he has exerciſed his vehemence "much more to cenſure the conduct of the ladies, "than to refute our propoſal. He hath uſed the "odious terms, intrigue, cabal, and inſurrection, in "ſpeaking of the ſollicitation and intreaties which the "ladies employ to induce you at this time, when we "are entirely at peace, and the Commmonwealth hap-"py and flouriſhing, to aboliſh a law made againſt "them in the moſt unhappy conjunctures of a danger-"ous and bloody war: but we * know M. Cato to "be an orator, not only of great force, but ſometimes "even harſh and exceſſive in his expreſſions, though "at bottom his genius and diſpoſition are gentle and "humane. For indeed, what have the ladies done "of extraordinary or amazing, when in a cauſe that "concerns them, they have appeared in publick to "ſollicit their judges? Is this the firſt time, that "they have been ſeen to appear in great numbers? "I ſhall uſe againſt you, Cato, only your own books "† *De Originibus*. You tell us in them yourſelf, that "they have often done ſo, and always for the good of "the Commonwealth. I ſhall quote no examples: "they are known by all the world, and you cannot

* Et M. Catonem oratorem non ſolùm gravem, ſed interdum etiam trucem eſſe ſcimus omnes, cum ingenio ſit mitis.

† It is an hiſtory compoſed by Cato, the firſt books of which treated of the origin and foundation of every city in Italy.

"deny

" deny that. But in all theſe caſes, you will ſay, A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
" their motives were different. I know it; but it
" ſuffices for me to ſhew, that their preſent behaviour,
" which is imputed to them as a crime, is no new
" thing. And what have they done after all? † We
" muſt certainly be very nice and captious, if we take
" offence at the requeſts of the moſt illuſtrious ladies
" of the city, when even thoſe of ſlaves are heard by
" their maſters with patience.

" I come now to the fact in queſtion, in reſpect to
" which the Conſul has affirmed, firſt that no law
" ought to be aboliſhed; and ſecondly, that the law
" Oppia, inſtituted againſt the luxury of the women,
" is of all laws that which ought by no means to have
" any change made in it.

" To reaſon right on this head, we muſt diſtinguiſh
" two kinds of laws. Some have been inſtituted not
" for a time but for ever, and for their perpetual and
" general utility. Theſe ought never to be annulled,
" unleſs experience ſhews, that they are defective, or
" are rendered ineffectual by ſome change in the ſtate.
" There are others, to which recourſe has been only
" had in certain conjunctures, and on particular oc-
" caſions: the latter are, to uſe the expreſſion, mor-
" tal and tranſitory, and ought to be void, when the
" reaſons that made them neceſſary, ſubſiſt no longer.
" War often eſtabliſhes laws, which had been made
" during peace, and peace ſuch as war had given
" birth to; as a ſhip is differently managed during
" calms, and during ſtorms.

" The date of the law Oppia is too recent not to
" be known by all the world; every body knows its
" antiquity to be not of above twenty years. If, be-
" fore this law, the ladies lived during ſo great a
" ſeries of years without any reproach; ought we to
" apprehend that after it is annulled, they will aban-
" don themſelves to licentiouſneſs and irregularity?
" I agree, that if this law had been inſtituted to re-

† Superbas medius fidius aures habemus, ſi cum domini ſervorum non faſtidiant preces, nos rogari ab honeſtis fœminis indignamur.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. " form the luxury of the ladies, we might fear, that " after it ſhould be cancelled, they might give themſelves up to it with ſtill leſs reſerve than before. " But the very circumſtances, in which it was paſſed, " evidently ſhew what gave occaſion for it. Hannibal was then in the heart of Italy. Victorious from " Cannæ, he had already reduced Tarentum, Arpi, " and Capua. He threatened to beſiege Rome with " his triumphant army. Our allies had abandoned " us. We had neither ſoldiers to recruit our armies, " mariners to man our fleet, nor money to pay our " troops. In a word, we were in want of all things. " All the citizens carried their gold and ſilver into the " public treaſury. That of widows and wards was " likewiſe employed for the occaſions of the ſtate. " Can we imagine, that in ſuch a time of calamity, " the ladies could give themſelves up to a luxury " that required a law to reform it. Who does not " ſee, that it was the wants and miſery of the public, which by obliging all private perſons to devote " their fortunes to the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, " gave birth to this law, to be in force only as long " as the reaſons for its being eſtabliſhed ſhould require.

" And ſhall all orders of the State, and even every " individual, experience the proſperity of the Commonwealth; and our women be the only perſons " excluded from ſharing in the fruits of the public " peace and tranquillity? We wear purple in the " great offices and prieſthoods: our children are adorned with it: we permit the magiſtrates of the " colonies and municipal cities to wear it; beſides " many other officers of a ſtill lower rank: and ſhall " the Roman ladies be the only part of us, to whom " purple habits are prohibited? May we make furniture of it, and ſhall our wives not be allowed to " make a mantle of it?

" Again, in reſpect to purple which fades and conſumes, I conceive there might be a pretext, unjuſt no doubt, but however ſpecious, with which

" the

" the rigour of your refuſal might be palliated. But A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
" even this pretext is defective in reſpect to gold,
" upon which, excepting the faſhion, nothing is loſt.
" And the permiſſion of the uſe of that precious
" metal to the ladies is ſo far from being pernicious,
" that it is a reſource for families, and even for the
" State, as you have already experienced upon very
" many occaſions.

" M. Cato ſays, that no particular lady has any
" room to be jealous, as long as others are not more
" ſuperbly dreſſed than herſelf. I own it: but they
" are all touched with indignation, when they ſee the
" wives of the Latines adorned with ornaments pro-
" hibited to them: when they ſee them glittering with
" purple and gold, and carried in pomp through the
" city in their chariots, whilſt they follow on foot, as
" if they were inferiors in the cities of Latium, and
" not in Rome, where the ſupremacy of power and
" empire reſides. If ſo degrading a diſtinction is ca-
" pable of mortifying men, what impreſſion do you
" think it muſt make on women, who have leſs force
" of mind, and who are extremely ſenſible to the
" ſlighteſt ſubjects of chagrin.

" They cannot exerciſe the magiſtracies or prieſt-
" hoods: the advantage of conquering, overcoming,
" and diſplaying the ſpoils of the enemy to the eyes
" of the citizens, is not for their ſex. Neatneſs, dreſs,
" ornament, are their portion: and this is what con-
" ſtitutes their joy and glory: theſe are their riches
" and treaſure, and if I may ſay ſo, their little do-
" meſtic empire. Wherefore ſhould they be envied
" this ſlight ſatisfaction?

" But after all, what do you apprehend from them?
" Though the law Oppia ſhall be aboliſhed, will it
" not ſtill be at your diſcretion to retrench what you
" think fit? Will they depend leſs upon you as wives,
" daughters, and ſiſters? As long as their relations
" live, they continue in ſubjection; and they them-
" ſelves deteſt the liberty which they obtain by the
" death of their huſbands and fathers. They had

" much

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. "much rather, that their ornaments ſhould depend "on you, than on the law. And on your ſide, you "ought to treat them as companions, not as ſlaves; "and deſire, that they ſhould conſider you as affec- "tionate fathers and tender huſbands, rather than as "imperious maſters.

"I have not forgot the odious terms of ſedition "and revolt; uſed by the Conſul, ſpeaking of the "concourſe of the ladies in the city. Would not "theſe expreſſions give us room to believe, that they "would at this time, as the incenſed People did for- "merly, ſeize the ſacred mountain, or mount Aven- "tine? Women are born for ſubjection, and they "do not ſeek to ſhake off the yoke. This is a rea- "ſon why we ſhould endeavour to ſoften it, and to "treat them with the more moderation, as they are "leſs in a condition to reſiſt our power."

Liv. xxxiv. 8. After the law had been thus ſpoken for and againſt this day, the next, the ladies were ſeen diſperſing themſelves in ſtill greater crowds in public. They went all in a body and beſieged the houſes of the Tribunes, who oppoſed the change they ſo much deſired, and gave them no reſt, till they promiſed to deſiſt; and then the law Oppia was repealed by the ſuffrages of all the Tribes: which happened, as we have already ſaid, twenty years after it had been inſtituted.

Cato, as ſoon as this affair was concluded, ſet out for Spain, and there made war with the ſucceſs we have related above.

I ſhould now proceed to the war of the Romans with Antiochus, which will from this time be our great object, and which certainly merits our whole attention. But firſt I ſhall here relate ſome facts detached from the reſt of our hiſtory, which I have omitted hitherto, to avoid interrupting the ſeries of our narration.

Ibid. 44. Under the Conſuls M. Porcius and L. Valerius, the 557th year of Rome, the Sacred Spring had been obſerved as we have related. There had been ſome defect in the manner things had paſſed. The next year

it

it was renewed. By the Sacred Spring is underſtood all the cattle brought forth in the months of March and April. A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

The Cenſors Sex. Ælius Pætus and C. Cornelius Cethegus nominated the Conſul P. Scipio Prince of the Senate, who had already obtained that honour under the preceding Cenſors. Theſe Cenſors alſo acquired great eſteem from the Senate by the order they gave the Curule Ædiles to aſſign the Senators diſtinguiſhed places at the Shews, at which they had hitherto been preſent mingled with the People. Liv. xxxiv. 44.

It was in the Roman Games celebrated the 558th year of Rome, that the Senate was preſent for the firſt time at theſe ſhews ſeparated from the People. This diſtinction, like all other innovations, gave occaſion for much diſcourſe, and was approved or condemned at Rome according to the different manner in which People were affected with it. Some ſay, "That at length a privilege was granted to the moſt auguſt order of the Commonwealth, which had long been its due." Others on the contrary declared, "that honour was done the Senate at the expence of the People. That all differences made between the orders of the Commonwealth were ſo many attempts againſt unity and liberty. That during five hundred and fifty-eight years the citizens had been preſent at the Shews confounded with each other. What new reaſon could the Senators either have for ſhunning the company of the private citizens, or the rich for not ſitting down by the poor? That it was a new ſpecies of pride and haughtineſs, of which there was no example in any other Republic." And laſtly it is ſaid, that Scipio Africanus himſelf repented the having ſupported this innovation with the authority of the Conſulſhip. * So true it is, that all changes are odious in States, and that People always chooſe rather to adhere to their antient cuſtoms, unleſs they diſcover ſome evident

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo, probabile eſt: veteribus, niſi quæ uſus evidenter arguit, ſtari malunt. Liv.

abuſe

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. abuſe in them. † Cicero alſo obſerves, that not only the wiſeſt and beſt inclined citizens of Rome diſapproved this ſtep of Scipio, but that he often blamed himſelf for it; and there is great reaſon to believe that it did not a little contribute to alienate the affection of the People from him, and to change their favour, which hitherto had declared for him in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner, into a kind of hatred and averſion.

Liv. xxxv. 7. A diſorder that was become very notorious, at the ſame time engaged the attention of the public. Uſury had multiplied the debts of the citizens in an exceſſive manner. ‡ Laws had been made at different times to keep it within bounds. But avarice had found the ſecret to elude them, in obliging thoſe who had occaſion for money to give bonds for the ſums lent them in the name of allies, who were not ſubject to the laws of Rome. Uſury, being become unreſtrained by this fraud, cruſhed debtors with impunity. After enquiry had been made into proper remedies for this evil, it was at length decreed that the allies ſhould come and declare the ſums they had lent from a certain fixed time, with permiſſion to try the diſputes they might have with their creditors, either according to the Roman law, or that of the Latines, at their option. The Roman laws were more rigorous, than thoſe of the Latines, againſt uſury. But, theſe declarations having ſhewn to what exceſſes fraud had carried the debts of the citizens, M. Sempronius, one of the Tribunes of the People, propoſed and cauſed a law to be paſſed, which decreed, that the allies ſhould conform, in reſpect to loans of money to the Romans, to the laws in force at Rome.

Tacitus had reaſon to ſay, that notwithſtanding the ſevere regulations, which were made from time to

† Ille, ut dicitur, non ſolum à ſapientiſſimis hominibus, qui tum erant, verum etiam à ſeipſo accuſatus eſt, quod cum Conſul eſſet cum Ti. Longo paſſus eſt tum primum à populari conſeſſu ſenatoria ſubſellia ſeparari. Fragm. Orat. pro C. Cornelio.

‡ Theſe laws are ſpoken of elſewhere.

time

ime * againſt uſury, avarice, wonderfully fruitful in A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.
eſources, always found new means to evade the ri-
our of the laws. In conſequence, the year after the
egulation we have juſt ſpoke of was decreed, many
ſurers had great fines laid upon them.

We have obſerved in the conſulſhip of C. Marcius
nd Cn. Manlius II. the 398th year of Rome, that the
ntereſt of money lent was fixed at one *per cent. per*
nnum, unciarium fœnus: and ten years after at half, *ſemun-*
iarium fœnus. This ſeems difficult to believe: how-
ver, this is the ſenſe of theſe Latin terms, according
o the moſt learned interpreters.

The war of Macedonia had ended very opportunely
or the Romans, who otherwiſe would have had two
owerful enemies, Philip and Antiochus, upon their
ands at the ſame time. For it was evident, that
Rome would ſoon be obliged to enter into a war with
he King of Syria, who made new conqueſts every
day in Aſia, and was preparing to enter Europe, with
he reſolution to aſſiſt Philip, who ſtill defended him-
ſelf, and to prevent him from being cruſhed by the
Romans.

C. CORNELIUS.
Q. MINUCIUS. A. R. 555. Ant. C. 197.

The Rhodians, on this occaſion, gave the Roman People a ſhining proof of their fidelity, and zeal for the general good of Greece. For, without being terrified by the formidable war, which ſo bold a ſtep might draw upon them, they ſent Ambaſſadors to Antiochus as far as Nephelis, a promontory of Cilicia, to declare to him, that if he advanced any farther, they would put to ſea againſt him with their fleet; not that they had any cauſe of enmity againſt him, but to prevent him from joining Philip, and that he ſhould not oppoſe the deſign of the Romans to reinſtate the liberty of Greece. Though the commiſſion Liv. xxxiii. 20.

* Multis plebiſcitis obviam itum fraudibus: quæ totiens repreſſæ, miras per artes rurſum oriebantur. TACIT. Annal. vi. 16.

A. R. 555. Ant. C. 197. with which theſe Ambaſſadors were charged was highly of a nature to exaſperate a Monarch ſo powerful as Antiochus, he ſtifled the emotions of his rage, and told them: "That he would ſend his Ambaſſadors to Rhodes, with orders to renew the alliances which his anceſtors and himſelf had made with that Commonwealth, and to aſſure it that neither itſelf nor its allies had any thing to apprehend from a Prince, who had no deſign againſt them; and that as to the Romans, it was evident, that he had no deſire to break with them, from the embaſſy he had lately ſent to them, and the obliging and honourable anſwers returned to him by the Senate." For, indeed, the Ambaſſadors of whom he ſpoke, were lately returned from Rome, where they had met with the moſt favourable reception, and had been treated on their departure with all poſſible marks of amity and good-will. In which the Romans, according to the uſual rules of policy, had acted conformably to the preſent ſtate of their affairs: for they were ſtill uncertain concerning the ſucceſs of the war in Macedonia.

A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196.

L. Furius Purpureo.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Liv. xxxiii. 34, 35. When that war was terminated, the Romans aſſumed a new ſtile. In the audience, which Quintius and the ten commiſſioners of the Senate gave ſeveral Ambaſſadors of the Kings and Republicks, thoſe of Antiochus were introduced firſt. And upon their only giving them words to no effect, as they had done at Rome, they were told, not in ambiguous terms, as before, when they had Philip to fear, but in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs manner, "that he muſt abandon the cities of Greece and Aſia, which had been in the poſſeſſion of Philip, or Ptolomy, and muſt leave thoſe which were free in tranquillity. That, in particular, neither himſelf, nor his armies, muſt enter Europe." When the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, three of thoſe commiſſioners ſet out for the court of Antiochus.

That

That Prince had perſevered in his views. The three commiſſioners and a deputy ſent from Rome, found him at Lyſimachia, the principal city of the Thracian * Cherſoneſus, employed in rebuilding it. They were attended by ſome deputies from the Grecian cities of Aſia. In the firſt interviews which the Romans had with the King, every thing paſſed in formalities, and reciprocal profeſſions of amity. But when they came to treat of affairs, things had a very different aſpect. L. Cornelius, who ſpoke, demanded, "That Antiochus ſhould reſtore to Ptolomy all the cities he had uſurped from him: that he ſhould evacuate all thoſe which had belonged to Philip, and which he had ſurprized whilſt the King of Macedonia was employed againſt the Romans; it not being juſt that he ſhould reap the fruits of a war, which had cauſed the latter ſo many fatigues and dangers: that he ſhould leave the Grecian cities of Aſia that enjoyed their liberty at peace. He added, that the Romans were much ſurprized, that Antiochus had entered Europe with two numerous land and ſea armies, and that he was repairing the city of Lyſimachia: enterprizes, which could have no purpoſe but to attack them."

A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196. Liv. xxxiii. 39, 40. Polyb. xvii. 769, 770. App. de bell. Syr. p. 86—89.

Antiochus anſwered all this article by article. "Firſt, Ptolomy was going to be his ſon-in-law, and that he ſhould have ſatisfaction, when the marriage, which was already concluded, took effect. That as to the Grecian cities, which demanded to retain their liberty, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to hold it. As to Lyſimachia, he ſaid that he rebuilt it for a place of reſidence for his ſon Seleucus: that Thrace, and the Cherſoneſus, which was a part of it, were his; that they had been conquered from Lyſimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his anceſtors, and that he came thither as to his own inheritance. As to Aſia, and the cities he had taken from Philip, he did not know by what title the Romans

* A Peninſula of Romania in Turky in Europe.

A. R. 556. Ant. C. 196. tended to diſpute the poſſeſſion of them with him. That he deſired them to intermeddle no more in the affairs of Aſia, than he did in thoſe of Italy."

The Romans having demanded, that the deputies from Smyrna and Lampſacus ſhould be introduced, they had audience. They ſpoke in ſo free a manner as highly exaſperated Antiochus, and he cried out in a paſſion, that he did not refer thoſe affairs to the arbitration of the Romans, but accepted the Rhodians for judges. The aſſembly ſeparated in diſorder; none of the parties being ſatisfied, and every thing tending to an open rupture.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. PORCIUS.

Liv. xxxiii. 44. When the ten commiſſioners, ſent to regulate the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome, and had given an account of their commiſſion, they informed the Senate, "that they muſt expect and prepare for a new war, ſtill more dangerous than that they had lately terminated. That Antiochus had entered Europe with a ſtrong ſea and land-army. That upon a falſe report of Ptolomy's death, he had already ſet out to ſeize Egypt, without which Greece would at this time have been the theatre of war. That the Ætolians, a reſtleſs people, and very ill-inclined to Rome, would not continue long in peace."

Ibid. 45. Another affair no leſs ſerious engroſſed the Romans, and gave them juſt cauſe of apprehenſion: it regarded Hannibal. He had continued quiet at Carthage during ſix years from the concluſion of the peace with the Romans, and had filled the firſt offices in the State. During that time he had undertaken, and effected, a reformation in the adminiſtration of juſtice and the revenues. Peace and civil affairs were become a new ſcene of action for him, in which he ſhewed talents not inferior to thoſe, which have made us hitherto admire him in war; and ſuch as argued him one of thoſe ſuperior geniuſſes, born to excel in all things. The par-

particulars of theſe facts may be ſeen in the firſt volume of the Antient Hiſtory. A.R. 557. Ant. C. 195.

This double reformation introduced in the government, occaſioned great outcries againſt Hannibal. "His enemies wrote to the principal perſons, and their friends, at Rome perpetually, that he held ſecret intelligence with Antiochus King of Syria: that he often received couriers from him, and that that Prince had underhand ſent truſty perſons to him to concert meaſures for carrying on the war he meditated. * That he was of a fierce, inſuperable diſpoſition, like thoſe wild beaſts that it is impoſſible to tame. That he complained, that Carthage was enervated in idleneſs, and in a manner dozed in inaction. That only the ſound of arms could rouze them from their ſtupefaction, and reſtore them to their antient vigour." Theſe diſcourſes were hearkened to at Rome; and what had paſſed in the laſt war, of which he had been almoſt the ſole author and promoter, made them very probable.

Scipio always ſtrongly oppoſed the violent reſolutions ſome were for taking upon this head; repreſenting, that it was below the dignity of the Roman People to lend their name to the hatred and accuſations of Hannibal's enemies, to ſupport their unjuſt prejudices with their authority, and inveterately to purſue him in the boſom of his country, as if it had not ſufficed for the Romans to have overcome him in the field ſword in hand. Notwithſtanding remonſtrances ſo wiſe and ſo full of humanity, the Senate nominated three deputies, and inſtructed them to carry their complaints to Carthage, and to demand, that Hannibal ſhould be delivered up to them. When they arrived there, though they covered their voyage with a different pretext, Hannibal perceived, that he only was aimed at. He uſed frequently to Liv. xxxiii. 47. Ibid. 47.

* Ut feras quaſdam nunquam miteſcere, ſic immitem, implacabilem ejus viri animum eſſe. Marceſcere otio ſituque civitatem, queri eum, & inertia ſopiri [this word has been ſupplied for operis, which conveyed no ſenſe] nec, ſine armorum ſonitu, excitari poſſe. Liv.

A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. ſay, that the Romans had given the Carthaginians peace to make war upon him alone, which would end only with his life. He therefore reſolved to comply with the times; and after having taken all the meaſures neceſſary to his retreat, he appeared great part of the day in the public place, to avoid giving any ſuſpicion. In the evening, he quitted the city with two domeſticks, who knew nothing of his deſign, arrived on the coaſt of the ſea, and eſcaped in a veſſel, which he had cauſed to be provided ſecretly, * deploring the fate of his country more than his own.

The Roman Ambaſſadors being introduced into the Senate of Carthage, repreſented, "that they were well informed at Rome, that it was principally at Hannibal's ſollicitation, Philip had made war upon the Roman People. That the ſame Hannibal inceſſantly ſent letters and couriers to Antiochus with the ſame view, and that he would never reſt till he had kindled the flames of war throughout the univerſe. They added, that if the Carthaginians deſired to convince the Roman People, that the public council had no ſhare in all theſe intrigues, they ought not to ſuffer them to paſs with impunity." The Carthaginians anſwered, without heſitating, that they were diſpoſed to do all that the Romans ſhould think juſt and reaſonable.

Liv. xxxiii. 48. But Hannibal was no longer in their power. He landed at Tyre, the foundreſs of Carthage, where he was received as into another county. After having ſtayed there ſome days, he ſet out for Antioch, which the King had lately quitted; after whom he went to Epheſus. The arrival of a General of ſuch merit and reputation gave him great pleaſure, and did not a little contribute to determine him in reſpect to the war againſt the Romans: for hitherto he had alway ſeemed uncertain and fluctuating in reſpect to the choice he ſhould take.

* Sæpius patriæ, quam ſuos eventus miſeratus. Liv. Gronovius has ſubſtituted ſuos to ſuorum.

In

It was in this city that a philoſopher, who paſſed for the fineſt ſpeaker in Aſia, called Phormio, had the imprudence to talk a great while in the preſence of Hannibal upon the duties of a General of an army, and upon the rules of the art military. The whole audience was charmed with his eloquence. As the Carthaginian Captain was preſſed to give his opinion, offended at the arrogance of a philoſopher, who had taken upon him to give leſſons upon the ſubject of war to Hannibal: * "I have (ſaid he) ſeen many doating "old men in my life, but never ſaw ſo great a dotard "as Phormio before." A. R. 557. Ant. C. 195. Cic. de orat. ii. 75.

L. CORNELIUS.
Q. MINUCIUS. A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193.

On the ſide of Antiochus and the Romans, great preparations were made for an approaching war. Ambaſſadors came to Rome from all the States of Greece, a great part of Aſia Minor, and from ſeveral Kings. They had an immediate and favourable audience of the Senate: but, as the affair of Antiochus required much diſcuſſion, it was referred to Quintius and the ten commiſſioners, ſome of whom had already conferred with the King either in Aſia, or at the city of Lyſimachia. Liv. xxxiv. 37.

The diſpute was warm on both ſides. The King's Ambaſſadors, on the propoſals made to them by Quintius, declared, "that they were ſtrangely ſurprized, that their maſter having ſent them ſolely to make an alliance with the Romans, they ſhould take upon them to give him the law, and to preſcribe to him what cities he ſhould keep, and what abandon. That they might act in that manner with Philip, whom they had granted peace, after having defeated him, and not with Antiochus, with whom they had never been at war."

* Reſpondiſſe fertur: multos ſe deliros ſenes ſæpe vidiſſe; ſed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidiſſe neminem.

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. Quintius, far from abating any thing of his firſt propoſals, explained himſelf more preciſely, and ſaid: "That he had two things to propoſe to them, without one of which they might inform the King, that he muſt not expect the amity of the Romans. The firſt is, that if he would not have us intermeddle with what regards Aſia, he muſt on his ſide abſolutely renounce Europe. The ſecond, that if he refuſes to keep within the bounds of Aſia, and is determined to extend his ſway into Europe, he ought not to think it ſtrange, that the Romans believe themſelves alſo in the right to retain the friends they have already in Aſia, and even to make new ones there."

Hegeſianax, who ſpoke for the King, replied, "That there was an enormous difference between depriving Antiochus of the cities of Thrace and the Cherſoneſus, which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed in right of conqueſt, and excluding the Romans from entering Aſia, where they had never poſſeſſed an inch of land. That the King, their maſter, was deſirous to make an alliance with the Romans, that might do him honour, and not a treaty that might reflect ſhame upon him."

Quintius, in concert with his Collegues, after much diſcourſe and many replies, gave his final anſwer to the King's Ambaſſadors, "That the Romans perſiſted in the reſolution they had taken of giving liberty to the Grecian cities of Aſia, as they had done to thoſe of Europe: that they ſhould conſider, whether this condition ſuited Antiochus." They anſwered, "that they neither had the will nor the power to accept any condition, that tended to depriving Antiochus of any part of his dominions." The conference ended without any thing being concluded.

The next day, Quintius introduced all the Ambaſſadors of Greece and Aſia into the Senate, and after having informed them of all that had paſſed on both ſides in the conference, he directed each of them to tell thoſe who ſent them, "that the Roman People were determined to defend their liberty againſt Antiochus

tiochus with the ſame zeal and courage, as they had evidenced againſt Philip, and that he was in hopes to do it with the ſame ſucceſs." The Ambaſſadors of Antiochus conjured the Senate, "to precipitate nothing in an affair of that importance; to give the King time to reflect; and to do ſo themſelves on their ſide, before they proceeded to a reſolution, which would diſturb the tranquillity of the univerſe." Nothing was yet determined; and the ſame Ambaſſadors were deputed to the King as had conferred with him at Lyſimachia, namely, Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius. A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193.

They were ſcarce ſet out, when Carthaginian Ambaſſadors arrived at Rome, and informed the Senate that Antiochus, at Hannibal's inſtigation, was certainly making preparations for a war. This news gave the Romans ſome diſquiet, and made them apprehend, that the Carthaginians alſo, allured by the example of their principal citizen, might reſume arms. Hannibal, as has been ſaid already, had retired to Antiochus. That Prince received him with abundance of kindneſs and diſtinction, expreſſed all poſſible eſteem for him, and did him all manner of honours as a Captain of ſingular merit, who by his counſels, and reputation only, might be of great ſervice to him in the deſign he meditated. Hannibal's opinion then, in which he always perſiſted, was, "that it was neceſſary to carry the war into Italy. That by that means the enemy's country would furniſh them with troops and proviſions. That if that country was left in peace, and the Romans ſuffered to make war abroad, there was no State, nor King, capable of withſtanding them. In a word, that Rome could only be conquered in Rome itſelf." He aſked only an hundred galleys, ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. He declared, "that with this fleet he would firſt go to Africa, where he was in hopes of engaging the Carthaginians to join him; and that if he did not ſucceed, he would go directly to Italy, where he ſhould find means to give the Romans employment enough. That it was neceſſary, Liv. xxxiv. 60.

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. neceſſary, that the King ſhould go to Europe with the reſt of his troops, and that he ſhould ſtop in ſome part of Greece, without going thither yet, and always keeping himſelf in a readineſs to go, thereby to give the Romans continual alarms." The King reliſhed this project extremely at firſt; and it was indiſputably the beſt choice he could make.

Liv. xxxiv. 61. Hannibal believed it neceſſary to prejudice and prepare the friends he had at Carthage, in order to make them the readier to come into his views. Beſides that letters are little ſafe, they are not ſufficiently explanatory, nor do not enter enough into particulars. He therefore ſent a truſty perſon, and gave him his inſtructions. His name was Ariſton, a native of Tyre. He was no ſooner arrived at Carthage, than the reaſon of his coming was ſuſpected. Spies were placed upon him, he was watched, and at laſt meaſures were taken to ſeize him. But he prevented them, and eſcaped in the night, after having cauſed to be affixed over the very chair, where the magiſtrate ſat every day, a writing in which were theſe words in large characters: THE ORDERS WITH WHICH ARISTON WAS CHARGED, WERE NOT TO APPLY TO ANY CITIZEN IN PARTICULAR, BUT TO THE SENATORS IN GENERAL. The Senate judged it proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the Conſuls and Senate, of what had paſſed on this occaſion, and at the ſame time to complain of the injuries the Commonwealth of Carthage had received from Maſiniſſa.

Ibid. 62. That Prince had alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome. Accordingly the Senate, after having heard the reaſons of both parties, nominated deputies, at the head of whom was Scipio Africanus, to terminate the affair upon the ſpot. The queſtion was concerning a country called Emporia, ſituated round the ſmaller Syrtis. That country was extremely fertile. The city of Leptis alone paid the Carthaginians a talent (a thouſand crowns) as a tribute daily. The deputies returned without having decided any thing, undoubtedly conſidering, that neutrality as more ſuitable to the

the preſent ſituation of affairs, than a determination, which could not but have diſcontented one ſide or the other. Wherefore then did the Senate make themſelves arbitrators of the difference, and why did they aſſume the quality of judges? Such a policy does them no honour. That illuſtrious body began to adhere with little ſincerity to the rules of ſtrict juſtice, when contrary to the intereſt of the State, and it became a cuſtom with them not to be ſo ſcrupulous in that point, as they had been in earlier times. A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193.

C. Cornelius Cethegus, one of the two Cenſors, cloſed the Luſtrum. The number of the citizens were found to amount to an hundred, or more probably to two hundred and forty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and four. Liv. xxxv. 9.

This ſame year the ardour of the candidates for attaining the Conſulſhip was greater and more exceſſive than ever. The moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt powerful perſons of the two orders ſtood for it. But thoſe who drew upon themſelves the moſt attention of the citizens, where L. Quintius Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet in Greece, and P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica the ſon of Cneus, who had done ſuch great actions in Spain. They were both Patricians by birth. What divided the ſuffrages moſt, was the credit and favour of their * brothers, (*fratres*) the two greateſt Generals of their time. Scipio Africanus had acquired a more ſhining degree of glory, but for that reaſon more expoſed to envy; the reputation of Quintius was more recent, and he had triumphed this year. † To which we may add, that the firſt had always been in the ſight of the citizens during ten years, which familiarity uſually leſſens the conſideration people have for great men, as Cicero obſerves in his ora- Liv. ibid. 10.

* Scipio was only couſin-german to Scipio Naſica the candidate. Couſin-germans were called in Latin, Fratres Patrueles, and own brothers, Fratres Germani.

† Iſta noſtra aſſiduitas, ſervi, neſcis quantum interdum afferat hominibus faſtidii, quantum ſatietatis——Utrique noſtrûm deſiderium nihil obfuiſſet. Pro Mur. 21.

tion

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. tion for Muræna. Beſides which, ſince his having conquered Hannibal, the People had conferred a ſecond Conſulſhip, and the Cenſorſhip, upon him. A laſt reaſon, which however Livy paſſes over in ſilence, might have greatly alienated the Plebeians againſt him, was the new cuſtom introduced in his ſecond Conſulſhip, and authorized by him, of giving diſtinguiſhed places to the Senators in the ſhews. The favour, and credit of Quintius had ſtill the force of novelty; time, to uſe the expreſſion, not having faded its bloom and luſtre. Since his triumph he had neither aſked any thing, nor received any reward. He obſerved to the People that he ſollicited, not for a couſin, but a brother, who had been Lieutenant and ſecond in the war ſo gloriouſly terminated, and who had acted againſt the enemies of the Commonwealth by ſea, and at the ſame time that he on his ſide had acted againſt them by land. For theſe reaſons the preference was given to an unworthy perſon, as will appear in the ſequel, over a competitor, who was preſented by Scipio Africanus his couſin-german, and by the whole family of the Scipios, in an aſſembly held by a Conſul of the Cornelian houſe, of which the Scipios were a branch; and who beſides had the glorious recommendation of the whole Senate, who in appointing him to receive the mother of the Gods into the city, had declared him the moſt worthy man of the Commonwealth. Scipio Africanus could not even obtain the office of Plebeian Conſul for C. Lælius, whom he alſo ſupported with his recommendation. Quintius had Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus for collegue.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Ætolians ſend Ambaſſadors to Nabis, Philip, and Antiochus, to induce them to take arms againſt the Romans. Nabis begins the war. Roman Ambaſſadors to Antiochus. Converſation between Scipio and Hannibal. Interview of Villius with the King, and then with his miniſter. Antiochus holds a great council upon the war with the Romans. Hannibal enters into an ecclairciſſement with Antiochus, and is favourably heard. Return of the Ambaſſadors to Rome. Deputies ſent into Greece. Expedition of Philopæmen againſt Nabis. Thoas is ſent by the Ætolians to Antiochus, and preſſes him to come to Greece. Quintius undeceives the Magneſians; they continue more attached than ever to the Romans. General aſſembly of the Ætolians, in which, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Quintius, Antiochus is called in to deliver Greece. Perfidious enterprize of the Ætolians againſt three cities. Death of the tyrant Nabis. Antiochus meditates going to Greece. Thoas makes him conceive jealouſy of Hannibal. Antiochus goes to Europe. Speech of that Prince in the aſſembly of the Ætolians. He is declared Generaliſſimo. He makes an ineffectual attempt upon Chalcis. Aſſembly of the Achæans. Speech of Antiochus's Ambaſſadors. Speech of the Ambaſſadors of the Ætolians. Quintius's anſwer. The Achæans declare againſt Antiochus. That Prince makes himſelf maſter of Chalcis and of all Eubœa.

ROME at that time had no greater enemies than the Ætolians. Thoas, who was then their ſupreme magiſtrate, inceſſantly animated them, by repreſenting with heat and paſſion the contempt the Romans had conceived for them, ſince the victory gained over Philip, in which the Ætolians had however had a great ſhare. His remonſtrances had the deſired effect. In a general aſſembly held at Naupactus, Damocritus was deputed to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. Liv. xxxv. 12.

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. cæarchus Thoas's brother to Antiochus, with particular inſtructions to each of thoſe Princes, but all tending to the ſame end, that is to engage them all, though by different motives, to declare againſt the Romans.

The firſt repreſented to the tyrant of Sparta, "that the Romans had entirely maimed his power by depriving him of the maritime cities, as it was from them he had his ſhips, troops, and ſeamen. That ſhut up in a manner within his walls, he had the grief to ſee the Achæans reign throughout Peloponneſus. That he would never have ſuch an occaſion as offered at preſent for recovering his former power. That the Romans had no army in Greece; that he might eaſily ſeize Gythium, which was very commodious; and that the taking of ſuch a city as that would not ſeem an occaſion of ſufficient importance for tranſporting the Roman legions into Greece."

Nicander had ſtill ſtronger motives for animating Philip, who had been reduced from a much more exalted ſtate, and from whom more had been taken than from the tyrant. "Beſides this he enlarged upon the antient glory of the Kings of Macedonia, and the Univerſe conquered by their arms. He added, that there was no riſque in the choice he propoſed to him. That he did not aſk him to declare himſelf before Antiochus was arrived in Greece with his army. "And if you alone, continued he, without the aid of "Antiochus, have with your own forces ſuſtained war "againſt the Romans and Ætolians united together, "how will the Romans reſiſt you now, when you have "Antiochus and the Ætolians for allies?" He did not forget the circumſtance of Hannibal, the native enemy of the Romans, and who had killed them more Generals and ſoldiers than they now had left."

Dicæarchus moved Antiochus another way. "He above all inſinuated, that in the war againſt Philip the Romans had the advantage of the defeat of that Prince, but that the honour of the victory had been entirely due to the Ætolians. That they alone had opened them

em an entrance into Greece, and that they had en- A. R. 559.
bled them to defeat the enemy by lending them their Ant. C. 193.
rces. He made a long enumeration of the infantry
d cavalry with which they ſhould ſupply him, as
ell as of the fortreſſes and ſea-ports of which they
ere maſters. As to Philip and Nabis, who were not
reſent to gainſay him, he declared as boldly as if he
ad been commiſſioned by them, that they were re-
lved to join him, and to take the firſt occaſion that
ould offer to recover what they had loſt in the pre-
ding war."

Such were the endeavours of the Ætolians, to ex-
ite enemies on all ſides againſt Rome. The two Kings
owever did not proceed to do any thing at that time,
nd he who afterwards entered into their party deter-
ined to do ſo ſlowly.

As to Nabis, he ſent immediately to all the mari- Liv. xxxv.
ime places, to induce them to revolt. He brought 13.
ver many of the principal perſons by preſents, and
ecretly made away with thoſe whom he found inflexi-
ly attached to the Romans. Quintius, on leaving
reece, had directed the Achæans to be upon their
uard for the defence of the maritime cities. They
mmediately ſent deputies to the tyrant, to put him
n mind of the treaty, which he had made with the
Romans, and to exhort him not to break a peace, he
ad demanded and deſired with ſo much ardour. At
he ſame time they ſent aid to Gythium, which the ty-
ant had already beſieged, and Ambaſſadors to Rome
o give an account of all that paſſed.

Antiochus did not declare yet, but he took mea-
ures ſecretly for the great deſign he meditated. I
ave ſaid before that the Romans had ſent Sulpicius,
Ælius, and Villius, as Ambaſſadors to that Prince.
They were ordered to go firſt to Eumenes. Accord-
ngly they repaired to Pergamus, the capital of his
kingdom. They found him extremely deſirous, that
war ſhould be declared againſt Antiochus, becauſe con-
cluding his overthrow inevitable, he was in hopes of
deriving great advantages from it.

Sulpi-

A.R. 559. Ant. C. 193. Sulpicius, being left ſick at Pergamus, Villius, who had been informed, that Antiochus was carrying on a war in Piſidia, repaired to Epheſus, where he found Hannibal. He had many converſations with him in which he endeavoured, but ineffectually, to perſuade him, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans. But he ſucceeded better, in caſe that was his deſign, in rendering him ſuſpected to the King. In making the Carthaginian frequent viſits, and profeſſing great amity for him, he gave Antiochus a diſtruſt of him, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to obſerve.

Liv. xxxv. 13. Livy cites hiſtorians, who related, that Scipio Africanus was one of theſe Ambaſſadors, and that it was he, who had the converſations with Hannibal, of which I have juſt ſpoke. He gives us one of them, after theſe authors, circumſtantially enough, and tells us, "that Scipio having aſked Hannibal, whom he judged that they ought juſtly to conſider as the greateſt of Generals," the Carthaginian replied, "Alexander "the Great; becauſe with a ſmall number of Macedonians he had defeated armies of innumerable "troops, and had led his victorious ſoldiers to the extremities of the Univerſe with as much eaſe, as if he "had only travelled for his pleaſure." "And whom," continued Scipio, "do you rank next Alexander?" "Pyrrhus," ſaid Hannibal. "It was he, who firſt "taught the art of incamping and chuſing poſts well, "and of placing bodies of troops in ſuch a manner "as to be always capable of ſuſtaining each other on "occaſion. Beſides which, no man ever had ſo much "addreſs as that Prince in conciliating People to his "intereſts; which talent he poſſeſſed in ſo high a degree, that entirely ſtranger as he was, the ſtates of "Italy preferred his government to that of the Romans, who had ſo long held the firſt rank in their "country." "Laſtly," reſumed Scipio, "I deſire to "know to whom you give the third place. Why "that," replied Hannibal, "I think I may venture "to give myſelf." "Yourſelf," ſaid Scipio ſmiling! "And

And what would you have ſaid if you had conquered me?" "In that caſe," ſaid Hannibal, "I ſhould boldly have placed myſelf above Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all the great captains of whom we have any knowledge." * Scipio was ſtruck with his ſubtle anſwer, which conveyed a refined praiſe he did not expect. For Hannibal ſeemed in it to give him the preference to all others, and to leave him apart as a General, with whom none were comparable. Livy does not give us this converſation as certain; and there are reaſons to ſuſpect it. A.R. 559. Ant. C. 193.

Villius went from Epheſus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired after having terminated the war with the Piſidians. Their interview paſſed in diſputes little different from thoſe which the King's Ambaſſadors had before with Quintius at Rome. Theſe conferences were interrupted by the news that Prince received at this time of his eldeſt ſon's death, who was univerſally regretted. Villius, to avoid importunity at a time of mourning and ſadneſs, returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpicius perfectly recovered. The King ſent for them ſoon after. They had a conference with his miniſter, which terminated in reciprocal complaints, after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing. Liv. xxxv. 15—17.

As ſoon as they were gone, Antiochus held a great council upon the preſent affairs, in which they emulated each other in exclaiming againſt the Romans, knowing That to be a certain means for making their court to the Prince. "Some enlarged upon the haughtineſs of their demands, and thought it ſtrange, that they ſhould preſume to impoſe laws upon the greateſt King of Aſia, as if they had to do with a conquered Nabis: nay, they had treated the latter with more favour, having left him maſter and ſovereign in Lacedæmon his country, whilſt they ſeeemed to think it wrong that Smyrna and Lampſacus ſhould be in the Liv. ibid. 17, 18.

* Et perplexum Punico aſtu reſponſum & improviſum aſſentationis genus Scipionem moviſſe, quod egregie ſe imperatorem velut ineſtimabilem ſecreviſſet.

A. R. 559. Ant. C. 193. poſſeſſion of Antiochus. Others affirmed, that thoſe cities were of too ſmall importance for ſo great a Monarch, and were not worth his taking arms for their preſervation: but that injuſtice always covered its ambitious pretenſions at firſt with ſimple and modeſt demands, which it ſoon carried into the greateſt exceſſes." Alexander of Acarnania, whom the hope of a better fortune had induced to quit the court of Philip after the loſſes of that Prince, to go to that of Antiochus, over whom he had gained an entire aſcendant, was of this council. As if the queſtion had been to deliberate not whether war was to be made or not, but where and how it was to be made, "he aſſured the King of certain victory if he went to Europe, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in ſome part of Greece. He ſaid with an air of aſſurance that the Ætolians, who poſſeſſed the centre of it, would declare the firſt againſt the Romans. That at the two extremities, Nabis, on one ſide, would make all Peloponneſus take arms againſt them; and on the other, that Philip ſtill more diſcontented, and like thoſe animals which chains render more furious, would not fail to arm alſo, on the firſt ſignal of war. That there was no time to loſe, and that the deciſive point was to ſeize advantageous poſts, and to ſecure allies. He added, that it was neceſſary to ſend Hannibal forthwith to Carthage, in order to embarraſs and employ the Romans."

Liv. xxxv. 19. Hannibal, whom his converſations with Villius had rendered ſuſpected to the King, was not called to this council. He had before perceived on many other occaſions, that the King was grown very cool in reſpect to him, and did not expreſs the ſame confidence in him. He came to an explanation with him, in which he freely ſpoke his thoughts. Mentioning the earlieſt years of his youth, when he had ſworn eternal enmity to the Romans upon the altars of the Gods: "It is "that oath," ſaid he, "that hatred, that hath kept "me in arms during thirty-ſix years, that hath driven "me out of my country in time of peace, and hath

"obliged

" obliged me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. A. R. 559.
" If you fruſtrate my hopes, through the ſame hatred Ant. C.
" which will never expire but with my life, I will go 193.
" wherever there are forces and arms to excite enemies
" againſt the Romans. For this reaſon I adviſe ſuch
" of your friends, who make their court to you at
" my expence, to invent ſome other ſubject for their
" calumnies. I hate the Romans, and am hated by
" them. I call the manes of my father Amilcar and
" the Gods to witneſs this. As long as you intend
" to make war with them, you may place Hannibal
" in the number and at the head of your friends. If
" any reaſon ſhould incline you to peace, you muſt take
" the counſel of others, not of me." Antiochus, moved with this diſcourſe, ſeemed to reſtore Hannibal to all his friendſhip and confidence.

L. QUINTIUS. A. R. 568.
CN. DOMITIUS. Ant. C. 192.

The ambaſſadors that had been ſent to the King being returned to Rome, it was evident from their report of their commiſſion, that a war with Antiochus was to be expected: but they did not judge that there was yet ſufficient reaſon to arm againſt him. The caſe was not the ſame in reſpect to Nabis the tyrant of Sparta, who had openly broken the treaty, and who was actually attacking all the maritime cities of Laconia. The Prætor Atilius was ſent to Greece with a fleet to defend the allies. Liv. xxxv. 20.

As Antiochus had not yet declared himſelf, the two Conſuls had orders to repair to their provinces and went into the country of the Boii, which they ſeparately ravaged. The Prætors had alſo good ſucceſs in Spain. Ibid.

The wars which then employed the arms of the Commonwealth gave the Senators leſs diſquiet, than that which they ſaw ready to break out on the ſide of Antiochus. Upon the different rumours that ſpread concerning his deſigns, they took different precautions Ibid. 23.

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192. for the ſecurity of the Commonwealth wherever he might attack it. They judged it alſo neceſſary to ſend four deputies into Greece, to obſerve the ſtate of affairs upon the ſpot, to take care of the intereſts of the allies, and to continue them in their amity and attachment for the Romans. T. Quintius was of this number, and at the head of the reſt.

Liv. xxxv. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. 363, 364. Nabis in the mean time attacked Gythium with all his forces, and, inraged againſt the Achæans for having ſent the beſieged aid, he ravaged their country to be revenged of them. At that time the famous Philopæmen was their General, of whom I have ſpoke more at large in the Antient Hiſtory. They ſent him againſt Nabis, whom he at firſt attacked with his fleet: but as he had little experience in naval affairs, he was defeated. He ſoon had his revenge by land, and gained a victory over Nabis, which however did not prevent him from making himſelf maſter of Gythium. Philopæmen, with deſign to force Nabis to quit his enterprize againſt Gythium, which he did not know the tyrant had taken already, advanced towards Sparta itſelf, as to beſiege it. Nabis immediately flew to the aid of his country. A ſecond battle much more bloody than the former was fought; and ſo great a number of the Lacedæmonians were either killed or taken in it, that the tyrant had ſcarce the fourth part of his army left. He had retired during the battle into the city. Philopæmen, ſeeing that he ſhut himſelf up in it, and not believing himſelf in a condition to beſiege it in form, paſſed the thirty following days in ravaging the lands of Laconia. Having thus reduced him to the laſt extremities, he retired home with great glory, and in a manner triumphant.

During this expedition of the Achæans againſt Nabis, the Ætolians had ſent an embaſſy to Antiochus, to exhort him to enter Greece. Thoas the principal of thoſe deputies repreſented to him, "that the Romans, having withdrawn their army from Greece, had left it without defence: that he could not have a more favourable occaſion for ſeizing it: that he would find

find every thing diſpoſed to receive him: and that he had only to ſhew himſelf to make himſelf maſter of the country." This ſoothing picture, which they gave gave him of the affairs of Greece, ſtruck him extremely, and ſcarce left him the leaſt doubt in reſpect to the reſolution he ſhould take. A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

Quintius, in paſſing through Greece with the other deputies, had found all the ſtates in a very good diſpoſition except the Magneſians, who had been alienated from the Romans by the ſpreading of a report, that they were determined to deliver up the city of Demetrias to Philip, which belonged to the Magneſians. Quintius had occaſion for all his eloquence and all his addreſs to remove the falſe prejudices they had conceived upon that head; and he happily ſucceeded. Eurylochus, the author of theſe ſeditious reports, not believing himſelf ſafe in the country, took refuge amongſt the Ætolians. Liv. xxxv. 31, 32.

Thoas, who held the firſt rank in Ætolia, and who had been ſent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought Menippus with him, whom the King had ſent as his Ambaſſador to the Ætolians. Before the general aſſembly was called, thoſe two perſons had taken pains in concert to prepare and prejudice the People, by enlarging emphatically upon the King's armies by ſea and land, his numerous troops of infantry and cavalry, the elephants which he had ſent for from India, and eſpecially (which was a powerful motive with the multitude) the immenſe ſums of gold, which the King would bring along with him, ſufficient to buy even the Romans themſelves. Ibid. 33.

Quintius was punctually informed of all that was ſaid and paſſed in Ætolia. Though every thing ſeemed deſperate on that ſide, however, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf, and to place the Ætolians ſtill more in the wrong, he judged it proper to ſend ſome deputies from the Allies to the aſſembly, to put the Ætolians in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be on the ſpot freely to anſwer what the Ambaſſador of Antiochus might advance.

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192. He charged the Athenians with this commiſſion, whom the dignity of their city and their antient amity with the Ætolians qualified better than any of the other ſtates.

Thoas opened the aſſembly with informing it that there was an Ambaſſador arrived from King Antiochus. He was made to enter. He began with ſaying, "that it might juſtly have been deſired by the people of Greece and Aſia, that Antiochus had interfered ſooner in their affairs, and whilſt Philip's power ſtill ſubſiſted: that by that means each ſtate had retained its rights, and the whole had not fallen under the Roman yoke. But at preſent, ſaid he, if you put the deſigns you have formed in execution, Antiochus, with the aſſiſtance of the Gods, will be able to reinſtate the affairs of Greece in their antient ſplendor, in whatever bad ſituation they are at preſent."

The Athenians, who had audience next, "without ſaying a word of the King, confined themſelves to putting the Ætolians in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and of the ſervices Quintius had rendered all Greece, * conjuring them not to precipitate any thing in an affair of ſuch importance as that actually in queſtion. That bold reſolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might at firſt ſight have an agreeable aſpect: that the difficulties of them would afterwards be ſeen in the execution, and that they ſeldom were happy in the event. That the Roman Ambaſſadors, and Quintius amongſt them, were not far off. That whilſt every thing remained undecided, it ſeemed more wiſe to try the method of a conference with antient allies, in order to have what they conceived their due reſtored, than precipitately to involve Europe and Aſia in a war, which could not but have fatal conſequences."

The multitude, always fond of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even againſt admitting

* Ne temerè eam (Græciam) celeritate nimia conſiliorum everterent. Conſilia calida, & audacia prima ſpecie læta, tractatu dura, eventu triſtia eſſe.

the

the Romans into the aſſembly. The oldeſt and wiſeſt had occaſion for their whole credit to prevail, that they might be aſked to be preſent in it. Quintius repaired thither, leſs with the hope of making impreſſions upon people ſo much prejudiced, than to convince all the world, that the Ætolians were the ſole authors of the war upon the point of breaking out, and that the Romans only engaged in it againſt their will, and reduced by neceſſity. "He began by putting them in mind of the times when the Ætolians entered into an alliance with the Romans; ſlightly touched the different occaſions in which they failed in their engagements; and, after having ſaid ſomething of what actually was the reaſon or pretext for diſputes, he confined himſelf to obſerving, that if they conceived they had any juſt matter of complaint, it ſeemed much more reaſonable for them to make their remonſtrances to the Senate, who were always ready to hear them, than out of wantonneſs and caprice to ſtir up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would involve the Univerſe, and infallibly occaſion the ruin of thoſe who ſhould have promoted it." A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

The event proved the truth of his repreſentations, but they were ineffectual at that time. Thoas, and thoſe of his faction, were heard favourably, and prevailed without delay, and even in the preſence of the Romans, that Antiochus ſhould be called in by a decree to deliver Greece, and to be the arbiter between the Ætolians and the Romans. Upon Quintius's demanding a copy of this decree, Damocritus, who was then magiſtrate, forgot himſelf ſo far as to anſwer a man of ſo eſtimable a character with inſolence, "that he had many other affairs upon his hands at preſent, and that in a ſhort time he ſhould go in perſon to carry that decree to Italy, and to incamp upon the banks of the Tiber." So great a degree of infatuation and phrenzy had then ſeized the whole nation, and even the principal magiſtrates of

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192. the Ætolians! Quintius and the other Ambaſſadors returned to Corinth.

Liv. xxxv. 34 & 37. The Ætolians, till Antiochus arrived, and at the ſame time not to ſeem to rely ſolely upon his aid, took all poſſible meaſures on their ſide to change the preſent ſituation of Greece. Every body agreed, that in each ſtate the principal perſons, and particularly the worthieſt men, were in the intereſt of the Romans, and thought themſelves happy in being their allies; but that the multitude, and thoſe who were not ſatisfied with their preſent condition, were fond of a change. The Ætolians therefore, deſpairing of ſucceſs by the method of perſuaſion, reſolved to have recourſe to ſtratagem and ſurprize; and they were ſo bold in one and the ſame day to form three aſtoniſhing deſigns: theſe were to ſeize Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, at once. Three of the principal citizens were ſeverally appointed to execute theſe expeditions.

Diocles ſet out for Demetrias, and by the aſſiſtance of Eurylochus's faction, who was then an exile, and at that time appeared at the head of the troops Diocles had brought with him, he made himſelf maſter of the place.

Thoas had not the ſame ſucceſs at Chalcis. Thoſe who were at the head of the Roman party, and at the ſame time of the city, having apprehended the deſign of the Ætolians, kept themſelves ſo well upon their guard, that it was impoſſible to ſurprize them.

Ibid. 35. The attempt againſt Sparta was much more difficult. The queſtion was to ſurprize the moſt ſuſpicious of all mankind. Nabis had long ſollicited aid from the Ætolians. Alexamenes was placed at the head of a thouſand foot. To theſe thirty horſe were added, the flower of the youth, whom the magiſtrates commanded punctually to obey the orders of their leader, whatſoever they might be. Alexamenes was received by the tyrant with great joy. Some days after, going abroad together into the country, the horſe, in conſequence of the orders they had received, fell

fell upon Nabis, and killed him. Thus periſhed Nabis by treachery. Providence often makes uſe of one bad man to puniſh another. The crime of Alexamenes did not long paſs unpuniſhed. His firſt care was to regain the city immediately, in order to ſeize the palace, and the riches of the tyrant. Whilſt himſelf and his troops were ſolely employed in this, he was killed himſelf by the citizens, who in the tumult had taken arms for their own defence. A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

Whilſt the Ætolians were making all theſe motions, Antiochus was preparing to enter Greece. He was at a loſs how to behave in reſpect to Hannibal. After the ecclairciſſement, of which we have ſpoke, which had, as it ſeems, ſtifled all his ſuſpicions, he had determined to give him the command of part of his fleet to go to Africa, and raiſe troops there. But what havock does not flattery make in the courts and minds of Princes! The Ætolian Thoas uſed this method for removing Hannibal, whoſe credit with the King gave him umbrage. Firſt, he highly extolled the power of the Ætolians, who had made themſelves maſters of Demetrias; and after having dazzled and deceived many of the Greeks by the hyperbolical accounts he had given of the forces of Antiochus, he uſed the ſame artifice and the ſame falſity to ſwell the hopes and courage of the King. He gave him to underſtand that he was called in by all the ſtates, and that they ſhould no ſooner perceive his fleet at ſea, than they would all run with ardour to receive him. Liv. xxxv. 42, 43.

He afterwards undertook to diſſuade that Prince from his deſign of ſending Hannibal to Africa, by repreſenting to him, "that it was not conſiſtent with prudence to divide his fleet, and ſtill leſs to give the command of it to Hannibal. That he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom his fortune and genius might ſuggeſt a thouſand different projects in a day. That beſides, the very reputation itſelf which he had acquired in war, was too great for a meer lieutenant. That the King himſelf ought to appear ſole Chief, to be General, and attract the eyes and attention of the whole

A. R. 569. Ant. C. 192. whole army upon himſelf alone: whereas, if Hannibal was employed, that ſtranger only would have the glory of every good ſucceſs." * There are no ſpirits, ſays Livy, more ſuſceptible of jealouſy, than thoſe who have not a greatneſs of ſoul equal to their birth and degree: becauſe in that caſe all merit becomes odious to them, as ſomething foreign, in which they have no ſhare. And this appeared evidently on the preſent occaſion. This Prince had been taken by his blind ſide. A ſentiment of jealouſy, which is the ſign and defect of little minds, extinguiſhed all other thoughts and reflexions in him. He no longer ſet any value upon, or made any uſe of, Hannibal. The event fully avenged the latter, and demonſtrated what a misfortune it is for a Prince to open his heart to the mean ſuggeſtions of envy, and his ears to the poiſoned diſcourſe of flatterers.

Liv. xxxv. 43. Antiochus at length embarked with forty decked ſhips, ſixty not decked, and two hundred other veſſels laden with all kinds of proviſions and machines of war. He arrived firſt at Demetrias, where he landed ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants. Theſe forces would hardly have ſufficed, only to ſeize a defenceleſs country, and were far from being capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the Roman power. As ſoon as the Ætolians were informed of the arrival of Antiochus, they aſſembled their whole nation, and paſſed a decree by which they invited him to repair to their aſſembly. Upon receiving it, the King went to Lamia, where it was held. He was received there by an infinite multitude of people, who filled the air with acclamations, clapped their hands, and gave themſelves up to all the tranſports that uſually expreſs extraordinary joy.

Ibid. 44. When he was introduced into the aſſembly not without difficulty, the throng being ſo great, "he began by excuſing himſelf for coming with fewer

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam ſunt, quam eorum, qui genus & fortunam ſuam animis non æquant: quia virtutem, & (or rather ut) bonum alienum oderunt.

troops

troops than had been expected, intimating that ſuch ardour was a proof of his zeal for their intereſts, as at the firſt ſignal they had given him, he had ſet out, notwithſtanding the bad ſeaſon, and without waiting till all things were in readineſs: but that their expectation ſhould ſoon be anſwered. That as ſoon as the ſeaſon ſhould be proper for navigating, they ſhould ſee Greece covered with arms, men, horſes, and all the ſea-coaſts blocked up with galleys. That he would ſpare neither expence, pains, nor danger, really to deliver Greece, and for giving the Ætolians the firſt rank in it. That with his numerous armies, convoys of all ſorts would arrive from Aſia: that all they had to do was to ſupply his army at preſent with whatever was neceſſary." * This diſcourſe was more proper to dazzle the audience by pompous profeſſions, than to perſuade them with an air of truth. After having ſpoke thus the King withdrew. A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

Such a beginning could not pleaſe much; and accordingly the wiſeſt ſaw plainly, that Antiochus, inſtead of an effective and preſent aid as he had promiſed, gave them almoſt only very uncertain words, and diſtant and ſtill more doubtful hopes. Sentiments in conſequence were divided. Pheneas, who was then Prætor, was for having them only take Antiochus for mediator and arbitrator between them and the Romans, and not as Chief of the war: but Thoas carried the ſuffrages, and cauſed him to be declared Generaliſſimo. Thirty of the principal perſons of the State were given him as a council, to deliberate with them, when he ſhould judge it expedient. Liv. xxxv. 45.

The firſt matter conſulted between the King and the Ætolians, was to know by what expedition it was neceſſary to begin. It was judged proper that a new attempt ſhould be made upon Chalcis, and it was believed that to reduce that place required no great preparation nor efforts, and that it ſufficed to uſe expedi- Ibid. 46, 47.

* Plus in oratione dignitati, quam, fidei, erat. TACIT. Annal. l. 11.

tion.

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192. tion. They therefore repaired thither without loſs of time, but not with many troops. Was the King ignorant, that in war the firſt ſucceſſes determine the repute of arms for the ſequel? When they were near the city, he let the principal perſons of the Ætolians confer with the magiſtrates of Chalcis, who came out to meet them.

"The Ætolians warmly exhorted them to enter into an alliance with Antiochus, but without renouncing that of the Romans. They ſaid that Prince was come to Greece not to make war in it, but actually to deliver it, and not in mere words, as the Romans had done. That nothing could be more for the intereſt of the States of Greece, than to be in alliance at the ſame time with the two powers, becauſe the one would always defend them againſt the other, and in conſequence mutually keep each other in awe. That they might ſee, in caſe they did not take this reſolution, to what they expoſed themſelves, the aid of the Romans being remote, and the King preſent and at their gates."

Miction, one of the principal perſons of Chalcis, anſwered: "That he could not conjecture for the deliverance of whom Antiochus had quitted his kingdom, and had come to Greece. That he knew no city, that had received a Roman garriſon, that paid any tribute to Rome, or complained of being oppreſſed. That as for the Chalcidians, they had no occaſion for a deliverer, becauſe they were free; nor for any defender, as they lived at peace under the protection of the Romans. That they refuſed neither the amity of the King nor of the Ætolians: but that that Prince and they could not give them a greater proof of their amity than to quit their iſle, and retire. That they were fully determined, not only not to receive them into their city, but not to make any alliance with them except in concert with the Romans."

When this anſwer was reported to the King, who had remained on the ſhore near his ſhips, he choſe to return for the preſent to Demetrias, not having

brought a ſufficient number of troops with him to attack the place by force. So weak and ill-concerted a ſtep did him no honour, and was no good omen for the future. A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

They then turned a different way, and endeavours were uſed to bring over ſome of the States of Greece, and eſpecially the Achæans. The latter gave the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus and the Ætolians audience at Ægæ, where their aſſembly was held in the preſence of Quintius, Ambaſſador from the Romans. Liv. xxxv. 48.

The Ambaſſador of Antiochus ſpoke firſt. * He was a vain man, as thoſe generally are who live in the courts of Princes, and ſubſiſt by their favour; who fancied himſelf a fine ſpeaker, and aſſumed an emphatical and dictatorial tone. He ſaid, "That there was an innumerable body of cavalry paſſing the Helleſpont to enter Europe, conſiſting partly of cuiraſſiers, and partly of archers, who from their horſes, and even flying, diſcharged their darts turning about. To this cavalry, which alone was capable of overwhelming all the forces of Europe joined together, he added an infantry ſtill more numerous and formidable: Dahæ, Medes, Elymæans and Caduſians, names unknown and terrible. He affirmed, that there were not ports in Greece capable of containing his fleet, of which the right wing was compoſed of Tyrians and Sidonians, and the left of Aradians and the Sidetæ of Pamphylia, nations inconteſtably the moſt ſkilful and expert of all others in naval affairs. That it was to no purpoſe to mention the immenſe ſums the King was capable of furniſhing for this war; all the world knowing that the kingdoms of Aſia had always abounded in gold. That the other preparations of war might be judged of in the ſame proportion. That conſequently the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip, or an Hannibal, the latter a private citizen of Carthage, the other confined within the narrow Ibid.

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria, terraſque inani ſonitu verborum compleverat. L. v.

bounds

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192. bounds of his kingdom of Macedonia; but with the potent monarch of all Aſia, and part of Europe. That however, though he was come from the extremities of the eaſt for the deliverance of Greece, he required nothing of the Achæans contrary to the faith they believed they owed the Romans, their prior friends and allies. That he did not aſk them to join their arms with his, but ſolely that they ſhould remain neuter, without declaring for either one ſide or the other."

Liv. xxxv. 48. Archidamus, Ambaſſador from the Ætolians, ſeconded this diſcourſe, "adding, that the ſafeſt and moſt prudent choice the Achæans could take, was to continue mere ſpectators of the war, and to wait the event in peace, without having any ſhare in it, and without running any riſque." Then growing warm by degrees, he vented reproaches and injurious terms againſt the Romans in general, and perſonally againſt Quintius. "He treated them as ingrates, who had forgot that they were indebted to the courage of the Ætolians, not only for the victory gained over Philip, but for the ſafety of their army and General. For in a word, what function of a General had Quintius diſcharged in the battle? That he had ſeen him employed in this battle only in conſulting the auſpices, ſacrificing victims, and making vows, as if he acted in quality of an augur and prieſt; whilſt himſelf had expoſed his perſon and life to the darts of the enemy to defend and preſerve him."

Ibid. 49. Quintius replied to this: "That he well perceived, whom Archidamus had ſought to pleaſe by his diſcourſe. That convinced as he was of the perfect knowledge which the Achæans had of the character of the Ætolians, who made all their bravery conſiſt in words and not in actions, he had been at no pain about their eſteem, but had thought only of being of ſome weight with the King's Ambaſſadors, and by their means with the King himſelf: that if any could have been ignorant of the motives which had formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the

diſ-

diſcourſe of the Ambaſſador's evidently ſhewed them, that nothing had paſſed from both but lies and boaſts. That by making a parade of forces which they had not, they mutually deceived and flushed each other with falſe promiſes and empty hopes: the Ætolians on one ſide boldly advancing, as you have juſt heard, that they and they alone defeated Philip, and preſerved the Romans, and that they ſhould draw over all the States of Greece to their party; and the King, on the other, affirming that he was going to make innumerable armies of horſe and foot march, and to cover the ſea with his fleets." "This," ſays Quintius, "puts me in mind of an entertainment given me by "a friend at Chalcis, who was a very polite man, "and one that well knew how to make his gueſts "welcome. Surprized at the quantity and variety "of the diſhes that were ſerved up, we aſked him, "where he could poſſibly get ſo much game in the "month of June? This perſon, who was not vain-"glorious like theſe people, informed us laughing, "that in reality all this ſeeming game was only pork "differently ſeaſoned, and ſerved with different ſauces. "The thing is the ſame with reſpect to the King's "troops, of which ſo much has been boaſted, and whoſe "numbers have been magnified by great names. Da-"hæ, Medes, Caduſians, and Elymæans, all theſe "are but one and the ſame people, that is to ſay, Sy-"rians; and beſides a nation of ſlaves, rather than ſol-"diers, ſo baſe and ſervile are their ſouls. Can I "not repreſent to you, Achæans, all the motions and "expeditions of this great King, who now repairs to "the aſſembly of the Ætolians to beg an aid of pro-"viſions, and money; and then preſents himſelf be-"fore Chalcis, from whence he is obliged ſhamefully "to retire, after having viewed the port of Aulis and "the Euripus as the whole fruit of this extraordi-"nary expedition? Antiochus hath injudiciouſly relied "upon the empty promiſes of the Ætolians; and "the latter, in their turn, have ſuffered themſelves "to be dazzled by the boaſts of Antiochus and his "miniſters.

A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 192. "miniſters. This ought to teach you, Achæans, "not to ſuffer yourſelves to be ſurprized by their ar- "tifices, and to confide entirely in the faith of the "Romans, of which you have ſo often made trial. "I am amazed, that people venture to tell you, that "the beſt you can do, is to continue neuter. This "is a certain means; but it is to become the prey of "the victor."

Liv. xxxv. 50. The deliberation of the aſſembly of the Achæans was neither long nor doubtful. The reſult was, that war ſhould be declared againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. According to Quintius's advice, they made five hundred men of the auxiliary troops ſet out immediately for Chalcis, and as many for the Piræus.

Ibid. 51. Antiochus was informed by his Ambaſſadors of his bad ſucceſs in the aſſembly of the Achæans. To make himſelf amends, he made a new attempt againſt Chalcis, and approached it with a much greater body of troops than the firſt time. The faction contrary to the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The other cities of the iſland ſoon did the ſame; and he made himſelf maſter of all Eubœa (now called Negropont). He conceived it a great matter, to have began the firſt campaign by the conqueſt and reduction of ſo conſiderable an iſland. But what conqueſt is that, where the victor has no enemy to oppoſe him?

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

THIS book contains the ſpace of three years, 561, 562, 563. It contains the war of the Romans with Antiochus, terminated by the conqueſt of Aſia Minor, which acquired L. Scipio the ſurname of Aſiaticus.

SECT. I.

Religious preparations for the war with Antiochus. Military preparations for the ſame. Departure of the Conſul Acilius for Greece. The Senate's anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of Philip, Ptolomy, Maſiniſſa, and the Carthaginians, who came to offer the Romans aid. Antiochus holds a council of war at Demetrias. Fine Speech of Hannibal, which is followed in nothing. Antiochus takes ſome cities of Theſſalia. He marries a young woman of Chalcis, and paſſes the whole winter in feaſting. The Conſul Acilius arrives in Greece. Many cities ſurrender to him. Antiochus, deſtitute of all aid, retires into the ſtrait of Thermopylæ. Conſiderable victory gained by the Conſul Acilius over King Antiochus in the paſs of Thermopylæ. Cato had a great ſhare in this victory. Antiochus retires to Chalcis, and from thence to Epheſus. Cato carries the news of the victory to Rome. Acilius endeavours ineffectually to bring over

the Ætolians by gentle methods. He beſieges Heraclea, and takes it after above a month's reſiſtance. Philip beſieges the city of Lamia. It ſurrenders. The taking of Heraclea determines the Ætolians to demand peace. The hard conditions preſcribed by the Conſul, diſguſt them. Acilius forms the ſiege of Naupactus. Quintius ſaves that city, which was upon the point of being reduced. Ambaſſadors from Philip to Rome. Hannibal awakens Antiochus from the ſecurity in which he continued at Epheſus. Victory at ſea gained by Livius, Admiral of the Roman fleet, over that of Antiochus, near the port of Corycus. L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius are elected Conſuls.

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Liv. xxxvi. 1.

AS ſoon as the Conſuls had taken poſſeſſion of their office, the Senate ordered them to ſacrifice victims of the great kind in the principal temples, and to implore the Gods to grant the Senate and People of Rome their protection in the new war they were upon the point of undertaking. The auſpices declared that the entrails of thoſe victims foretold only happy events, that this war would terminate in victory, and extend the bounds of the empire farther than ever they had been before. The war in conſequence was decreed againſt Antiochus by the Senate and People. The Conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to Acilius, and Italy to Cornelius; and of the Prætors, Hiſpania Ulterior fell to L. Æmilius Paulus, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel with more extent. He commanded there in quality of Proconſul; for which reaſon Plutarch obſerves, he had twelve Lictors. Public prayers were decreed during two years: and ſolemn vows were made to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter during ten days, if the event of the war was favourable, and to make offerings in all the temples of the Gods. What a diſgrace would ſo religious, though blind, a paganiſm be

Plut. in Paul. Æmil.

e to ſuch Chriſtian Generals as could be aſhamed of A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
iety and religion!

Neither was any thing omitted on the ſide of human Liv. xxxvi. 2.
are. The Prætor C. Livius, to whom the command f the fleet had fallen, had orders to go to Greece as on as poſſible, with thirty ſhips, which he kept in adineſs, and to unite them with thoſe which he was receive from Atilius. Six deputies were ſent into frica, three to Carthage, and three to Numidia, to rocure corn to be tranſported into Greece, for which e Roman People were to pay. The ſame precau-ions were taken in Sicily and Sardinia. The care and reparations for this war engroſſed every body ſo uch, that the Conſul P. Cornelius forbade by a de-ree all Senators and Magiſtrates of the * ſecond claſs remove above one day's journey from Rome. He ſo at the ſame time prohibited more than four Sena-rs to be abſent from the city at once. The Conſul cilius, to be wanting in nothing to the ceremonies reſcribed, applied to the Fæciales, by order of the enate, to know whether the war was to be declared y word of mouth to Antiochus, or it ſufficed to ap-ly to ſome one of his cities; and whether it was ne-eſſary to declare war ſeparately againſt the Ætolians. he anſwer was, to the firſt point, that the thing was different; to the ſecond, that the Ætolians had de-lared war themſelves by the hoſtilities they had com-itted.

The Conſul Acilius, after having made proviſion r every thing, and appointed the fifteenth of May r the rendezvous of his troops at Brunduſium, ſet ut ſome days before from Rome.

At the ſame time, Ambaſſadors from Philip King Ibid. 4.
Macedonia, and Ptolomy King of Egypt, arrived Rome, whither they came to offer the Roman troops oney and proviſions for the war they were going to egin. Thoſe of Ptolomy brought before-hand a

* The magiſtrates of the firſt claſs were the Cenſors, Conſuls, and ætors: thoſe of the ſecond, the Ædiles, Queſtors, and Tribunes.

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. thouſand pounds of gold in weight, and twenty thouſand of ſilver. Thoſe two Princes were thanked for their generoſity and zeal; but their preſents were not accepted. And as both offered to enter Ætolia with all their forces, in order to make a diverſion in favour of the Commonwealth, the Senate expreſſed their gratitude to Ptolomy, but declined the offer. As to Philip, his Ambaſſadors were anſwered, that the Senate and People of Rome ſhould be obliged to him, if he would ſecond the Conſul Acilius well.

Ambaſſadors alſo arrived from the Carthaginians, and King Maſiniſſa. The former promiſed that their State ſhould tranſport to the Conſul's army five hundred thouſand buſhels of barley, and probably a greater number of buſhels of wheat; but that is omitted in the text of Livy. They deſired alſo that half this grain might be ſent to Rome, and that the Senate would be pleaſed to accept of it as a preſent. They added, that Carthage would fit out a fleet, and man it at their own expence, and would pay down directly all the ſums to the Roman People, that they were to diſcharge at different terms and in many years. The Ambaſſadors of Maſiniſſa declared, that their maſter would cauſe five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat to be tranſported to the army in Greece, with three hundred thouſand of barley; and to Rome three hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and two hundred thouſand of barley; and that he would ſend five hundred horſe and twenty elephants to the Conſul Acilius. As to the grain, both were anſwered, that the Romans would accept of it only upon condition of paying the value. The Carthaginians were thanked for their fleet, but only the ſhips were accepted, which they were to furniſh in virtue of the treaty; and they were told, that only the ſums they were to pay would be received, and that as they became due.

Liv. xxxvi. 6. Antiochus in the mean time, after having ſollicited many cities, either by his envoys, or in perſon, to enter into alliance with him, repaired to Demetrias, whither he had called a great aſſembly, to deliberate upon

upon the operations of the campaign, which was upon the point of being opened. Hannibal, who had not been admitted to council during a long time, was called in to this. The firſt point brought upon the carpet, related to the Theſſalians. The queſtion was to know whether gentle means or force ſhould be uſed for ſubjecting them. As opinions were much divided, Hannibal, who was deſired to give his, made a ſpeech, by which he led the King, and all who were preſent in this council, from the occaſion of this ſingle point, which was their ſole ſubject, into the general plan of the war. A. R. 561. Ant. C. 192.

" If, ſince our coming to Greece, (ſaid he) I had Liv. xxxvi. 1.
" been conſulted when the queſtion was concerning
" Eubœa, the Achæans and Bæotia, I ſhould have
" given you the ſame counſel concerning thoſe States,
" which I now do in reſpect to the Theſſalians. This
" counſel is, that previouſly to every thing we ſhould
" ſpare no pains to bring Philip and the Macedonians
" into our party upon any terms whatſoever. For,
" as to the other States, weak as they are in them-
" ſelves, who doubts, though they ſhould join us, but
" they would go over again to the Romans, as ſoon
" as they ſee their army in Greece? How much more
" advantageous therefore is it for us, to engage
" Philip in our alliance, who having once declared,
" cannot go back?

" Beſides which, if Philip joins us, will the Romans
" be able to reſiſt us, whilſt we oppoſe them with the
" ſame forces, which gave them the victory over that
" Prince, I mean the Ætolians and Athamantes, to
" whoſe courage, every body knows, they were in-
" debted for all their ſucceſſes againſt Philip. That
" Prince ſupported the whole weight of the war at
" that time alone: whereas at preſent the two great-
" eſt Kings of the Univerſe, with all the forces of
" Aſia and Europe, will act againſt a ſingle People,
" who in the time of our fathers were ſcarce capable
" of making head againſt the King of Epirus only:
" and you know what the power of Pyrrhus was,

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. " compared with ours. For I do not mention the " various ſucceſſes of the war I made againſt them: " thoſe are not unknown to you.

" But, ſomebody may ſay, is there any probability " that Philip will enter into our league? Two things " give me reaſon to hope ſo. Firſt, our common in- " tereſts, that are the ſame on both ſides, and really " inſeparable, which is the ſtrongeſt tie of treaties " and alliances: ſecondly, your diſcourſe, Ætolians. " For you are not ignorant, that Thoas your Am- " baſſador, who is preſent, has always affirmed as a " certain fact to whomſoever would hear him, that " Philip was incenſed to the higheſt degree, that the " Romans, under the falſe appearance of a peace, " had impoſed the yoke of real ſlavery upon him.

" But if, for reaſons unknown to us, he ſhould " have changed his ſentiments, and we ſhall not be " able to perſuade him to join us, at leaſt let us uſe " precautions to prevent him from joining the enemy. " Your ſon Seleucus," ſaid Hannibal, addreſſing him- to the King, " is at * Lyſimachia: order him to croſs " Thrace with his troops, and to ravage the frontier " of Macedonia. The neceſſity of defending his own " country, will not ſuffer Philip to march to the aid " of the Romans.

" And this, great King, is what I think in reſpect " to Philip. As to what concerns the general plan of " the war, you know what have always been my " ſentiments. If I had been heard at firſt, the " Romans had not now received advice at a great " diſtance of the taking of Chalcis and the fort of the " Euripus, but would have ſeen Tuſcany and Liguria " in flames, and, which is ſtill more terrible to them " than any thing, they would have ſeen Hannibal in " the heart of Italy. I am therefore of opinion, that " you ſhould cauſe all your forces both by ſea and " land to come hither, with a great number of tranſ- " ports laden with proviſions. For, though we are

* A city of the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

" here

" here but few in number with reſpect to the war we A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. " are undertaking, we are however too many for the " ſmall quantity of proviſions the country can ſupply. " When you have united all your forces, you will " ſend part of your fleet to Corcyra (Corfu) in order " to prevent the Romans from having a free paſſage " by ſea. You will alſo ſend another to the coaſt of " Italy next Sardinia and Africa. You will advance " yourſelves to the ſea-coaſt of Illyricum next Epirus, " from whence you will be at hand either to defend " Greece, or even to go to Italy, if your affairs make " it neceſſary. Theſe are my thoughts. I am not " perhaps very able in any other war; but I muſt " certainly have learnt from my good and bad ſuc- " ceſſes, in what manner it is neceſſary to make " war with the Romans. I can do no more than " give you my counſels, and offer you my ſervices. " May the Gods give ſucceſs to the reſolution you " ſhall take, whatſoever it be."

The aſſembly could not at that inſtant but approve Hannibal's opinion; and it was really the only advice that could be given Antiochus in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He however followed it in nothing, except making Polyxenidas ſet out for Aſia, to bring his fleet and troops from thence. As to all the reſt of Hannibal's plan, the King's courtiers and flatterers diſſuaded him againſt it, as they had done before, by repreſenting to him, " that he could not fail of victory: that if he followed Hannibal's ſcheme, that captain would have the whole glory of it, as he had formed it. That it was neceſſary the King ſhould have the whole glory of ſucceſſes; and in order to that, that himſelf ſhould form another plan, without regard to that of the Carthaginian." What advice was this, to reject a good plan becauſe it was another's! Nero was reproached with this wrong turn of mind, * who, in order to ſeem not to want counſel, always

* Ne alienæ ſententiæ indigens videretur, in diverſa ac deteriora tranſibat. TACIT. Annal. xv. 10.

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. choſe to act contrary to that given him, at the hazard of chuſing the worſt. And here we ſee in what manner the beſt counſels become ineffectual, and the greateſt empires are ruined. God in order to this hath only to ſuffer bad advice to prevail in the deliberations of Princes.

Liv. xxxvi. 8—10. The King, having joined his troops with thoſe of the allies, made himſelf maſter of Pheræ, and of ſome other cities in Theſſalia. He was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Lariſſa, Bæbius the Roman Prætor having ſent timely aid to it. Antiochus retired to Demetrias.

Ibid. 11. From thence he repaired to Chalcis, where he fell exceſſively in love with the daughter of the perſon, in whoſe houſe he reſided. Though that Prince was almoſt fifty years old, his paſſion for that young maid, who was not twenty, was ſo violent, that he reſolved to marry her. At firſt he made others ſpeak to her father, and then did ſo himſelf, of his deſign to be his ſon-in-law. That private perſon was not willing to contract an alliance ſo much above his condition. But he at laſt complied with the repeated inſtances of that Prince. Antiochus then celebrated his nuptials with all the pomp and profuſion, as if he had been in the moſt profound peace. Forgetting the two great enterprizes he had formed, the war againſt the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he paſſed all the reſt of the winter in diverſions and feaſting on the occaſion of his marriage. This taſte for pleaſures was eaſily transferred from the King to all the officers and the whole army, and occaſioned military diſcipline to be univerſally neglected. He did not awake from the ſtupefaction into which this voluptuouſneſs had thrown him, till he was informed that the Conſul Acilius was advancing by long marches againſt him in Theſſaly.

Ibid. 14. The Conſul had paſſed the ſea with twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. He ordered the legionary Tribunes, whoſe capacity he knew, to lead the infantry to Lariſſa, whilſt he marched with his cavalry to join Philip, who was

lready in action; and, after having forced ſeveral A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
oſts in Theſſalia in concert with the Roman Prætor
æbius, beſieged Limnæa. On his arrival the city
urrendered. The Conſul went afterwards to Lariſſa,
o deliberate there upon the operations of the cam-
aign. During his ſtay there, Philip ſubjected all
thamania.

Acilius continued during ſome days at Lariſſa, Liv.
rincipally to refreſh his cavalry after the fatigues of xxxvi.
heir voyage and long march after their landing. 14.
When he found, that this little repoſe had reſtored
he whole vigour and courage of his army, he began
is march. As he advanced, Pharſalus, Scotuſſa,
heræ, and many other cities of Theſſalia ſurrender-
d to him with the garriſons Antiochus had left in
hem.

During theſe expeditions, Antiochus was at Chalcis. Ibid. 15.
here, perceiving that of all the advantages he ex-
ected from the Greeks, nothing remained except
he pleaſures he had enjoyed in that city during an
hole winter, and the nuptials he had contracted with
o little decency; he began to complain on one ſide
f the empty promiſes of the Ætolians, and the impu-
ent want of faith of Thoas; and on the other to ad-
ire Hannibal, not only as a great General, but as a
an of conſummate wiſdom, who foreſaw with cer-
ainty all that was to happen. And indeed he plainly
erceived with his own eyes the accompliſhment of
ll Hannibal had foretold him, when he adviſed him
ot to rely either upon the promiſes of the Æto-
ans, or upon the fidelity of the States that ſhould
ubmit to him in the abſence of the Romans. How-
ver, not to ruin a project he had raſhly engaged in
y voluntary indolence, he ſent directions to the Æto-
ans his allies, to make all their youth take arms. He
narched ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe to
he rendezvous. He found the Ætolians there in leſs
umbers than ever. When he complained to the
rincipal perſons of the country, that they were come
ith only an handful of their people, they replied,

that

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring as many with them as they could: but that they could not prevail either by their authority or promiſes upon the youth, who had obſtinately refuſed to liſt.

Upon this, deſtitute both of the aid of his own ſubjects who were not in haſte to quit Aſia, and of that he expected to find in Greece upon the promiſe of his allies, he retired into the ſtrait of Thermopylæ. This is a chain of mountains which divides Greece in the midſt, as the Apennines do Italy from Weſt to Eaſt. At the eaſtern extremity of theſe mountains is mount Octa, of which the higheſt ſummit was called Callidrome; at the foot of which, in the valley that was bounded by the Maliac gulf, is a way not above ſixty paces broad. This is the only route through which an army could paſs, ſuppoſing it had no obſtacle. It is for this reaſon theſe defiles are called Pylæ, that is Gates; and by others Thermopylæ, on account of the hot baths which are there. This place is famous for the valour with which the Lacedæmonians defended it under Leonidas, or rather cauſed themſelves to be killed in generouſly fighting the Perſians.

Liv. xxxvi. 16—21. Plut. in Cat. 343. 3, 4. Appian. in Syr. 96—98.

Antiochus incamped in the ſame place, but not with the ſame intrepid reſolution. He alſo fortified the defile with ſeveral works, and cloſed the entrance with a double foſſe, a double paliſade, and even a wall in ſome places, which the abundance of ſtones he found upon the ſpot made it eaſy to erect. Antiochus believed at firſt that he had ſufficiently ſecured himſelf by ſeizing the paſs of Thermopylæ, and fortifying it as he had done. Believing therefore that the Romans could never force him in this poſt, he ſent four thouſand Ætolians (which were all the troops Ætolia had ſupplied) half to guard Heraclea, and the other Hypata, which was not very far from it. Theſe four thouſand men having joined ſoon after, ſhut themſelves up in Heraclea. But the King no ſooner ſaw the Romans approach, than he was ſeized with terror. He knew, that the Perſians had found ways in theſe mountains that brought them over the heads of the

Lace-

Lacedæmonians, and that very lately Philip had alſo A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
been ſurrounded by the Romans in ſuch defiles near the river Aous. He therefore ſent a courier to the four thouſand Ætolians with orders to ſeize the tops of the mountains, to prevent the Romans from finding any paſſage that way. Only two thouſand obeyed and ſeized the eminences in three diviſions. The Conſul, before the battle, thought it neceſſary to exhort his troops. The officers and ſoldiers of his army were almoſt the ſame that had fought againſt Philip. He animated them in few words by the remembrance of the famous victory they had gained over that King, who was far more warlike and experienced in battles than Antiochus, and who, ſoftened by the pleaſures and luxury of his late marriage, imagined that war was to be made as nuptials were celebrated. He afterwards ordered them to take reſt and refreſhment.

Acilius had uſed one precaution, which was the principal cauſe of his victory. Knowing that the Ætolians had ſeized the tops of the mountains, he detached M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, * conſular-lieutenants, each with two thouſand choſen men, to attack the Ætolians, and to drive them from their poſts. The next day, at ſun-riſe, he gave the ſignal, and drew up his troops in battle, forming his front very narrow, according to the nature of the place. Antiochus did the ſame as ſoon as he ſaw the Roman enſigns appear. At firſt his ſoldiers, placed before and around the works, eaſily ſuſtained the enemy, who made all manner of efforts to break them on ſome ſide, and the better as they were ſeconded very advantageouſly by thoſe who from above continually poured with their ſlings a ſhower of ſtones and leaden bullets upon the Romans, at the ſame time diſcharging darts and javelins upon them. But afterwards ſeeing themſelves preſſed by a great number of Romans, who advanced continually, and whom they

* Plutarch, Appian, and Cicero ſay, that Cato ſerved at that time only as a legionary Tribune.

could

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. could no longer reſiſt, they retreated into their intrenchments; and covered with their rampart, which was then before them, they formed a ſecond with their lances which they preſented to the enemy. Many Romans, who advanced too raſhly, were ran through and remained upon the ſpot. The Conſul would either have been obliged to abandon the enterprize, or would have loſt abundance of men, if Cato, after having driven the Ætolians from the ſummit called Callidrome, and killed the greateſt part of them whom he had found aſleep, had not ſhewn himſelf with his troops upon the part of the hill which commanded the enemy's camp. He had undergone inexpreſſible pains and dangers in gaining the top of that mountain, paſſing over impracticable rocks, and ways on the ſide of dreadful precipices. Flaccus had not the ſame ſucceſs, and, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, could not reach a poſt guarded by another body of Ætolians.

The ſoldiers of Antiochus, ſeeing Cato's troops hitherto only at a diſtance, imagined they were Ætolians, who, having ſeen the two armies engaged, were coming to the aid of their Allies. But, when they could diſtinguiſh by their approach the enſigns and arms of the Romans, they were all ſeized with terror, and moſt of them threw down their arms, and fled. Antiochus, wounded in the mouth with a ſtone, that had beat out his teeth, was obliged by the pain to face about. After his retreat, no part of his army had the courage to face the Romans. It was now only a flight, but extremely difficult for the conquered, becauſe on one ſide were only deep moraſſes, and on the other ſteep rocks, which prevented them almoſt entirely from making off either on the right or the left. The Romans, who were endeavouring to purſue them, found that alſo exceeding difficult, firſt in effect of the trenches and paliſades, and then of the narrowneſs of the valley through which they were to paſs, but eſpecially of the elephants which Antiochus had placed in his rear-guard, which ſtopped the foot, and ſtill more the horſe, that were more frightened at the ſight of

noſe enormous beaſts, than at all the noiſe and din of A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
he battle. They alſo loſt time in plundering the amp of the enemy. However they puſhed that day s far as * Scarphia: and having killed or taken a reat number not only of men and horſes, but alſo of lephants, they returned to their camp.

When the action was over, the Conſul took Cato till heated and out of breath in his arms, held him here a great while, and in the preſence of the whole rmy cried out, in tranſports of joy, that neither himelf, nor the Roman People, could ever reward his ervices as they deſerved. Cato, who acted on this ccaſion as lieutenant, or more probably as only a legionary Tribune, had been Conſul, and at the head of he armies in Spain, where he had highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as we have related above: but he did not believe it degrading himſelf to accept a ſubordinate employment for the ſervice of the State; and this was cuſtomary amongſt the Romans.

The Conſul had made his cavalry ſet out towards he end of the night in purſuit of the enemy, and followed them with the legions as ſoon as day appeared. Antiochus, who was a great way before him, having fled continually with precipitation till he arrived at † Elatea, drew together the remains of the battle and flight in that city, from whence he retired to Chalcis, not having with him above five hundred men of his whole army at moſt. He did not ſtay there till the Conſul came up, but departing immediately anchored in the port of ‡ Tenos, and from thence went to Epheſus. As ſoon as Acilius appeared before Chalcis, the gates were opened to him. All the other cities of Eubœa ſurrendered without being ſummoned; and the Conſul having in a very few days reconquered the whole iſland, without uſing violence to any one whatſoever, led back his army to Thermopylæ, much

* A city of Locris in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ.
† A conſiderable city of Phocis.
‡ A ſmall iſland, one of the Cyclades.

more

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. more * commendable for the moderation he ſhewed after the victory, than for the victory itſelf.

From thence he ſent Cato to carry the news of this ſucceſs to Rome, mentioning in ſtrong terms in his diſpatches the conſiderable ſhare he had in it. It is noble, in a General, to do another's merit juſtice in this manner, and not to give jealouſy any place in his heart. The arrival of Cato at Rome occaſioned the greater joy in the city, as the event of a war with a King ſo powerful, and of ſuch great reputation, had been much apprehended. Public prayers and ſacrifices by way of thankſgiving were decreed during three days.

During the time of the battle, ten galleys from one part and three from another, which came to aid the King, and were arrived in Greece, having been informed of his defeat, returned to Epheſus. Other veſſels, with conſiderable convoys for Antiochus, had already paſſed the ſtrait near the iſland of Andros. Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, having attacked them, ſunk part of them, and took the reſt, except thoſe which were in the rear, that made off, and returned to Aſia.

Liv. xxxv. 22. Though the Ætolians, by their violent and inſolent conduct, had rendered themſelves unworthy of all favour, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over again by gentle methods. Before he formed the ſiege of Heraclea, he repreſented to thoſe within the place, "that experience at leaſt might ſhew them, how little they could rely upon Antiochus: that it was ſtill time enough to have recourſe to the clemency of the Roman People. That they were not the only People who had been wanting in their fidelity to Allies from whom they had received ſo many favours: but others had at leaſt condemned their blindneſs and ingratitude immediately after the defeat and flight of the King, by whoſe ſollicitations and promiſes they

* Multò modeſtia poſt victoriam, quam ipſa victoria laudabilior. Liv.

had

been ſeduced. That though the Ætolians were A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
moſt culpable, as they had not been brought over that Prince, but had called him in themſelves, had not only ſhared in the war, as Allies of Antiochus, but ought to be conſidered as the authors of however, if they could reſolve to repent by delivering up Heraclea to the Romans, they need not deſpair of favour and ſafety."

Theſe remonſtrances were ineffectual, and the Conſeeing, that it was neceſſary to proceed to force, Liv. xxxvi. 22, 24.
rmed the ſiege of that place with all his forces. Heclea was a very ſtrong place, of great extent, and a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. he Conſul, having cauſed the Baliſtæ, Catapultæ, d all the other machines of war, of which he had ovided a great number, to play, cauſed the city to attacked at the ſame time in four different parts. he beſieged defended themſelves with a courage, or ther fury, not to be expreſſed. They immediately inſtated the parts of the wall which had been beaten wn: they made frequent ſallies with a fury that it as hard to ſuſtain, becauſe they fought like men in ſpair. They burnt in an inſtant moſt of the maines employed againſt them. The attack was conued in this manner during twenty-four days togeer, without interruption night or day.

It is eaſy to judge, that the ſtrength of the garriſon, hich was not very numerous in compariſon with the omans, muſt be exhauſted by ſo violent and conued a fatigue. The Conſul formed a new plan. e made the attack ceaſe about midnight, and did t renew it till the next morning about nine. The tolians, not doubting but this muſt proceed from earineſs, and that the beſiegers were as much tired ith fatigues as themſelves, took advantage of the poſe given them, and retired at the ſame time as the omans did. This paſſed for ſome time. But the onſul, having made his troops retreat as uſual about idnight, three hours after cauſed the town to be atacked at three places, only, poſting at a fourth ſide a body

A.R. 561. Ant. C. 191. body of troops with orders to continue quiet till moment the ſignal for acting ſhould be given. this attack, thoſe of the Ætolians who were aſl were not awakened without difficulty; and thoſe w were awake ran on all ſides where the noiſe cal them. At break of day, upon the Conſul's ſign the aſſault was made on that ſide of the city wh had not been attacked till then, and from which t beſieged had for that reaſon drawn off their troo The place was carried that moment, and the Ætoli took refuge precipitately in the citadel. The c was plundered, leſs from the motive of hatred and venge, than to make the ſoldiers amends, who h therto had not been permitted to plunder any of t cities that had been taken. The citadel, which w in want of proviſions, could not hold out long, a the garriſon ſurrendered at the firſt attack. Among the priſoners was Damocritus one of the princip perſons of the nation, who, in the beginning of t war, had anſwered Quintius, "That he in perſ "would carry the decree, by which the Ætolia "had lately called in Antiochus, to Italy." T Romans, who remembered this inſolent anſwer, co ceived in effect of it the more joy on account of the victory.

Liv. xxxvi. 25. At the ſame time that the Conſul had began th ſiege of Heraclea, King Philip, in concert with him had undertaken that of Lamia, which was but ſeve miles from Heraclea. This nearneſs of the two be ſieged cities, the one by the Romans, the other b the Macedonians, gave birth to a lively emulatio between the two people, each doing their utmoſt t ſupport the honour of their nation. Philip found much greater difficulties at Lamia than he had ex pected. The Macedonians carried on a mine wit infinite pains in a ſtiff and ſtony ground, in whic they met with ſuch hard rocks, as blunted their too without its being poſſible to cut them. The King finding this work go on ſo ſlow, endeavoured to in duce the inhabitants, by conferences with the prin cipa

pal of them, to put the city into his hands. He was convinced, that if Heraclea was taken firſt, that ey would chuſe rather to ſurrender to the Romans, an to him; and that the Conſul would honour himlf with the conqueſt of this place, and make it a erit with the inhabitants to have cauſed the Macenians to raiſe the ſiege. He reaſoned right: for ſoon as the Conſul had taken Heraclea, he ſent to ll Philip to raiſe the ſiege; declaring, "that it as but juſt, that the Romans, who had been at the ouble of fighting the Ætolians, ſhould reap the uits of the victory." He was obliged to comply. Prince could not but be highly ſenſible of ſuch an front. The place ſome time after ſurrendered to e Romans. A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.

Some days before the taking of Heraclea, the Ætoans aſſembled at Hypata ſent Ambaſſadors to Antichus, of which number were Nicander and Thoas. hey were ordered to deſire that Prince, firſt, to reurn in perſon to Greece with a new fleet and army: condly, if he had any reaſon to the contrary, to nd them troops and money. They repreſented to im, "that it was for his honour, and his faith reuired, that he ſhould not abandon his allies in their eceſſity: that beſides, his own ſafety, and that of is dominions made it neceſſary, that he ſhould keep e Romans ſo employed in Greece, that they ſhould either have time nor power entirely to deſtroy the Etolians, in order to enter Aſia afterwards with all eir forces." Theſe reaſons, which were unanſwerble, made an impreſſion upon the King. In conequence he immediately gave the Ambaſſadors the oney they wanted for ſuſtaining the war, and proiſed to ſend them the ſea and land-forces they ſked ſoon after. He kept Thoas with him, who ſtayed oluntarily, to ſollicit the promiſed aids in perſon. Liv. xxxvi. 26.

But the loſs of Heraclea entirely diſcouraged and eſtroyed the hopes of the Ætolians; and ſome few ays after the departure of the Ambaſſadors, of whom e have juſt ſpoke, renouncing the war abſolutely, Ibid. 27—29.

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. they ſent others to the Conſul to demand peace. The began to harangue him, when that General ſtoppin them ſhort, told them that he had ſomething elſe t do than to hear them; and granting them a truce o ten days, ſent them back to Hypata with L. Valeriu Flaccus, to whom he ordered them to explain the reaſons, as they would have done to himſelf. Whe they arrived there, the principal perſons of the natio held a council at Flaccus's houſe, to enquire with hi in what manner they were to treat with the Conſu They ſeemed inclined to put him in mind of the al liances which they had contracted with the Roma people, and the ſervices they had done the Common wealth. "Flaccus adviſed them not to mention trea ties which themſelves had broken. He added, tha their ſafety depending not upon the goodneſs of thei cauſe, but upon the clemency of the Roman People the beſt choice they could make, was to confeſs thei faults and to aſk pardon for it. That if they acted a ſuppliants, he would be a mediator for them with th Conſul, and in the Roman Senate, to which it woul be neceſſary alſo to ſend Ambaſſadors. According to the advice of Flaccus, they all concluded, tha the only means to ſave themſelves, was to abando themſelves to the faith and humanity of the Roman They flattered themſelves, that this confidence woul pique them in point of honour, and make them un willing to treat ſuppliants with rigour: and they ſe cretly retained at heart the deſign and hope of takin advantage of the favourable occaſions which fortun might preſent."

When they were before the Conſul Pheneas, th chief of the embaſſy made a long and pathetic diſ courſe, with the hope of appeaſing the Victor's wrath and concluded with ſaying, "that the Ætolians ABAN DONED THEIR PERSONS AND ALL THAT WERE THEIR TO THE HUMANITY AND FAITH OF THE ROMANS. The Ætolians did not comprehend the whole exten of what the Romans underſtood by ABANDONING THEMSELVES TO THE FAITH OF ANY ONE. They pro-

bably

bly repeated the words dictated to them by Vale- A. R. 561.
us: in which there would have been a fraud, on the Ant. C.
le of the latter, entirely to be condemned. In the 191.
nſe of the Romans, this expreſſion ſignified to aban-
on themſelves to the faith of the perſon to whom
ey ſpoke without reſerve, without exception, and ſo
bſolutely, that he might after that without any other
rmality, diſpoſe of their fortunes, perſons, and even
ves themſelves. In a word, it was ſurrendering at
iſcretion. When Pheneas had pronounced theſe
ords: "Conſider what you ſay maturely," ſaid the
onſul, "and whether your reſolution to ſubmit in
this manner be well formed." Pheneas ſhewed him
e decree, in which thoſe terms were repeated word
r word, as he had uttered them.

"As it is ſo," ſaid the Conſul, "I demand that
you deliver up to me without delay your citizen
Dicæarchus, and Mænetas of Epirus" (who had
ntered Naupactus with troops, and had made the in-
abitants take arms) "with Amynander and the
principal perſons of the Athamantes, by whoſe
counſel you revolted againſt us." Pheneas ſcarce
ayed till the Conſul had ſpoke theſe words. Then
eplying with warmth, "We gave ourſelves up to
you," ſaid he, "as friends, not as ſlaves; and I
"am convinced, that it is for want of reflecting upon
"the cuſtoms of the Greeks, that you require things of
"us abſolutely contrary to them." "I do not regard,"
nſwered the Conſul, "whether I ſeem to the Ætoli-
"ans to act contrary to the cuſtoms of the Greeks:
"it ſuffices for me to uſe my authority according to
"the cuſtoms of the Romans, over a people who
"come to ſubmit according to their own decree, and
"whom I had already ſubjected by arms. For which
"reaſon, if you do not inſtantly obey, I ſhall directly
"put you in priſon." And he immediately ordered
chains to be brought, and made his Lictors ſurround
them.

On theſe menaces, Pheneas and the other Ætolians
loſt all ſpirit, and they began to be ſenſible of their

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.

condition. Pheneas ſaid, "that himſelf and the other "Ætolians ſaw plainly that they muſt obey the Con- "ſul's orders: but that it was neceſſary to aſſemble "the nation to paſs a decree. That in order to do ſo "he demanded a truce of ten days." The Conſul granted it at the requeſt of Flaccus; and the deputies returned to Hypata. Pheneas there, having related to thoſe who formed the council the Conſul's demands, and the danger to which himſelf and his collegues had been expoſed, the aſſembly could not refrain from groaning on the ſad ſituation of the Ætolians, but they concluded no leſs in effect for obedience, and immediately ſummoned the whole nation.

When the whole aſſembled People were apprized of the matter in queſtion, they were ſo much incenſed at the Conſul's haughtineſs and rigour, that, had they been at peace, their rage would have been capable of making them take arms. With the indignation occaſioned by the ſeverity of theſe orders, united the rigour of executing them. How could they in particular deliver up the perſon of King Amynander to the Romans? They were in this diſpoſition, when Nicander returned from his embaſſy to Syria, and flattered the multitude with vain hopes, by informing them, that Antiochus was making preparations to renew the war with more vigour than ever; and the ſums ſent with him by that Prince were good vouchers of this. In conſequence the negotiation on foot had no effect.

It cannot be denied but the inſolence and perfidy of the Ætolians, and their violent hatred for Rome, deſerved the moſt ſevere treatment. But the Conſul's conduct, full of haughtineſs, and founded upon a pretended conſent and terms of which the Ætolians did not underſtand the force, is very ſtrange, and ſeems extremely foreign to the Roman character.

Liv. xxxvi. 30.

Acilius, being informed, that the aſſembly of Hypata refuſed the peace, and that the Ætolians had joined their forces at Naupactus to ſuſtain the whole weight

weight of the war in that place, determined to follow them thither. After having undergone incredible fatigues in the defiles of the mountains he had to paſs, where a ſmall number of troops might have ſtopped him, he at length arrived before the city, and formed the ſiege of it, which did not coſt him leſs pains, labours and works than that of Heraclea. A. R. 561 Ant. C. 191.

At the ſame time Philip, by the Conſul's permiſſion, made war on his ſide, and with advantage. He took Demetrias, Dolopia, Aperantia, and ſome cities of Perrhæbia. Liv. xxxvi. 32, 33.

Quintius, who had been at the aſſembly of the Achæans, and had engaged them to ſurrender Zacynthus to the Romans, went afterwards to Naupactus, which was reduced to the laſt extremity. The Romans had now battered it with great vigour during two months: and if they had taken it by force, its ruin would infallibly have been followed by that of all Ætolia. Quintius had all manner of reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the Ætolians, who had alone endeavoured to deprive him of the glorious title of Deliverer of Greece, and had deſpiſed his counſels, when foreſeeing all that had lately happened, he had endeavoured to diſſuade them from ſo frantick an enterprize. However, convinced that it was for his honour not to ſuffer any of the States of a country, whoſe liberty he had reſtored, to be deſtroyed, he began by walking round the walls, in order to make the Ætolians obſerve him. The report that Quintius was in ſight immediately ſpread throughout the whole city. The people that inſtant ran from all parts to the walls. Thoſe unfortunate citizens, holding out their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all wept, and implored his aid with great cries. Quintius, moved with their condition, ſo much as even to ſhed tears, made a ſign to them with his hand that it was not in his power to extricate them out of the danger that menaced them. Ibid. 34, 35.

He afterwards waited upon the Conſul and entered into a converſation with him. "Manius," ſaid he,

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. " don't you ſee the conſequences of all this, or fore-
" ſeeing them, do you believe that they are indiffe-
" rent with reſpect to the good of the Common-
" wealth?" The Conſul, ſurprized with this queſtion, the ſenſe of which he did not comprehend, deſired him to explain himſelf more clearly. " How!" reſumed Quintius, " don't you perceive, that after having de-
" feated Antiochus, you loſe time in beſieging two
" cities, your Conſulſhip being upon the point of ex-
" piring: whereas Philip, who was not preſent at the
" battle, has already conquered not only cities, but
" provinces alſo, as Athamania, Aperantia, Dolo-
" pia, and Perrhæbia. And however, it is of much
" leſs importance to us to weaken the Ætolians,
" than to prevent the extraordinary growth of Philip's
" power."

The Conſul owned the ſolidity of theſe reflections. But he was aſhamed to raiſe the ſiege of a city he had attacked during two months. He left Quintius to act in this affair as he ſhould think expedient. The latter having approached the walls a ſecond time, the cries of the inhabitants were renewed, and he was again earneſtly implored to take pity of the nation. He bade them ſend ſome deputies to him. Pheneas and the principal perſons came out and threw themſelves at his feet. Seeing them in that poſture: " Your misfortune," ſaid he, " ſuppreſſes all ſenſe
" of anger and revenge in me. You ſee the accom-
" pliſhment of all that I foretold to you; and you have
" not the conſolation to be able to ſay, that you have
" not deſerved what you ſuffer. But deſtined as I am,
" to defend and preſerve Greece, ingratitude ſhall not
" ſet aſide my inclination to do good. Send deputies
" to the Conſul, to obtain a truce from him, which
" will give you time to ſend to Rome, to make your
" ſubmiſſion to the Senate. I will intercede for you,
" and be your advocate with the Conſul." They followed Quintius's counſel in every thing. The Conſul granted them a truce, raiſed the ſiege, and marched his army into Phocis.

What

What a difference is here between the conduct of Acilius and that of Quintius! This ſtrong contraſt between two Generals in reſpect to the ſame people, ſhew us how advantageous goodneſs, lenity, and clemency, even in reſpect to thoſe who have rendered themſelves moſt unworthy of them, are in the conduct of great affairs. A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191.

King Philip ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans upon the good ſucceſs of this campaign, and to offer preſents and ſacrifices to the Gods in the Capitol. They were received there with great marks of conſideration, and Demetrius, Philip's ſon, who was kept at Rome, as an hoſtage, was put into their hands. This ended in Greece the war made there by the Conſul Manius Acilius againſt Antiochus King of Syria. Liv. xxxvi. 35.

We have ſpoke elſewhere of the victory of Scipio Naſica, Acilius's collegue, over the Boii, and of that Conſul's triumph.

Antiochus, after his defeat, remained quiet at Epheſus, relying upon the word of his courtiers and flatterers, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans, and that they had no thoughts of coming to Aſia. In this manner does the Divine Providence abandon the Princes it has determined to humble and caſt down, to their own indolence. Hannibal, who at this time was in conſiderable credit with him, was the only one capable of rouzing him from this lethargic ſtupefaction. He plainly told him, "that he was much in the wrong to flatter himſelf with vain hopes as he did, and to ſuffer himſelf to be lulled by diſcourſes void of all reaſon and probability. That he had certain advice, that Rome had ſome time ſince made a new fleet and General ſet out from her ports. That it would coſt her leſs to go from Greece to Aſia, than from Italy to Greece. That he would very ſoon have the Romans to fight both by ſea and land in Aſia and for Aſia; and that he muſt either reſolve to renounce empire, or to defend himſelf in arms againſt an enemy, who aſpired at nothing leſs than to make Ibid. 38, 40, 41.

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. themſelves maſters of the univerſe." The King then conceived all the danger he was in. He ſent orders, to haſten the march of the troops from the Eaſt, which were not yet arrived. He cauſed his fleet to be equipped, embarked on board it, and went to the Cherſoneſus. He there fortified Lyſimachia, Seſtus, Abydos, and the other places in the neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from entering Aſia through the Helleſpont.

Liv. xxxvi. 42—45. C. Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, had ſet out from Rome with fifty large ſhips. When he arrived at Corfu, he was informed that the Conſul and Antiochus were incamped near Thermopylæ: (for the battle had not yet been fought.) He made haſte therefore to the Piræus, where the Roman fleet commanded by Atilius lay. It conſiſted of five and twenty large ſhips, to which adding the ſix furniſhed by the Carthaginians, Livius's fleet conſiſted of fourſcore large ſhips of war, without including a very great number of ſmaller veſſels. He departed without loſs of time, and arrived at Delos, where they were delayed ſome days by contrary winds.

During this interval Antiochus had been driven out of Greece by the Conſul, and he was then in the Helleſpont, when the Roman fleet was in the road of Delos. Polyxenidas, Admiral of that Prince's fleet, having given him advice of this, Antiochus immediately returned to Epheſus, and held a council to deliberate whether it were proper to try the fortune of a battle by ſea. Polyxenidas was of opinion, "that it was neceſſary to attack the enemy before the fleet of Eumenes, and the galleys of the Rhodians had joined them. That by this means, they would be almoſt equal to the Romans in number, but much ſuperior by the ſwiftneſs of their ſhips, and the variety of ſupport. That the Roman veſſels, through the groſs manner in which they were built, moved heavily; beſides which, coming ſo far into an enemy's country, they were laden with proviſions; whereas thoſe of the King carried only ſoldiers and arms. That they

ould have the additional advantage of knowing the as, lands and winds, the ignorance of which only as capable of occaſioning great diſorders amongſt e enemy." Polyxenidas, in giving this counſel, d the greater weight, as he was to put it in execu- on. A.R. 561. Ant. C. 191.

They employed two days in preparations, and on e third Polyxenidas ſet out with an hundred ſhips, of hich ſeventy had decks, and the reſt were open, and rived at * Phocæa. As the King was not to be pre- nt in this action, when he was informed, that the emy's fleet appro ched, he retired to Magneſia near pylus, to put his land-forces in a condition to act. he fleet advanced as far as Cyſſontum, a port of e Erythræans, as to a poſt where it waited the enemy ith more advantage.

When the north winds, which had kept the Ro- ans at Delos many days, were abated, they conti- ued their courſe, and arrived before Phocæa, which bmitted immediately. Eumenes, with twenty-four cked ſhips, and ſome few open veſſels, joined the oman fleet there, which was preparing to give the emy battle. From thence ſetting out with about an ndred and five decked ſhips, and about fifty with- t decks, they were at firſt driven by the north winds, at blew upon their quarter; ſo that to avoid being recked, they were obliged to place themſelves in a ne behind one another, and to move on in a long file. hen the violence of thoſe winds was a little abated, ey endeavoured to gain the port of Corycus above yſſontum.

Polyxenidas, who ſought only an occaſion for fight- g, rejoiced on being informed, that the Romans ere coming to meet him. In conſequence he drew p his fleet in battle, extended the left wing towards e main ſea, ordered his Lieutenants to draw up the ght towards the land; and in that order advanced a line againſt the enemy. The Romans ſeeing his

* A city of Aſia Minor.

diſpo-

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. diſpoſition, furled their ſails, lowered their maſts, and at the ſame time that they made their ſhips ready for fighting, waited the coming up of thoſe behind them. They had drawn up about thirty in front, which formed their right wing; and to give the left room for forming, hoiſting the ſmall ſails, they advanced towards the main ſea, ordering thoſe that followed to keep their prows againſt the enemy's right wing drawn up along the coaſt. Eumenes was in the rear-guard. But as ſoon as he judged by the noiſe he heard, that the two fleets were upon the point of charging, he made his ſhips advance with all poſſible expedition.

When they were within a nearer view of each other three ſhips were detached from the fleet of Antiochus, and advanced againſt two Carthaginian galleys which were a-head of thoſe of the Romans. As the match was not equal, two of Antiochus's ſhips ſurrounded one of the Carthaginian; and firſt broke all its oars, then boarded it ſword in hand, and took it after having beat down and killed thoſe who defended it. The one that remained, ſeeing the other taken by the enemy, ſheered off to rejoin the reſt of the fleet, before the three Syrian ſhips ſhould come to ſurround it.

Livius, inraged at this ſight, advanced in the Admiral galley, on board of which he was. At the ſame time, the two, which had taken the Carthaginian ſhip, came on to meet him, in hopes of gaining the ſame advantage over him. Livius, to make his galley more ſteady, ordered the mariners to lower the oars on both ſides into the ſea, to grapple the ſhips of the enemy with their Corvi, and to come board and board with them, in order to fight cloſe and hand to hand. He exhorted them to remember that they were Romans, and not to conſider thoſe vile ſlaves of Eaſtern Kings as men. At this time a ſingle ſhip was ſeen to attack and take two with more eaſe than two had taken one ſome moments before.

The

The two fleets had already charged on all ſides, and A.R. 561. Ant. C. 191.
he ſhips univerſally mingled had rendered the battle eneral. Eumenes, who arrived laſt and after the beinning of the action, having obſerved the diſorder, hich Livius had occaſioned in the enemy's left wing, ell upon their right, which ſtill defended itſelf with qual advantage.

The defeat of the Syrians began on the left wing. When Polyxenidas ſaw the ſuperiority which the Roman ſoldiers had over his in valour, he cauſed the mall ſails to be hoiſted, and fled with precipitation. The right wing, after having ſuſtained the attack of umenes for ſome time, did not delay following the dmiral. The Romans, ſeconded by Eumenes, purued them vigorouſly with the help of their oars, in opes to come up with their rear. But at length, nding that the ſhips of the defeated, which were uch lighter, had greatly the advantage of theirs, laden ith proviſions and machines, they ſtopped, after aving taken thirteen galleys with their crews of ſoldirs and ſeamen, and ſunk ten. The Romans loſt only hat, which had been taken at the beginning of the attle by the two that had inveſted it. Polyxenidas ontinued flying, till he ſaw himſelf in the port of phesus. The Romans ſtayed that day at Cyſſontum, rom whence the fleet of Antiochus had ſet out to meet hem; and the next day they put to ſea again to go n queſt of the enemy. In the middle of their courſe hey met five and twenty Rhodian galleys, under the ommand of Pauſiſtratus.

With this reinforcement, they advanced quite to phesus, and drew up in battle in the mouth of the ort itſelf. But as the enemy made no motion, conented with that confeſſion of their weakneſs, they reired. Eumenes and the Rhodians returned home. As to Livius, he ſteered for Chios, where he landed he next day. He continued there ſome days, to give his crews reſt, and then repaired to Phocæa. Having eft four galleys of five benches of oars there to guard he city, he ſailed with the fleet to Canes. There, as winter

A. R. 561. Ant. C. 191. winter approached, he drew his ſhips on ſhore and in
cloſed them within a foſſé and paliſade.

Liv. xxxvi. 45. Towards the end of the year the aſſembly at Rom
elected L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius Conſul
in the hope that they would terminate the war with Sy
ria, which was then the great object of the attentio
of the Romans.

SECT. II.

*The Ætolian Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed without havin
obtained peace. Scipio Africanus cauſes Greece to b
given his brother as his province. The Senate leav
the Conſul at liberty to go to Aſia, if he ſhould judge i
proper. Cornelius ſets out from Rome. The Senat
cauſe a new fleet to be built. Anxiety of the Ætolian
Return of their Ambaſſadors. The new Conſul arriv
in Greece. After many refuſals, he at laſt grants th
Ætolians a truce of ſix months to ſend Ambaſſadors t
Rome. The Conſul ſets out for Aſia, after having for
ſounded Philip's diſpoſition. That Prince receives hi
and his army with royal magnificence. Great prepara-
tions of Antiochus, eſpecially to fit out a new fleet.
Livius puts to ſea, goes to the Helleſpont, and take
Seſtos. Polyxenidas, having deceived Pauſiſtratus, en-
tirely defeats the Rhodian fleet. Livius abandons the
ſiege of Abydos. The Rhodians fit out a new fleet. The
two united fleets approach Epheſus, and cannot bring the
enemy to a battle. Æmilius Regillus takes upon him the
command in the room of Livius. Seleucus beſieges Per-
gamus. Eumenes, and ſoon after the Romans and
Rhodians come to the aid of that city. Antiochus ſend
propoſals of peace to the Prætor Æmilius, but ineffectu-
ally. The Achæans, commanded by Diophanes, cauſe
the ſiege of Pergamus to be raiſed. Antiochus's fleet,
commanded partly by Hannibal, is defeated by the Rho-
dians. Antiochus endeavours to engage Pruſias in his
party. He is determined to join the Romans by letters
from*

from the Scipios. Sea-fight between the Prætor Æmilius and Polyxenidas near Myonneſus, in which the Syrians are defeated.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. A. R. 562.
C. LÆLIUS. Ant. C. 190.

THE new Conſuls having entered upon office, the first care of the Senate, after having ſatisfied the ities of religion, was to examine the affair of the tolians. Their Ambaſſadors earneſtly demanded, at it ſhould be terminated before the time of the ice which had been granted them ſhould expire; in hich they were ſupported by the credit of Quintius, ho was then returned from Greece to Rome. As ey relied much more upon the Senate's clemency an upon the goodneſs of their cauſe, they choſe to mand grace for their recent faults, in conſideration their paſt ſervices. For the reſt, as long as they ntinued in the chamber of audience, they had much ſuffer from the cloſe queſtions, which the Senators emulation of each other put to them, in order to tort from them a confeſſion of their inconſtancy and fidelity, rather than to hear their excuſes and apogies. When they left it, opinions were much diided concerning the manner in which they ought to e treated. The remembrance of their injurious and olent behaviour had almoſt extinguiſhed all ſenſe of mpaſſion in the minds of the Senate. They were nſidered, not as common enemies, but as wild and ntractable ſavages. At length, after the affair had een debated for ſeveral days with abundance of armth, the reſult of the deliberation was, that without either granting or refuſing them peace, it ſhould e left to their option either to abandon themſelves o the diſcretion of the Senate, or to pay the Roman eople a * thouſand talents, and to engage to have o other friends or enemies but theirs. They made arneſt inſtances to be informed upon what articles the enate deſired that they ſhould refer themſelves to their

Liv. xxxvii. 1.

* About 150000 l.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. their diſcretion: but no poſitive anſwer was give them. In conſequence they were diſmiſſed witho having obtained the peace they came to demand, a had orders to quit the city that day, and Italy fifteen.

Liv. xxxvii. 1. The provinces to be aſſigned the Conſuls were th next ſubject of deliberation. Both deſired Greece and the Senate having ordered them to draw lots, or agree between themſelves, Lælius, who was in gre credit with that body, ſaid that it was more decent leave that choice to the prudence of the Senate, tha to refer it to the caprice of chance. L. Scipio replie that he would conſider of it; and having conferr with his brother, who told him he might boldly ref it to the Senate, he declared that he accepted Lælius propoſal. The caſe was new, or, at leaſt, time ha entirely effaced examples of it in the minds of th Senate, who expected a long conteſt about it, whe Scipio Africanus riſing up, ſaid, "that if they woul grant his brother the province of Greece, he woul ſerve under him in quality of his Lieutenant." Th declaration was received with the applauſe of th whole aſſembly, and inſtantly put an end to the di pute. Greece was decreed to Scipio, and Italy Lælius, with almoſt unanimous conſent. They we highly pleaſed with trying whether the counſels vanquiſhed Hannibal would be more ſalutary to An tiochus, than thoſe of Scipio his conqueror to th Conſul and his legions. The Prætors afterwards dre lots for their province, and the command of the fle fell to L. Æmilius Regillus.

Ibid. 2. Cornelius, who was to command in Greece, w left at liberty to go to Aſia, if he ſhould judge th the good of the Commonwealth required it. Twent ſhips of war, with all their equipage, were given the Prætor Regillus; to which he had orders to ad a thouſand ſeamen, and two thouſand foot to be rai ed by himſelf, and with theſe forces to go to Aſia where C. Livius was to reſign the command of th fleet to him.

Th

The Conſul Cornelius, after having terminated the A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
airs that kept him at Rome, and had made all the
ceſſary preparations, quitted the city in the military Liv.
be, according to cuſtom, carrying with him, be- xxxvii. 4.
es eight thouſand men whom he had levied by order
the Senate, about five thouſand volunteers, who
ving compleated their time of ſervice under Scipio
fricanus, entered at this time with joy into a new
gagement under his brother's enſigns.

The Senate commiſſioned L. Aurunculejus to build
irty galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of
ree, becauſe it was rumoured, that Antiochus, after
e naval battle he had loſt, was fitting out a much
ore conſiderable fleet than the firſt.

In the beginning of this year forty-three Ætolians
principal rank arrived at Rome, amongſt whom
ere Damocritus and his brother, guarded by two
horts, which Manius Acilius had expreſly detached,
d on their arrival were thrown into priſon. Theſe
ere priſoners of war.

In the mean time the Ætolians waited the return of Ibid. 3, 4.
eir Ambaſſadors with great anxiety. The anſwer
ey brought back, and which put an end to all hope
f peace, threw the Ætolian People into the utmoſt
onſternation. Juſtly afraid of the danger, with
hich they were menaced from the Romans, they
ized mount Corax, to ſhut up the paſs againſt their
rmy. For they did not doubt but in the beginning
f the ſpring they would return to beſiege Naupactus.
ut Acilius ſurprized them by a project they did not
xpect, and attacked * Lamia, which probably had
evolted. It at firſt made a very vigorous defence,
ut at length it was obliged to ſurrender. From
hence he went to attack † Amphiſſa, whoſe inhabi-
ants behaved with great courage.

Breaches were already made in ſeveral places, when Ibid. 6, 7.
cilius received advice, that his ſucceſſor was landed

* A city of Theſſaly in Phthiotis.
† A city of Locris.

at

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. at Apollonia *, and that he was croſſing Epirus and Theſſalia in order to join him. He brought with him thirteen thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. When he arrived at the gulf of † Malia, he ſent to ſummon the inhabitants of Hypata to ſurrender their city to him. They anſwered, that they could do nothing except by a decree of the general aſſembly of the Ætolians. Then, not to ſtop at the ſiege of Hypata before Amphiſſa had ſurrendered, he marched before the latter city, having made his brother Scipio Africanus ſet out before him. On their approach, the inhabitants had retired into the citadel, which they conſidered as impregnable.

The Conſul had incamped ſix miles from thence when Ambaſſadors from the Athenians, after having before applied to his brother, came to him to implore his clemency in behalf of the Ætolians. Scipio Africanus had given them a ſufficiently favourable anſwer. That ſuperior genius, whoſe views were always great and extenſive, and who only ſought an honourable pretext for abandoning the war of Ætolia in order to turn the whole force of the Commonwealth againſt Antiochus and Aſia, had directed the Athenians, not only to endeavour to prevail upon the Romans, but to incline the Ætolians themſelves to prefer peace to war: and the Ætolians had ſent a numerous embaſſy from Hypata to demand peace. Africanus, by his diſcourſe, increaſed the hope they had of obtaining it. He told them, "That when he had commanded firſt in Spain, and afterwards in Africa of many nations he had ſubjected to the Roman People, there was not one, to whom he had not given more proofs of clemency and benevolence, than of courage and ability in the art of war." The affair ſeemed to wear a good aſpect: but when the Ambaſſadors were introduced to the Conſul, he gave them, no doubt conformably to his orders, the ſame

* A ſea-port town of Macedonia.

† The gulf of Malia is in Phthiotis, which is part of Theſſalia.

anſwer

ſwer as the Senate had at Rome, and which had A. R. 562.
iven them from thence. The Ætolians, ſtruck Ant. C. 196.
ith a rigour, for which the interceſſion of the Athe-
ans and the favourable reception of Scipio Africa-
us had not prepared them, replied, that they were
oing to give an account of their commiſſion to thoſe
ho had ſent them.

When they returned to Hypata, the heads of the
ation were highly embarraſſed. For they were not
a condition to furniſh the thouſand talents demand-
d of them, and were afraid, if they ſurrendered at
ſcretion, that the Romans might believe they had
right to inflict puniſhment upon, and diſpoſe of,
eir perſons. They therefore ſent back the ſame
mbaſſadors to the Conſul and his brother Africanus,
implore them, if they ſincerely intended to grant
em peace, and not to deceive them with vain hopes,
ther that they would abate them part of the ſum,
hich they demanded, or permit them, in ſurrender-
g, to add a clauſe for the exemption of their perſons.
he Conſul was inexorable. They were reduced to
ſpair. Æchedæmus, the moſt conſiderable of the
thenian Ambaſſadors, did not loſe all hopes as they
d. He adviſed them to aſk a truce of ſix months
order to ſend new Ambaſſadors to Rome, repre-
nting to them, that the advantage of time might
oduce great changes in affairs. The truce was
anted them. Perhaps Æchedæmus gave them this
unſel in concert with the Conſul and his brother
fricanus, to whom it was of the higheſt importance
t to be detained in Greece by the war of Ætolia.
he ſiege of Amphiſſa was immediately raiſed, and
cilius having reſigned his army to the Conſul, re-
med his route for Rome.

There was no farther obſtacle to the deſigns and Liv.
ſires of the Conſul. He immediately meditated up- xxxvii. 7.
n repairing to Theſſaly, in order to croſs Macedo-
a and Thrace, and from thence to go to Aſia. But
s brother made him reflect on the ſtate of affairs.
I highly approve," ſaid he to him, "the route

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. "you intend to take: but your ſafety entirely de
"pends upon the diſpoſition of King Philip. Fo
"if he continues faithful to us, he will open th
"ways himſelf, and ſupply our army with the pr
"viſions of all kinds, of which it will have occaſio
"for ſo long a march. But if he ſhould abandon u
"you would be expoſed to great dangers in paſſin
"through Thrace. For which reaſon I adviſe yo
"before you engage in this deſign, to ſound th
"Prince upon it. The moſt aſſured means of know
"ing his real ſentiments, is to ſend a courier to hi
"who will ſurprize him by arriving unexpectedly."

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, a young Roman, fu of ardour and vivacity, was charged with this com miſſion. He ſet out from Amphiſſa, and with th horſes which were laid in readineſs on his route, h expedition was ſo prodigious, that on the third day h arrived at Pella. The King was at table, and even i his cups, when Gracchus was preſented to him. Th was to the courier a ſign, that he meditated no deſig to the prejudice of the Romans. That Prince recei ed him very graciouſly; and the next day, ſhew him the convoys which he kept in readineſs for th Roman army, and gave him all poſſible aſſurance that the bridges were laid over the rivers, and th ways made eaſy and practicable. The courier retur ed, with the ſame diligence as he came, to carry th good news to the Conſul, whom he met at * Thau maci.

Liv. xxxvii. 7. The army full of confidence and joy immediate entered Macedonia, where every thing was in readine to give them a good reception. Philip received the in effect with all the marks of good-will that coul be expected from the moſt zealous and faithful all He ſupplied them with a truly royal generoſity wit all refreſhments, and neceſſary aids. † In the feaſt

* A city of Theſſalia.

† Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas viſa, quæ commendibil apud Africanum erant; verum ſicut ad cætera egregium, ita à com tate, quæ ſine luxuria eſſet, non alienum. Liv.

which

hich he gave the Conſul, his brother, and the prin- A. R. 562; Ant. C. 190.
pal Roman officers, he behaved with an eaſy and
aceful air, that had its merit with Scipio Africanus.
or that great man, who excelled in all things, was
o enemy to a certain dignity of manners and a no-
e generoſity, provided it did not degenerate into
xury.

The praiſe Livy gives Scipio Africanus in this
ace, is alſo much in favour of Philip. He enter-
ined at that time in his palace the moſt illuſtrious
mankind then in being: a Conſul of the Roman
eople, and at the ſame time at the head of their
mies; and what was ſtill greater, Scipio Africanus,
e Conſul's brother. Profuſion is common, and
ems pardonable on theſe occaſions. There was none
Philip's reception of his gueſts. He entertained
e a great King, and with a magnificence that ſuited
eir dignity and his own, but which had nothing
ceſſive in it, nor that argued pomp and oſtentation;
d which was infinitely heightened by obliging man-
rs, and an attention in introducing with taſte, and
cording to the occaſion, whatever could be agree-
le to his gueſts. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas*
a. Theſe perſonal qualities did him more honour
the ſenſe of Scipio, and rendered Philo more eſti-
able to him, than the moſt ſumptuous profuſions
uld have done. This fine taſte on both ſides, which
uncommon in Princes and great perſons, is a good
odel for thoſe of that high rank. But it requires
ſmall courage and force of mind, a very refined
nſe of true greatneſs, and an highly ſuperior merit
all things, not to be carried away by the torrent of
ample, and a mode become univerſal. A King,
wever, ought to be ſenſible, that it is for him to
ve the law, and not to receive it; and Pliny juſtly
ſerves *, that the conduct of Princes infallibly be-
mes the rule of their ſubjects, who, in order to act

* Vita Principis cenſura eſt, eaque perpetua. Ad hanc dirigimur, hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quam exem-. PLIN. in Panegyr. Traj.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. aright, do not ſtand in need of edicts and decrees, b of good examples.

The Conſul and his brother, in acknowledgme of the noble and generous manner with which Ph lip had received the army, according to the pow they had received, remitted the reſt of the money was to pay, in the name of the Roman People.

Philip ſeemed to make it a duty and pleaſure accompany the Roman army, and to ſupply it wi all that was neceſſary, not only in Macedonia, but far as Thrace. His experience of the ſuperiority the Roman forces to his own, and his inability throw off the yoke of obedience and ſubjection, ways grating to a King, obliged him to conciliate People, upon whom from thenceforth his fate d pended; and it was prudent in him to do That with good grace, which he was in ſome ſenſe obliged do. For, at bottom, it muſt have been hard for hi not to retain a lively reſentment againſt the Roma in effect of the ſtate to which they had reduced hi Kings are not apt to habituate dependance upo and to bear ſubjection to others, without great luctance.

Liv. xxxvii. 8. Antiochus, after the naval battle which he h loſt near Corycus, having had the whole winter prepare for ſuſtaining the weight of the Roman ar both by ſea and land, had particularly applied hi ſelf to fitting out a new fleet, for fear of being e tirely deprived of power by ſea. He had occaſi for an extraordinary number of ſhips in order to ma head againſt the enemy. For this reaſon he had ſe Hannibal into Syria, to fetch the ſhips of the Phœn cians; and had ordered Polyxenidas to refit the o ones he had already, and to cauſe new ones to built; conceiving that the remembrance of his defe would render him more careful and attentive to acq himſelf well of that commiſſion. As for himſelf, paſſed the winter in Phrygia, ſending his orders all ſides for drawing all his forces together. He h left his ſon Seleucus in Æolis with an army, to

e maritime cities. For they were ſollicited both by A. R. 562.
umenes, who reigned at Pergamus, and by the Ro- Ant. C. 190.
ans, who held Phocæa and Erythræa.

The Rhodians, to make amends for the fault they Liv.
d committed the preceding campaign by arriving xxxvii. 9.
o late, ſent about the vernal Equinox the ſame Pau-
ſtratus to the aid of the Romans, at the head of a
eet conſiſting of thirty-ſix ſhips. Livius, who had
intered at Canæ, as we have ſaid, was departed from
ence with thirty ſhips, and the ſeven galleys of four
enches of oars, which Eumenes had brought, and
as advancing towards the Helleſpont, to favour the
aſſage of the Conſul's troops into Aſia. He left ten
ips before Abydos, and went with the reſt of the
eet to beſiege Seſtos, which is on the oppoſite ſhore
Europe. The ſoldiers had began the attack ſword
hand, when the Prieſts of Cybele the mother of the
ods, in their ſacerdotal robes, with frantic geſtures
cording to their cuſtom, appeared at the gates, cry-
g out that they were the miniſters of Cybele, and
ame by order of that Goddeſs to intreat the Romans
ſpare a city that was under her protection. The
ttack was ſuſpended, and a moment after the Senate,
t the head of all the magiſtrates, came to ſurrender
he city to Livius. The fleet moved from thence to
Abydos. Livius firſt ſounded the diſpoſition of the in-
abitants, endeavouring to make them ſurrender volun-
arily: but ſeeing them determined to defend them-
elves, he reſolved to employ force.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the Helleſpont, Poly- Ibid. 10,
xenidas, Admiral of the royal fleet, who was a Rho- 11.
dian exile, received advice, that the ſquadron of his
countrymen was ſet out from the iſland, and that Pau-
ſiſtratus, who commanded it, in haranguing the Peo-
ple, had ſpoke of him with haughtineſs and contempt.
Stung by this injury, and actuated by the deſire of
revenge, he reſolved to make Pauſiſtratus repent his
bravadoes. He ſent a man to him, known to them
both, with orders to tell him, that Polyxenidas was
capable, if he would conſent to it, of doing him, and

A.R. 562. Ant. C. 190. the Rhodians, a great ſervice; and that Pauſiſtratus in his turn, could reinſtate Polyxenidas in his country. He promiſed to make none of the neceſſary preparations, and to deliver up the King's whole fleet to Pauſiſtratus, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it; and for ſo important a ſervice he aſked no other recompence than permiſſion to return to Rhodes. Pauſiſtratus judged the affair of too great conſequence to be rejected with contempt, or to be believed too lightly. Couriers paſſed between them, without perſuading Pauſiſtratus till Polyxenidas, in preſence of the Rhodian agents had wrote, ſigned, and ſealed with his own ſeal a letter confided to him, by which he aſſured Pauſiſtratus that he would perform what he had promiſed. So formal an engagement diſpelled all doubts. The diſſembled negligence, which Polyxenidas made appear in the equipment of his fleet, fully convinced Pauſiſtratus, and made him fall into a real negligence. Polyxenidas well knew how to take advantage of it. To conceal his motions from the enemy, he ſet ſail after ſun-ſet with ſeventy large ſhips, and with a favourable wind, arrived in the port of Pygelus, towards the end of the night. He lay there all the next day for the ſame reaſon, and approached the coaſt of Panormus during the night. The Rhodian fleet was in the port of that city. He entered it as ſoon as it was light, and attacked it at a time when Pauſiſtratus expected nothing leſs. The latter, who was an old and very experienced warrior, was not daunted, drew up his ſhips in order of battle in the beſt manner ſo ſudden an attack would admit, fought with extraordinary valour, and was killed in the action. His fleet was entirely defeated. He had twenty-nine ſhips either ſunk, or burnt: only ſeven eſcaped, who courageouſly opened themſelves a paſſage through the enemy, and went to join the Roman fleet in the Helleſpont.

At the ſame time Seleucus retook Phocæa by the treachery of thoſe who guarded the gates, and opened them to him.

The

The inhabitants of Abydos, after having ſuſtained A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. Liv. xxxvii. 12. he ſiege many days, capitulated with the Romans. The only article that gave them pauſe related to the oldiers of the garriſon, whom Livius would have ſuf- ered to quit the place, but without their arms, whereas ney inſiſted upon keeping them. The affair was pon the point of being terminated, when the news f the defeat of the Rhodians ſnatched the victory out f the hands of Livius. That General fearing that olyxenidas, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, would come to urprize and attack the fleet he had left at Canæ, and hich he had drawn upon the ſhore, abandoned the iege in order to join it, and put to ſea.

The defeat of the Rhodian fleet gave them great Ibid. rief, and threw them into a great alarm. For, be- ides their ſhips and ſoldiers, they had loſt the flower f the Rhodian youth, moſt of the nobility having ollowed Pauſiſtratus, who was much reſpected and eloved on account of his extraordinary merit. But oon after, reflecting that they had been overcome by he fraud and not the valour of the enemy, they re- covered from their diſcouragement. Indignation, and he deſire of revenging themſelves upon a country- man, who had drawn them into this ſnare, uniting with the hope, which began to revive in their hearts, they fitted out ten galleys immediately, and ſome days after ten more. They gave the command of them to Eudamus, convinced that if he had not the other qualities of a General in the ſame degree as Pauſiſtra- tus, he would at leaſt be more circumſpect, and for the very reaſon that he had leſs fire and genius.

When he had joined Livius with his fleet, they Ibid. 13. went together to Epheſus, to give the enemy battle, or to reduce them to own their fear in refuſing to fight, which would have a good effect on the Allies. Livius, Admiral of the fleet, drew up his ſhips in a line facing the mouth of the port. But ſeeing no body move againſt him, nor accept the defiance, he left part of his ſhips at anchor near the entrance of the port, whilſt the other landed the ſoldiers, to plun-

A. R. 562 Ant. C. 190. der the country in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. They had already carried off a great booty, and approached the walls of the city, when Andronicus, who was in garriſon at Epheſus, made a ſally upon them, and after having taken part of their plunder from them, forced them to return to their ſhips, and to make off to ſea. The two fleets returned to Samos, from whence they had ſet out.

Liv. xxxvii. 18. L. Æmilius Regillus being arrived at Samos, took upon him the command of the fleet from Livius. The latter, ſome time after, repaired to Greece to confer with the Scipios, who were then in the neighbourhood of Theſſalia, and from thence to return to Italy.

Seleucus, ſon of Antiochus, to take advantage of the abſence of Eumenes King of Pergamus, who had quitted his dominions, and had joined the Romans with his troops, formed the deſign of going to attack Pergamus, the capital of the whole kingdom. Attalus, the King's brother, poſted himſelf firſt before the walls with a body of cavalry and light-armed troops, and by frequent ſkirmiſhes harraſſed the enemy, rather than gave them battle. But the experience of ſome days having ſhewn him, that he was in no capacity to make head againſt them, he ſhut himſelf up in the city, which Seleucus immediately beſieged. Much about the ſame time, Antiochus having ſet out from Apamea, incamped firſt at Sardis, and then not far from Seleucus, at the ſource of the river Caycus, with a great army, compoſed of troops of many nations.

When the news of the ſiege of Pergamus was brought to Samos, Eumenes ſet out firſt to defend his country, and arrived with his fleet at Elæa. Having found cavalry and infantry there in readineſs to follow him, he advanced with that eſcort to the aid of Pergamus, and arrived there before the enemy perceived his march, and had made any motion to ſtop him. The ſkirmiſhes immediately began again, Eumenes not daring to venture a general battle. But,

ome few days after, the Roman fleet and that of the Rhodians came from Samos to * Elæa, to extricate hat Prince out of danger. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

In conſequence, as ſoon as Antiochus knew, that hey had landed their troops at Elæa, and that ſo reat a number of ſhips were aſſembled in that fine port, and had alſo received advice, that the Conul was already arrived in Macedonia, and was prearing to paſs the Helleſpont, he thought it incument upon him to demand peace, before he ſaw himelf preſſed by ſea and land. He therefore marched nd incamped upon an eminence oppoſite to Elæa. Ie left his whole infantry there, and coming down ith all his cavalry, which amounted to ſix thouſand en, into a plain under the very walls of Elæa, he nt a trumpet to Æmilius, with orders to tell him, hat the King was come to make propoſals of peace. Liv. xxxvii. 19.

Æmilius, before he anſwered him, made Eumenes ome from Pergamus, and held a council with him, which the Rhodians were admitted. The latter ere not averſe to a peace. But Eumenes affirmed, hat in the preſent conjuncture they would treat neier with honour nor authority. "Can we," ſaid he, ſhut up as we are in a city beſieged, receive the conditions that ſhall be impoſed upon us with honour? Beſides, what force will a treaty have, that we ſhall negotiate in the abſence of the Conſul, and without the authority of the Roman Senate and People?" He added many other reaſons, and concluded, not to enter into a conference upon the ſubct of peace. The opinion of Eumenes took place, nd Antiochus was anſwered, that no propoſals would e heard before the Conſul's arrival. That Prince eing that he had no peace to hope, ravaged the hole country round Elæa and Pergamus; and then aving his ſon Seleucus there, he committed the me hoſtilities on his march upon the territory of

* Elæa was the arſenal of the navy of the Kings of Pergamus, five gues from that city.

Adra-

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. * Adramyttium, and afterwards went to the plains of Thebæ, a city, which Homer has rendered famous by the mention he has made of it in his Iliad. As theſe plains were very fertile and rich, the ſoldiers of Antiochus made much greater booty here than in any other diſtrict. Æmilius and Eumenes, having come round the coaſt with their ſhips, came to the aid of the city of Adramyttium.

Liv. xxxvii. 20. 21. At this time, a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe, that came from Achaia under the command of Diophanes, landed at Elæa, where they were received, on quitting their ſhips, by officers, whom Attalus ſent to them, and who introduced them into Pergamus during the night. They were all veteran ſoldiers enured to war. The perſon who commanded them, had learnt the art military under Philopœmen, the greateſt Captain at that time in Greece. That officer aſked but two days, as well for reſting his men and horſes, as to conſider the troops of the enemy, and to inform himſelf in their conduct.

From the time that fear had obliged Attalus, and his people to ſhut themſelves up in their city, the contempt which the Syrians conceived for the beſieged had occaſioned great ſecurity and negligence amongſt them. Moſt of them did not give themſelves the trouble to keep their horſes ſaddled and bridled. Only a ſmall number remained under arms: all the reſt were diſperſed in the country, where ſome paſſed their time in diverting themſelves, while the reſt ſought the cool places and ſhade, to eat, drink, and ſleep in at their eaſe. Diophanes, having obſerved the ſtate of the enemy from the top of the walls, ordered his troops to take arms, and to hold themſelves in readineſs at the gate of the city to execute the orders he ſhould give them. During this ſpace he went to Attalus, and told him he intended to make a ſally upon the enemy. Attalus made no ſmall difficulties to conſent to it, as he was to act with only a thou-

* A city of Myſia.

ſand

and foot againſt four thouſand, and with an hundred horſe againſt three hundred. Diophanes marched out, and poſted himſelf not far from the beſiegers, waiting the occaſion to fall upon them with advantage. Thoſe who were in the city, conſidered the enterprize of Diophanes as phrenzy, and not as the effect of prudent courage and juſt boldneſs; and the enemy themſelves caſt their eyes upon his troops with indifference enough; and ſeeing that they made no motion, did not depart from their uſual indolence, making a jeſt of the handful of men, which they ſaw appear. Diophanes kept his troops quiet ſome time, as if they had only quitted the city out of curioſity, and to ſee what paſſed without the walls. But when he obſerved, that the enemy did not keep on their guard, he ſet forward like lightning at the head of his horſe, after having ordered his foot to follow with the utmoſt expedition, and to raiſe great cries, and fell with great impetuoſity upon the enemy's poſts, who expected nothing ſo little. So ſudden an attack, accompanied with menacing cries, not only frightened the men, but the horſes, who breaking their halters, by their flight increaſed the diſorder and confuſion of the beſiegers. It even was not eaſy to ſaddle, bridle, and mount thoſe, whom the flight had not diſperſed; the Achæan horſe having occaſioned a confuſion amongſt them, that could not have been expected from ſo ſmall a number. The infantry in its turn falling upon the enemy diſperſed on all ſides, and half aſleep, made a great ſlaughter of them, and put thoſe who eſcaped their ſwords to the rout. Diophanes having purſued them as far as poſſible without expoſing himſelf, returned triumphant into the city, after having ſignalized the valour of the Achæan nation, and acquired the eſteem of all the inhabitants of Pergamus, who, both men and women, had ſeen the action from their walls. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

This event well ſhews the difference between brave, experienced, and vigilant officers, intent upon their duty, ſuch as Diophanes the deſerving pupil of

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. of Philopœmen was; and warriors, who were only ſo in name, enervated by voluptuouſneſs, regardleſs of every thing but drinking and diverſions, incapable of the leaſt fatigues, and little affected with the ſenſe of honour, and ſtill leſs with the ſucceſs of their ſervice.

The morrow after this firſt ſalley, when both ſides had continued facing each other almoſt the whole day without acting, the Syrians having retired a little before ſunſet, Diophanes fell upon them again ſuddenly, as he had done the day before, put them all to flight, and handled their rear-guard very roughly, none facing about to make head againſt him. This boldneſs of the Achæans at length reduced Seleucus to raiſe the ſiege of Pergamus, and to abandon the country.

Antiochus being informed, that the Romans with Eumenes were arrived to aid Adramyttium, removed from that city, but ravaged the whole country round about it. After having taken ſome places of ſmall importance, he retired to Sardis.

Liv. xxxvii. 22—24. App. in Syr. 104. The Roman fleet returned to Elæa, from which it had ſet out. Eumenes was then ſent home, and directed to prepare all the neceſſary means for paſſing the Helleſpont. The Rhodians poſted themſelves in the road near Rhodes, to prevent the paſſage of the enemy's fleet, which was ſaid to have ſet out from Syria. A ſecond ſquadron, ſent from Rhodes againſt the ſame fleet, and commanded by Pamphilidas, joined the firſt, of which Eudamus was Admiral. Theſe two ſquadrons when joined formed a fleet of thirty-ſix galleys, thirty-two of four benches of oars, and four of three. That of Antiochus conſiſted of thirty-ſeven large ſhips, of which three were of ſeven benches, four of ſix, beſides ten *triremes*, or ſhips of three benches. The two fleets met upon the coaſts of Pamphilia. As ſoon as the Rhodians had doubled the promontory, which projects from Sida into the ſea, they perceived the enemy, and were deſcried by them. Hannibal commanded the left wing of

of the royal fleet on the ſide of the main ſea: Apollonius, one of the principal officers of Antiochus, commanded the right. The battle enſued. The Rhodians, who were alone in this action, had all the honour of it. By the goodneſs of their galleys, and the addreſs of their ſeamen, they beat the enemy. They even drove Hannibal into the port of Megiſtus in the neighbourhood of Patara, and blocked him up ſo effectually there, that it was impoſſible for him to act in any manner for the ſervice of the King. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

Antiochus received the news of this defeat almoſt at the ſame time that he was informed the Roman Conſul was advancing by long marches in Macedonia, and that he was preparing to come to Aſia, by the Helleſpont. He then plainly ſaw the impending danger, and made haſte to take all poſſible meaſures to prevent it.

He ſent Ambaſſadors to Pruſias King of Bithynia, to inform him, that the Romans were preparing to enter Aſia. They were inſtructed to make him ſenſible of the effects of this enterprize, and to repreſent to him in the ſtrongeſt manner, "That their ſole deſign was to aboliſh regal power, in order to reign over the Univerſe alone. That after having conquered and ſubjected Nabis and Philip, their aim was now againſt him (Antiochus.) That if he had the misfortune to be overpowered, the fire gradually gaining ground would ſoon reach Bithynia. That as to Eumenes, he had nothing to expect from him, as he had put the chains on himſelf, and had voluntarily ſubmitted to ſlavery." Liv. xxxvii. 25.

Theſe motives had made an impreſſion upon Pruſias: but the letters which he received at the ſame time from the Conſul Scipio and his brother, very much conduced to diſpel all theſe ſuſpicions and fears. "The latter repreſented the perpetual cuſtom of the Roman People to heap honours and advantages upon the Kings who cultivated their alliance: and he cited examples of this kind, in which he had had a great ſhare. He obſerved that in Spain, ſeveral, from petty Princes

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. Princes as they were before, were become great Kings, ſince they had put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. That he had not contented himſelf with reſtoring Maſiniſſa the kingdom of his fathers, but that he had added to it the dominions of Syphax, by whom he had been before deprived of his own; ſo that he was not only the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Kings of Africa, but there was not another in the whole univerſe, who could be compared with him for greatneſs, power, and ſplendor. That Philip and Nabis, after having been conquered in war by Quintius, had been left upon the throne. That the year before, the tribute Philip had engaged to pay, had been remitted to him, and his ſon, who had been kept as an hoſtage at Rome, ſent home; and that that Prince himſelf had conquered ſeveral cities out of Macedonia, without being oppoſed by the Roman Generals. That Nabis would ſtill poſſeſs ſupreme power, if his own madneſs, and the perfidy of the Ætolians had not put an end to his life."

The arrival of Livius, who had before commanded the fleet, and whom the Roman People had ſent to Pruſias in quality of Ambaſſador, finally determined him. He ſhewed on which ſide it was reaſonable to preſume victory would declare, and how much ſafer it was for him to confide in the amity of the Romans, than in that of Antiochus.

Liv. xxxvii. 29, 30. Antiochus, diſappointed in the hope he had conceived of bringing over Pruſias to his party, had no thoughts but of oppoſing the paſſage of the Romans into Aſia, to prevent it from becoming the theatre of the war. He believed, that the beſt means for ſucceeding in this, was to recover the empire of the ſea, which he had almoſt entirely loſt by the loſs of the two battles I have related. That he ſhould then be in a condition to employ his fleets where he pleaſed; and that it would be impoſſible for the enemy to croſs the ſtrait of the Helleſpont, and to tranſport their army into Aſia, when his fleets ſhould have nothing to do but to prevent it. He therefore reſolved to venture ano-

another battle; and in order to that he repaired from Sardis to Epheſus, where his fleet lay. He reviewed it, put it in the beſt condition he could, abundantly ſupplied it with all that was neceſſary for a new action, and ſent it again under the command of Polyxenidas in queſt of the enemy, and to give them battle. What principally determined him to take this reſolution, was his having received advice, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet had remained near Patara to beſiege it, and that King Eumenes was gone to meet the Conſul at the Cherſoneſus with all his ſhips. A. R. 562, Ant. C. 190.

Polyxenidas found Æmilius and the Roman fleet near Myonneſus, a maritime city of Ionia. The Romans had fourſcore galleys, including the two and twenty of the Rhodians. Antiochus's fleet conſiſted of ninety ſhips, amongſt which were three of ſix and two of ſeven benches of oars. The Romans had the ſuperiority over the Syrians in the ſtrength of their ſhips and the valour of their ſoldiers; and the Rhodians by the nimbleneſs of their galleys, the experience of their pilots, and the dexterity of their rowers. But what gave the enemy moſt terror, were the fires which they ſaw in the Rhodian veſſels; an invention uſed before with ſucceſs by the latter, and which gained them the victory upon this occaſion. For the King's galleys not daring to preſent their heads to thoſe of the enemy which were armed with fire, turned aſide to avoid them, and thereby received in flank the ſtrokes of their beaks, which they were not in a condition to return; and if any of them preſented that part, it was filled with the flames, which they dreaded much more than the arms of the enemy. But the valour of the ſoldiers contributed more than all things elſe to the victory of the Romans. For the Prætor having broke through the main body of the Syrians, by taking a compaſs, fell upon the rear of thoſe engaged with the Rhodians; and immediately the galleys of Antiochus, inveſted both in the centre and left wing, were either taken or ſunk. Thoſe who were in the right wing ſtill ſuſtained the fight, more terrified

with

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. with the misfortune of their companions, than by any loſs they had hitherto ſuffered themſelves. But when they ſaw that the greateſt part of the fleet was ſurrounded, and that the Admiral galley of Polyxenidas made off, leaving the reſt in danger, they immediately hoiſted their ſmall ſails, and fled to Epheſus with a fair wind. Polyxenidas loſt in this battle forty-two ſhips, of which the Romans took thirteen, and either burnt or ſunk the reſt. On the ſide of the Romans, there were two ſunk, and ſome others a little ſhattered. One Rhodian galley was taken. This was the event of the battle of Myonneſus.

SECT. III.

Antiochus, in his confuſion for the loſs of the naval battle, abandons the paſſage of the Helleſpont to the Romans. Reflexion upon the imprudence and blindneſs of Antiochus. He draws together as many troops as he can. Æmilius ſends gallies for the Conſul's paſſage. He beſieges Phocæa, which ſurrenders. The Conſul paſſes the Helleſpont, and enters Aſia. Antiochus ſends propoſals of peace to the Romans. His Ambaſſador endeavours to gain Scipio Africanus by conſiderable offers. Fine anſwer of Scipio. Antiochus prepares for the war. He ſends Scipio's ſon to him. The Conſul marches in queſt of the King to give him battle. The armies draw up in battle on both ſides. Chariots armed with ſcythes. Battle fought near Magneſia. The King's army is defeated and cut to pieces. The cities of Aſia Minor ſurrender to the Romans. Antiochus demands peace. Speech of his Ambaſſadors. Anſwer of Scipio Africanus. Conditions of peace impoſed upon the King. Eumenes ſets out for Rome with the Ambaſſadors. Cotta gives the Senate and people of Rome an account of the victory gained over Antiochus. Audience granted Antiochus's Ambaſſadors. Treaty of peace ratified. Ten commiſſioners appointed to regulate the affairs of Aſia. Principal conditions of the treaty. Naval tri-

umph

umph of Regillus. L. Scipio, on his return to Rome, is ſirnamed ASIATICUS, *and has the honour of a triumph. The conqueſt of Aſia introduces luxury into Rome. Reflexions upon the conduct of the Romans in reſpect to the Grecian Commonwealths, and of the Kings both of Europe and Aſia; and at the ſame time upon the relation which all thoſe events have to the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Church.*

THE loſs of the ſea-fight near Myonneſus ſo much affected Antiochus, that he ſeemed entirely confounded by it. As if reaſon had abandoned him on a ſudden, he immediately took meaſures manifeſtly contrary to his intereſts. In his conſternation, he ſent orders for his troops to retire from Lyſimachia, and the other cities of the Helleſpont, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, who were marching that way in order to enter Aſia; whereas it ſhould have been neceſſary to ſend them thither, if they had not been there before; becauſe That was the only means to prevent their paſſage, or at leaſt to retard it. For Lyſimachia, which was a very well fortified place, was capable of ſuſtaining a long ſiege, and perhaps of holding out till the winter was much advanced, which would have incommoded the enemy exceedingly by the want of proviſions and forage: and in the mean time he might have found means of accommodating with the Romans, not to mention the unforeſeen advantages, that time might have produced. A. R. 562, Ant. C. 190. Appian. in Syr. 104.

He not only committed a great fault in withdrawing his troops from thence at a time when they were moſt neceſſary there, but he did it with ſo much precipitation, that all the ammunition and proviſions were left behind, of which he had laid up conſiderable magazines. In conſequence, when the Romans made themſelves maſters of them, they found all the proviſions their army had occaſion for, in as great abundance as if they had been purpoſely laid up for them, and the paſſage of the Helleſpont was ſo open

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. and eaſy, that they tranſported their army without the leaſt oppoſition.

We here plainly ſee what is ſo often inculcated in the ſcripture, that when God intends to puniſh and deſtroy a kingdom, he deprives its King, governors or miniſters, of counſel, prudence, and courage. He menaces his people thus by Iſaiah. "For behold the Iſai. iii. 1, 2, 3. Lord, the Lord of Hoſts doth take away from Jeruſalem, and from Judah, the ſtay and the ſtaff, the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent and the ancient, —the honourable man, the counſellor—and the eloquent orator." But it is very remarkable, that the Pagan hiſtorian ſays here in expreſs terms, and App. in Syr. 104. repeats it twice, "That * God deprived the King of ſenſe and reaſon; a puniſhment," ſays he, "that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into ſome great misfortune." He deprives him, that is to ſay, he takes from him preſence of mind, prudence, and judgment: he diveſts him of all ſalutary thoughts; he makes him in a manner abſtracted, and even averſe to all the good counſels that can be given him.

This is what David aſked of God in reſpect to Ahithophel Abſalom's counſellor: "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counſels of Ahithophel into fooliſhneſs." However wiſe his advice may be, make it ſeem fooliſh and abſurd to Abſalom. And this was what happened. —— "For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counſel of Ahithophel," TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING THE EVIL UPON ABSALOM which he deſerved.

In all ages happen the like events, ſo evidently marked with the hand of God, that the moſt ſtupid and irreligious of men cannot help acknowledging providence in them.

Liv. xxxvii. 31. After the naval battle, Antiochus retired to Sardis, from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors into Cappadocia

* Θεὸς βλάπλοντος, ἤδη τὸς λογισμὸς, ὅπερ ἅπασι, προσίσιον ἀτυχήμα ἐπιγίγνεται, ἃ μὴ ὕτε τὸν δίκαιον ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. App.

to King Ariarathes to demand aid, and into all the other parts, from whence he had reaſon to hope any, being ſolely ingroſſed by the deſign of giving the Romans battle by land. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

The Prætor Æmilius ſet ſail for Chios (or Scio) and after having refitted his ſhips that had ſuffered, he ſent L. Æmilius Scaurus to the Helleſpont with thirty galleys, to carry the Conſul's army to Aſia. He left the Rhodians at liberty to return home, after having divided the ſpoils with them taken from the enemy by ſea and land. But before they made uſe of the Prætor's permiſſion to retire, they were deſirous to render the Romans ſervice, in aſſiſting the Conſul to tranſport his troops into Aſia, and they did not return to Rhodes, till after this new proof of their zeal.

In the mean time Æmilius had formed the ſiege of Phocæa. The city, after having long defended itſelf, at length opened its gates to the Romans, upon condition that the inhabitants ſhould not be treated as enemies. But the rage and avarice of the ſoldiers prevailed over the Prætor's authority, and notwithſtanding his prohibition the city was plundered.

The Conſul arrived at length at Lyſimachia, which he found abandoned by the army, and full of proviſions of all kinds. He reſted there ſome days, to wait the arrival of the baggage and ſick men which he had been obliged to leave in ſeveral forts of Thrace. When the whole was come up, they reſumed their march, and arrived upon the banks of the Helleſpont; and with the aid of Eumenes, who had made all the neceſſary preparations, they paſſed from the other ſide without tumult and confuſion, as if the queſtion had been to enter an Ally's country, and without any reſiſtance. It was matter of great joy and confidence to the Romans to find the paſſage to Aſia open in this manner, where they expected that they ſhould have great difficulties and dangers to encounter.

They remained during ſome time on the banks of the Helleſpont, becauſe it was the time when the

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. Salii carried the ſacred ſhields in proceſſion at Rome, on which days it was not allowed to travel. This reaſon, which regarded Scipio Africanus in a ſtill more particular manner, becauſe he was himſelf of the number of the Salii, had prevented him from following the army, which was againſt ſetting out till he had rejoined it.

Liv. xxxvii. Polyb in Excerp. Legat. c. 23. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110. When Antiochus knew, that the Romans had paſſed the Strait, he began to believe himſelf undone. He then deſired to be delivered from a war, in which he had improperly engaged, and without having maturely conſidered all the conſequences. He therefore thought of ſending an Embaſſy to the Romans, to propoſe conditions of peace to them. All that Prince had heard of the character of Scipio Africanus, of his greatneſs of ſoul, generoſity, and clemency, in regard to the conquered States as well of Spain as Africa, gave him hopes, that that great man, ſatiated with glory, would make no great difficulties to come into an accommodation: and the rather as he had a preſent to make him, to which he could not but be infinitely ſenſible. This was his own ſon, who was very young, and had been taken in the beginning of the war, and put into the hands of Antiochus. Neither the time nor the occaſion when this happened are exactly known; but it is certain, that if that Prince had been at peace with the Roman People, and the Scipios had been under particular engagements of friendſhip and hoſpitality with him, young Scipio could not have been treated at his court with more politeneſs, benevolence, and diſtinction.

It was during this halt of the troops, that Heraclides of Byzantium, Ambaſſador from Antiochus, arrived in the camp of the Romans. Having been informed, that Scipio Africanus was abſent, he would not be introduced to the Conſul. As ſoon as the perſon he expected arrived, he demanded audience, which was immediately granted him. Being admitted into the council, he began by ſaying, "That what had rendered the other negotiations of peace ineffectual be-

tween

tween his maſter and the Romans, made him hope A.R. 562. Ant. C. 190. good ſucceſs from this; becauſe all the difficulties which had cut them ſhort at that time, were now removed. That the King, to leave no room to complain, that he was for retaining any thing in Europe, had abandoned Lyſimachia. That as to Smyrna, Lampſacus and Alexandria in Troas, he was ready to cede thoſe cities to the Romans, and every other city which they ſhould demand, as in alliance with their Commonwealth. That he conſented to pay the Roman People one half of the expences of the war. He concluded, with exhorting them to remember the inconſtancy of human things, and not to rely too much upon their preſent proſperity. That they ought to be ſatisfied with making Europe the boundary of their empire, which was of immenſe extent. That if they abſolutely inſiſted upon adding ſome part of Aſia to it, the King would have moderation enough to conſent to it, provided the limits of it were clearly expreſſed and ſettled."

The Ambaſſador imagined that propoſals ſo advantageous and reaſonable in his ſenſe, could not be rejected: but the Romans did not judge of them in the ſame manner. "As to the expences of the war, as it had been unjuſtly undertaken by the King, they thought it reaſon, that he ſhould pay the whole. Neither were they ſatisfied with his making his garriſons evacuate Ionia and Æolia. Their view was to reinſtate the liberty of all Aſia, as they had of all Greece: which could not be done, if the King did not abandon all Aſia on this ſide of mount Taurus."

Heraclides, very much diſſatisfied with this public audience, and not being able to conſent to conditions, that much exceeded his powers, endeavoured, according to the orders he had received, to bring over Scipio Africanus in particular. He declared to him above all, that the King would reſtore his ſon to him without ranſom. Then, little knowing Scipio's greatneſs of ſoul, and the Roman character, he aſſured him Liv. xxxvii. 36.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. that if he could obtain peace for Antiochus, that Prince would give him whatever ſums he ſhould think fit, and divide authority with him in the government of his dominions, reſerving to himſelf only the name of King; or, if we follow Polybius, who expreſſes this more modeſtly, that he would divide the revenues of his kingdom with him.

Scipio anſwered in terms to this effect: "I do not "wonder that you little know Scipio and the Roman "in general, as you do not ſo much as know the con- "dition of the Prince who has ſent you to us. If "you pretend, that the uncertainty of ſucceſs ſhould "incline us to grant you peace more eaſily, your "maſter ſhould have kept poſſeſſion of Lyſimachia, "to prevent us from entering the Cherſoneſus, or "ſhould have come to meet us in the Helleſpont, to "have diſputed our paſſage into Aſia. But, as he "has abandoned it to us, he has received the curb "and the yoke. * Amongſt the offers he makes "me, that of reſtoring me my ſon cannot but very "ſenſibly affect me. As to the reſt, I beg the Gods "that the ſtate of my fortune may diſpenſe with the "want of them: at leaſt my heart will never think of "them as neceſſary, and I hope they never will be "capable of tempting me. If Antiochus, in return "for a private favour, requires only a private ac- "knowledgment, I ſhall make him ſenſible, that I "am not ungrateful: but, as a public man, he muſt "expect nothing from me, as it is my duty to receive "nothing from him. All that I can now do is to give "him ſalutary counſel, as a good and faithful friend. "Go therefore, and tell him from me, to lay down "his arms, and not to refuſe any of the conditions of "peace propoſed to him."

Antiochus could not reliſh ſuch propoſals, and be- lieved he ſhould run no riſque in hazarding a battle, as it would not be poſſible after he had loſt it, to im-

* Ego ex munificentia regia maximum donum filium habebo: alios deos precor, ne unquam fortuna egeat mea; animus certe non egebit. LIV.

poſe

poſe harder conditions upon him. Accordingly re- A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
nouncing all thoughts of an accommodation, his ſole intention now was to prepare for war.

The Conſul ſeeing nothing now that ought to delay him, continued his march, and arrived at Ilion. The Romans conſidered that city as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence Æneas had ſet out to ſettle in Italy. The Conſul offered ſacrifices to Minerva, who preſided in the citadel. The joy was equal on both ſides, almoſt like that of fathers and children, who meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants of that city ſeeing their deſcendants, conquerors of Africa and the Weſt, come now to reſume Aſia, as a kingdom, which had belonged to their forefathers, imagined that they ſaw Ilium riſing out of its aſhes, and born again more illuſtrious than ever. The Romans, on their ſide, felt an infinite joy from ſeeing themſelves in the antient abode of their fathers, who had given birth to Rome, and to contemplate in it the temples and ſtatues of the divinities common to them with that city. Juſtin. xxxi. 8. Liv. xxxvii.

Having ſet out from thence, they arrived in ſix days at the ſource of the river Caycus. The King was incamped in the neighbourhood of Thyatira. He was informed there, that P. Scipio had been carried ſick to Elæa; whither he ſent him his ſon. The ſight of ſo dear an object made an impreſſion both on his body and mind, in reſtoring joy and health to that ſick and afflicted father. After having long embraced his ſon, and ſatisfied the firſt tranſports of paternal tenderneſs, "Go," ſaid he to the Ambaſſadors "go, and aſſure the King that I am extremely ſenſible of his generous attention, and tell him, that at preſent I can give him no other proof of my gratitude, than in adviſing him not to think of fighting, before he knows that I am arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio was in hopes that a delay of ſome days would give the King time to make more ſerious reflections than he had done hitherto, and to think of concluding Ibid.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. a ſolid peace. For of what ſervice could his preſence have been to the King in a battle?

Though the ſuperiority of Antiochus's troops in point of number to thoſe of the Romans, was a ſtrong motive with him for hazarding a battle without delay; however, the authority of ſuch a perſon as Scipio, upon whom he had always relied in caſe of any unfortunate accident, prevailed in his thoughts. He paſſed the river of Phrygia, (the Hyllus according to Strabo) poſted himſelf near Magneſia at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp ſo as to ſecure it from inſult.

Liv. xxxvii. 37. The Conſul followed him cloſe thither. The armies were ſeveral days in view; but Antiochus did not make his quit his camp. It conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and fifty-four elephants. The Romans had in all but thirty thouſand men and ſixteen elephants. The Conſul ſeeing that the King made no motion, aſſembled his council to deliberate upon the meaſure he ſhould take, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in avoiding to come to blows. He repreſented, "that the winter approaching, it would be neceſſary, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, to keep the ſoldiers incamped; or if they went into winter-quarters, to refer the deciſion of the war to the year following." Never did the Romans ſhew ſo much contempt for an enemy as on this occaſion. They all cried out, that it was neceſſary to march immediately againſt the enemy, and to take advantage of the ardor of the ſoldiers, who were already to paſs the foſſes and ſtorm the paliſades, in order to attack them in their camp, if he did not quit it. Perhaps the Conſul was deſirous to act before the arrival of his brother, whoſe preſence would have much diminiſhed his glory.

Ibid. 39, 40. The next day, after the ſituation of the enemy's camp had been viewed, the Conſul made his army approach it drawn up in battle. The King, fearing that a longer delay might diſcourage his troops, and

aug

ugment the boldneſs of the enemy, at length made A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
hem march out. In conſequence both ſides prepared for an action, which was to be deciſive.

In the Conſul's army all was uniform enough both s to men and arms. It conſiſted of two Roman le-gions, each of five thouſand four hundred men, and wo the like bodies of Latine troops. The Romans were poſted in the centre, and the Latines on the two wings, the left of which was ſuſtained by the river. The firſt line of the centre was compoſed of the Haſ-ati: the ſecond, of the Principes; and the third, of he Triarii. And this, properly ſpeaking, was what formed the main body. On the ſide of the left wing, o cover and ſuſtain it, the Conſul had poſted almoſt on the ſame line three thouſand Achæan infantry and auxiliary troops of Eumenes; and next to them ſome-what leſs than three thouſand horſe, eight hundred of which were the troops of Eumenes, and the reſt Ro-man or Latine. He placed five hundred light-armed Trallians or Cretans at the extremity of this wing. The left wing did not ſeem to have occaſion for ſuch a reinforcement, becauſe it was judged, that the river and its banks, which were very ſteep, ſufficiently de-fended it. He however poſted four companies of horſe here. Two thouſand ſoldiers were left to guard the camp, which were Macedonians and Thracians, that had voluntarily followed the army. The ſixteen ele-phants were left behind the Triarii, to ſerve as a corps de reſerve and a rear-guard. It was not thought pro-per to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, not only becauſe the latter were much more numerous, (fifty-four to ſixteen) but becauſe the elephants of Africa, the only ones the Romans had, were much inferior both in bigneſs and ſtrength to thoſe of India, and could not ſuſtain their charge.

The King's army was more various from the diver-ſity of nations and the difference of arms. Sixteen thouſand foot, armed after the Macedonian manner, compoſed the main battle. This phalanx was di-vided into ten ſmall bodies, the front of each conſiſt-

ing

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. ing of fifty men by thirty-two in depth; and in each of the ſpaces between them two elephants were placed. This conſtituted the principal ſtrength of the army. The ſight only of the elephants gave terror. They were very large, and ſeemed more ſo from the ornaments of their heads and their plumes, in which gold, ſilver, purple, and ivory glittered: vain ornaments, which invite the enemy, by the hope of ſpoils, and do not defend an army. Theſe elephants carried towers upon their backs, with four combatants in them, not including the guide. On the right ſide of this phalanx were drawn up upon the ſame line part of the horſe: viz. fifteen hundred Gauls of Aſia, (called Gallo-Græci by the Romans, and Galatæ by the Greeks) three thouſand Cuiraſſiers armed at all points; (Cataphracti) a thouſand other horſe, which were the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring people. Next them, and at ſome diſtance from them, were placed a troop of ſixteen elephants to ſupport them. On the ſame ſide, extending the ſame wing, was poſted the King's regiment, conſiſting of Argyraſpides, ſo called becauſe they had ſilver bucklers. Beyond them, twelve hundred horſe-archers of the Dahæ, with which were joined two thouſand five hundred others of the Myſians. Then three thouſand light-armed troops, partly Cretans, partly Trallians. This wing was cloſed by four thouſand ſlingers and archers, half Cyrtæans and half Elymæans. The left wing was diſpoſed and ſtrengthened almoſt as the right, except that before part of the cavalry were placed waggons armed with ſcyths, and beaſts called dromedaries, with Arabian archers upon them, who had ſmall ſwords ſix feet long for reaching the enemy from the backs of thoſe animals. The King commanded the right; Seleucus his ſon, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three Lieutenant Generals the main body.

A fog which roſe in the morning, covered the two armies with thick darkneſs: then a ſouth-wind brought on a wet miſt, which ſpread over the whole plain.

lain. Theſe two inconveniences did not much hurt A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
he Romans, but were very incommodious to, and
uch againſt, the King's troops. For the former
ccupying only a moderate extent of country, could
owever ſee each other; and their arms, which were
r the moſt part ſolid and heavy, were not at all da-
aged by the humidity. But the different parts of
ntiochus's army were ſo remote, that the two ex-
emities were ſo far from being able to ſee each other,
at even thoſe in the centre could not diſtinguiſh what
aſſed on the two wings, and the damp had relaxed
e ſtrings of their bows and ſlings to ſuch a degree,
d the thongs of their javelins, that it was not poſſible
r them to make uſe of them.

Beſides this, the cars armed with ſcyths, by which Liv.
ntiochus was in hopes of ſpreading terror and diſor- xxxvii. 41.
er amongſt the troops of the enemy, began the con-
ſion of his own. The form of theſe cars was as fol-
ws. From the midſt of the pole iſſued ten points of
on about a cubit long, (a foot and an half) intended
break and pierce whatever came before it. On
ch ſide of the yoke or ſeat were two ſcyths, the one
vel with the ſeat itſelf, and the other turned towards
e ground; the firſt to cut obliquely, the other to
t thoſe from top to bottom who ſhould have fallen,
ſhould endeavour to creep under. And laſtly, at
e axes of each wheel two more ſcyths were faſtened,
the ſame ſituation and for the ſame effect. Antio-
us conceiving, that if he placed theſe cars in the
ar or the centre, the drivers of them would be oblig-
to make them paſs through his troops, poſted them
the front, as we have ſaid already.

Eumenes, who was acquainted with this kind of
mbat, and how doubtful an aid it was, if care was
ken to frighten the horſes who drew the cars, rather
an to attack them cloſe, ordered the Cretan archers,
e ſlingers, and the horſe armed with javelins, not to
all in a body againſt them, but divided in ſmall
atoons, and to ſhower their darts upon them from
l ſides, raiſing great cries at the ſame time.

His

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. Liv. xxxvii. 41—44.

His orders were executed, and had all the ſucceſs he expected. As ſoon as thoſe cars ſet forwards, and this was in a manner the prelude of the battle, the horſes which drew them, terrified with the horrid cries raiſed on all ſides, and overwhelmed with ſtones, darts, and javelins, took the bridle in their teeth, ran away in diſorder on every ſide in the ſpace between the two armies without feeling the reins, and turned againſt their own troops, as well as againſt the camels. This empty bugbear being thus diſperſed, the armies came to blows.

But this firſt terror ſoon occaſioned the loſs of the King's whole army. For the troops, who were near theſe cars, terrified by the diſorder and fright of the horſes, fled themſelves, and left all uncovered and without defence quite as far as the Cuiraſſiers. The latter, attacked by the Roman cavalry, could not ſuſtain the charge, and broke that inſtant, many remaining upon the place, becauſe the weight of their arms would not admit them to eſcape by flight. The whole left wing was put to the rout, and carried diſorder and conſternation as far as the main body formed by the phalanx.

The Roman legions then attacked it with advantage, the phalanx not being able to uſe their long pikes, becauſe the flying troops fell in amongſt them and hindered them from acting, whilſt the Romans diſcharged their javelins upon them from all ſides. The elephants diſpoſed in the intervals of the phalanx were of no aid to them. The Roman ſoldiers, accuſtomed in the wars of Africa to fight with theſe animals, had learnt how to evade their impetuoſity either in piercing their flanks with their javelins, or if they could approach them, by cutting their hams with their ſwords. The firſt ranks of the phalanx were then put in diſorder, and the Romans had already began to cut the rear in pieces, which had been ſurrounded, when they were informed that their left wing was in great danger.

The Conſul, convinced that his left would be ſuf- A. R. 562.
ficiently defended by the ſteep banks of the river, had Ant. C.
ſuſtained it with only four companies of cavalry, who 190.
had even removed from the river to join the reſt of
the army. Antiochus, from the right where he com-
manded, perceived this opening, and moved thither
to attack the enemy with his auxiliary troops and
heavy-armed cavalry; and he not only puſhed the
Romans in front, but filing off on the ſide of the
river, began to take them in flank. The Roman
cavalry having been put in diſorder, and taken to
flight, the infantry ſoon followed it, and did not ſtop
till they arrived in ſight of their camp.

M. Æmilius, the military Tribune, had remained
there to guard it. When he ſaw the Romans come
flying thither, he went out with all his troops to meet
them, reproaching them with their cowardice and
ſhameful flight. He did more, and ordered his troops
to kill the firſt of thoſe they met flying without mercy,
that ſhould refuſe to face about. This order, given
in time, and punctually executed, had all its effect.
The greater dread ſurmounted the leſs. The flying
ſoldiers firſt ſtopped, and then returned to the battle.
Æmilius, with his body of troops, which conſiſted of
two thouſand men, all brave and enured to war, op-
poſed the King, who vigorouſly purſued thoſe that
fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, upon the
advice he received of the diſorder of the left wing, flew
to it, and arrived ſeaſonably with two hundred horſe.
Antiochus, ſeeing that thoſe he purſued before, re-
turned to the charge, and that the troops who arrived,
ſome from the camp, and others from the battle,
were upon the point of puſhing him on all ſides, turn-
ed his back in his turn, and retired with precipitation.

The Romans being thus victorious on the right and
left wings, paſſing over the heaps of dead bodies, eſpe-
cially in the centre, where they had found moſt re-
ſiſtance, in effect of the bravery of the troops, and
where the flight had been moſt difficult through the
weight of the arms, ran towards the camp of the de-
feated

A.R. 562. Ant. C. 190. feated to plunder it. The horſe of Eumenes firſt, and afterwards thoſe of the Conſul, purſued the enemy in the plain, killing all that fell into their hands. But what was moſt pernicious to the flying troops, was meeting the cars, elephants, and camels. For being diſperſed on all ſides, and throwing down one another through their eagerneſs to eſcape the victor, they were cruſhed under the feet of thoſe animals. More were killed in the camp than in the battle. For it was thither flight carried moſt of the defeated, and they fought with moſt obſtinacy there before the intrenchments, in hopes of being ſuſtained by thoſe that had been left in the camp to guard it. In conſequence the Romans, who had expected to carry it on the firſt aſſault, inraged with having been ſtopt ſo long at the gates, ſhed more blood than they would have done had they entered it ſooner.

Antiochus loſt fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe in this battle. The number of the priſoners amounted to only fourteen hundred men. Fifteen elephants were alſo taken with their guides. Many were wounded on the ſide of the Romans; but they left only three hundred foot and fourſcore horſe upon the ſpot. Eumenes loſt only twenty-five of his troops. The next day they ſtript the dead of their ſpoils, and aſſembled their priſoners.

It is obſerved, that one of the cauſes of the loſs of this battle, was the manner in which the King had drawn up his phalanx. It conſtituted the principal ſtrength of his army, and had hitherto paſſed for invincible. It conſiſted ſolely of old, warlike, robuſt ſoldiers, full of vigour and courage. In order therefore to have enabled them to do him moſt ſervice, he ſhould have given them leſs depth and more front; whereas by drawing them up two-and-thirty deep, he rendered half of them uſeleſs, and poſted new-raiſed troops upon the reſt of the front, without courage or experience, in which he ought to have placed no confidence. Antiochus, in this, had however only followed the method obſerved by Philip and Alexander

der, who drew up their phalanx in the ſame manner. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
But in proceſs of time, able Generals reduced the depth to ſixteen, and even to eight, according to the exigency of different caſes and different occaſions.

The fruit of this victory gained at Magneſia near Sipylus, was the ſurrender of all the cities of Aſia Minor, which came either immediately, or ſoon after, to ſubmit to the Romans. Neither Hannibal nor Scipio were preſent in this battle. The firſt was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, and the other continued ſick at Elæa. Liv. xxxvii. 45.

Antiochus having fled with ſome of his people, arrived about midnight at Sardis with a ſmall number of troops, which he had picked up on his way. There, being informed that his ſon Seleucus, and ſome of the grandees of his court, had retired to Apamæa, he ſet out towards the end of the night for that place with his wife and daughter. They ſoon after paſſed Mount Taurus with the utmoſt diligence to enter Syria.

The Conſul had already arrived at Sardis, where his brother P. Scipio joined him, having ſet out as ſoon as his health would permit. It was there that a trumpet from Antiochus came to deſire Scipio Africanus to prevail upon the Conſul his brother, that that Prince might ſend Ambaſſadors to him, which was granted him. Some days after the King ſent Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater his nephew. They applied firſt to Eumenes, whom they believed the moſt averſe to peace on account of the antient quarrels between him and Antiochus. But having found him more tractable than either they or the King had expected, they went to P. Scipio, who preſented them to the Conſul. That General aſſembled his whole council to give them audience, and when they were introduced to them: "Romans, (ſaid "Zeuxis) without ſeeking to excuſe ourſelves, we "only aſk you what we are to do to expiate the im-"prudence into which Antiochus has fallen, and to "induce you to forgive him, and grant him peace. Liv. ibid.

"You

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. "You have always with generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul pardoned the Kings and States you have overcome. How much more ought you to do ſo now after a victory, which renders you maſters of the Univerſe? * Laying aſide all animoſity againſt mortals, you ſhould have no thoughts for the future; but, after the example of the Gods, to pardon and do good to mankind."

Liv. xxxvii. 45. Before the Ambaſſadors arrived, the anſwer of the Romans was ready. P. Scipio, who was appointed to make it, ſpoke to them to the following effect. "† Of all the things, which are naturally dependant on the Gods, we poſſeſs only thoſe which they have vouchſafed to beſtow. As to our courage, which depends only upon us, it has always been the ſame, in whatſoever ſituation we have been. As ill fortune has never been able to depreſs it, proſperity is not capable of exalting it. To prove what I ſay, I might mention the example of your Hannibal, if I had not your own to ſet before you. When we had paſſed the Helleſpont, before we had ſeen your camp and army, whilſt the event of the war was ſtill uncertain, you came to treat with us of peace. Now the ſame conditions, which we then propoſed to you, when things were equal on both ſides, we now propoſe again, when you are defeated and we victorious. You ſhall abandon all you poſſeſs in Europe, and in Aſia on this ſide of Mount Taurus. You ſhall give us, for the charges of the war, fifteen thouſand ‡ Euboic talents, five hundred down, and two thouſand five hundred when the Senate and People of Rome ſhall have ratified the treaty. You ſhall pay the remaining

* Poſitis jam adverſus omnes mortales certaminibus, haud ſecus, quam deos, conſulere & parcere vos generi humano oportet. Liv.

† Romani, ex iis quæ in deûm immortalium poteſtate erant, ea habemus, quæ dii dederunt. Animos, qui noſtræ mentis ſunt, eoſdem in omni fortuna geſſimus, gerimuſque: neque eos ſecundæ res extulerunt, nec adverſæ minuerunt. Liv.

‡ Fifteen Attic talents would be about two millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling: Thoſe of Eubœa were ſomething leſs.

"twelve

twelve thouſand in twelve equal annual payments. A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
It is alſo juſt, that you ſhould pay Eumenes * four hundred talents, and the reſt of the corn, which was due to his father. When you have accepted theſe conditions, that we may rely upon your executing them, you ſhall give us twenty hoſtages, which we ſhall chuſe. But the Roman People can never be aſſured of being at peace with a Prince, who keeps Hannibal at his court. We therefore previouſly to all things demand that you deliver him up to us, as well as Thoas the Ætolian, who has moſt contributed in exciting this war. The King, by delaying too long, will make peace when his fortune is become more precarious. If he delays longer, † let him know, that it is more difficult to make the fortune of Kings deſcend from its greateſt height to a middling condition, than to precipitate it from the latter to the loweſt ſtate."

Scipio's diſcourſe begins with a maxim, which ems great, but is really ſo only through pride. This ſtinction between external goods, dependant upon ovidence, and thoſe of the ſoul, dependant ſolely up- human will, is the conſtant and almoſt univerſal inion of the Pagan world. Cicero explains himſelf this head ſtill much more ſtrongly by the mouth of otta, who, as well as himſelf, was of the ſect of the cademics. " All ‡ men, ſays he, are convinced, at they hold all fortuitous and exterior goods from e Gods, as well as all the conveniences of life, but t virtue. Was there ever man who thanked the ds, that he was a good man? No certainly: but e Gods are thanked for riches, honours, and health.

De Nat. Deor. XI. 86, 87.

* Four hundred thouſand crowns.

† Sciat regum majeſtatem difficilius à ſummo faſtigio ad medium rahi, quam à mediis ad ima præcipitari. Liv.

‡ Hoc quidem omnes mortales ſic habent, externas commoditates— iis ſe habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit. ium quis quòd bonus vir eſſet, gratias diis egit unquam? At, quòd es, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis. Jovemque optimum, maxi- m, ob eas res appellant, non quòd nos juſtos, temperantes, ſapien- efficiat, ſed quòd ſalvos, incolumes, opulentos, copioſos.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190. Jupiter is called moſt good, moſt potent, not beca
he makes us juſt, prudent, wiſe; but becauſe he
fords us protection, ſafety, riches, and health." T
Epiſt. 18. lib. i. Horace alſo thought, which he expreſſed, in
words, in theſe two lines:

Sed ſatis eſt orare Jovem, quæ donat & aufert.
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mî animum ipſe parab

Theſe are the ſentiments men derive from the corr
tion of their nature, which is averſe to ſuffering
juſt dependance, wherein the creature is in reſpect
God in all things in general and without exception

Liv. xxxvii. 45. The Ambaſſadors of Antiochus had orders to
cept all the conditions the Romans ſhould think fi
preſcribe: ſo that there was nothing farther in queſt
on the King's part, but to ſend Ambaſſadors to Ro
The Conſul diſtributed his troops into the cities
Magneſia upon the Meander, of Tralles, and Ep
ſus, to quarter there during the winter. Some d
after the hoſtages he had demanded of the King, w
brought him to the laſt place. Eumenes ſet out
Rome at the ſame time with that Prince's Amba
dors; and they were followed by thoſe of all the
ferent States of Aſia.

As ſoon as Hannibal and Thoas were apprized t
a treaty was negotiating, rightly judging that t
ſhould be ſacrificed, both provided for their ſafe
before it was concluded.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Cn. Manlius Vulso.

I omit here ſome facts of the preceding year,
which I ſhall return.

Under theſe new Conſuls arrived at Rome M. A
relius Cotta, L. Scipio's lieutenant, with the Amb
ſadors of Antiochus, King Eumenes, and the Amb
ſadors of the Rhodians.

Liv. xxxvii. 52. Cotta related, firſt in the Senate, and then in
aſſembly of the People, all that had paſſed in A
P

ceſſion and thankſgivings were decreed for three for ſuch great ſucceſſes, and forty great victims ſacrificed. A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

udience was then given to Eumenes preferably to thers. "He began by thanking the Senate in words for the diſtinguiſhed protection they had rded him, in delivering himſelf and his brother n the ſiege carried on againſt Pergamus the capital is dominions, and in ſecuring his kingdom againſt unjuſt enterprizes of Antiochus. He then con-ulated the Romans upon the ſucceſs of their arms ea and land, and upon the glorious victory they lately obtained, by which they had driven Antio-s out of Europe, and all that part of Aſia on this of Mount Taurus. He added, that as to what ted to his perſon and the ſervices he had endeavour-o render the Commonwealth, he choſe, that the ate ſhould be informed of them rather by the Ro-n Generals than from his own mouth." Liv. xxxvii. 52--54. Polyb.

o modeſt a reſerve was generally approved: but was deſired expreſsly to ſay wherein the Senate and ple of Rome could oblige him, and what he ex-ed from them; aſſuring him that he might rely n their good will. He replied, "that if the choice reward were propoſed to him by others, he ſhould e the liberty to aſk the advice of ſo illuſtrious a body eſpect to the anſwer it was proper for him to give, void making demands that might be deemed im-deſt and exceſſive: but as it was from the Senate f he expected all he could hope, he thought it mbent on him to refer himſelf ſolely to their gene-ty." He was again preſſed to explain himſelf clear-nd without ambiguity. In this mutual conteſt of iteneſs and deference, Eumenes not being able to ſo much the better of himſelf as to comply, quit-the aſſembly. The Senate, however, perſiſted in r opinion; and their reaſon was, that only the g knew what ſuited himſelf, and was moſt for his in-eſt. He was therefore made to return, and obliged xplain himſelf.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. Eumenes then made a very fine ſpeech, the p
port of which was to demand of the Roman Peo
by way of recompence for his ſervices great part
Aſia Minor, which had been taken from Antioch
But, as he knew, that the Rhodians would opp
his demands under very ſpecious pretexts, he pre
ouſly refuted all that they had to ſay contrary to
intereſts. Accordingly the Rhodians on being adm
ted to audience, after having ſpoke modeſtly of th
ſervices, repreſented in a lively manner, that it was
the honour of the Roman People to reinſtate the lib
ty of all the cities of Aſia, as they had of Greece.

Thoſe two ſpeeches, the ſubſtance and a great ma
ſtrokes of which Livy has copied from Polybius,
very eloquent: but as they regard the intereſts of
States of Aſia more than thoſe of the Romans, an
have related them with ſufficient extent in the Anti
Hiſtory, I thought it neceſſary to omit them here.

Liv. xxxvii. 55. The Ambaſſadors of Antiochus were heard af
thoſe of the Rhodians. They confined themſelves
aſking, that the Senate would be pleaſed to ratify
peace, which L. Scipio had granted them. They
ſo, and ſome days after, it was alſo ratified in the
ſembly of the People. The treaty of peace was
lemnly concluded in the Capitol between the Sen
and Roman People of one ſide, and Antipater,
principal Ambaſſador and nephew of Antiochus,
the other.

Audience was afterwards given to the other dep
ties of Aſia, to which it was anſwered in general, t
the Senators, according to antient cuſtom, would ſe
ten commiſſioners into Aſia, to make ſuch regulati
as ſhould be proper, of which the ſubſtance ſhould

Ibid. 56. very near as follows: that Eumenes ſhould be put
to poſſeſſion of all the countries that had been un
Antiochus on this ſide of Mount Taurus, exc
Lycia and Caria: thoſe countries included all Lyc
nia, the two Phrygias, Myſia, the cities of Lydia a
Ionia, except thoſe which were free at the time
battle was fought with Antiochus: that all the ci

Aſia, which had paid tribute to Attalus King of A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.
rgamus, ſhould alſo pay tribute to Eumenes his
n. That thoſe which had been tributary to Antio-
us, ſhould be free and exempt from all impoſts.
hat, as to what regarded the Rhodians, they were
anted Lycia, and that part of Caria in the neigh-
urhood of their iſland beyond the Meander,
h the cities, towns, forts and lands, extending to-
rds Piſidia, except the places which had been free
fore the victory over Antiochus. Eumenes and the
odians ſeemed very well ſatisfied with this regula-
n, which really was highly advantageous to them.
The war with Antiochus made way for three tri- Liv.
phs at Rome. The firſt was that of Man. Acilius, xxxvii. 46 & 59.
o triumphed over Antiochus and the Ætolians.
e ſecond was granted to L. Æmilius Regulus, who
l defeated Polyxenidas, Admiral of the fleet of
tiochus by ſea.
Some time after, L. Scipio arrived at Rome, and Ibid. 59.
equal his brother by a glorious ſirname, he aſſumed
t of Aſiaticus. He related his ſucceſſes in Aſia
the Senate and People. The Romans returned the
ds ſolemn thankſgivings for ſo conſiderable a vic-
y, and granted their General the honour of a tri-
ph, which he had ſo juſtly deſerved. This tri-
ph, in outward ſhew, exceeded that of Scipio
icanus: but on the ſide of danger and difficulty of
war, and importance of actions, was as much in-
or to it, as L. Scipio was to his brother, or An-
chus to Hannibal. He exhibited to the eyes of the
ple two hundred and thirty-four enſigns, twelve
dred and twenty elephants teeth, two hundred and
nty-four gold crowns, a conſiderable quantity of
d and ſilver either in ingots, coined or wrought
e of all kinds. Beſides which he cauſed two and
y Generals of armies, Governors of provinces, or
t Lords of the court of Antiochus to be led be-
his chariot. He cauſed twenty-five denarii to be
ibuted to each ſoldier, (about twelve ſhillings)
e as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. horſe. After his triumph, he cauſed twice the u pay and proviſions to be given the troops, as he done before in Aſia immediately after the defea Antiochus. It was almoſt a year after the expira of his conſulſhip, when he had this triumph.

Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which not of long duration, coſt the Romans little bl and however very much conduced to aggrandize t empire. But at the ſame time this victory alſo c tributed in another manner to the ruin and perdi of the ſame empire, by introducing at Rome, the riches it brought thither, a taſte for luxury, voluptuouſneſs. For it is to this victory over An chus and the conqueſt of Aſia, that Pliny dates

Plin. xiii. 3. corruption of the manners of the Roman Comm wealth, and of the fatal change that happened i * Aſia conquered by the arms of Rome, in its t conquered Rome by its vices. Foreign riches put end to the love of poverty and the antient ſimpli which had been the principles of its honour ſtrength. † Luxury, which entered Rome as in umph with the ſuperb ſpoils of Aſia, brought wit in its train all kinds of diſorders and crimes, m more havock there than the moſt numerous ar could have done, and in that manner avenged conquered globe.

Saturday 17th

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus eſt. SENEC. de Alex.

† Prima peregrinos obſcœna pecunia mores
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt ſecula luxu
Divitiæ molles ———
Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Roma perit ———
Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.
JUVEN. Satyr. 6.

REFL

REFLECTIONS upon the CONDUCT of the ROMANS in reſpect to the GRECIAN COMMONWEALTH, and the KINGS as well of EUROPE and ASIA, and at the ſame Time upon the Relation which all theſe Events have to the Eſtabliſhment of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

WE begin now to diſtinguiſh from the facts I have hitherto related one of the principal characters the Romans, which will ſoon determine the fate of the States of Greece, and occaſion an almoſt geral change throughout the univerſe: I mean, the t of empire. This character does not ſhew itſelf firſt in full light, and in all its extent: it diſcovers lf only by little and little, or gradually: and it is ly by inſenſible degrees, but however rapid enough, t it at length attains its final purpoſe.

We muſt admit, that this people on certain occaons ſhew a moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, which, nſidered only from outward appearance, are above y thing of the kind to be found in Hiſtory, and to ich we cannot juſtly refuſe our admiration. Was ere ever a more ſhining and glorious day, than that which the Roman People, after having ſuſtained a g and dangerous war, paſſed ſeas, and exhauſted emſelves in expences, declare by the voice of an rald in a general aſſembly, that they reſtore liberty all the Republics and cities of Greece, deſiring no her fruit of their victory, than the exalted pleaſure doing good to a People, whom the remembrance ly of their antient renown rendered dear to them? e cannot read the narration of what paſſed on that mous day, without being ſoftened even to tears, d without giving way to a kind of enthuſiaſtic eſteem d admiration for ſo generous a People.

If this deliverance of the Grecian cities had been tirely void of intereſt, had no other principle but neficence of mind, and the conduct of the Romans d never deviated from ſuch laudable ſentiments, thing could certainly be greater or more glorious.

But, if we enter a little beyond this ſhining outſid
we eaſily diſcern, that this pretended moderation
the Romans had its ſource in a profound policy, w
indeed and prudent according to the maxims of t
ambitious, but far from that noble diſintereſtedne
which hiſtorians have ſo much cried up on the occ
ſion in queſtion. It may be ſaid, that the Greeks
this time abandoned themſelves to a very ill-found
joy, believing themſelves actually free, becauſe t
Romans declared them ſo.

Two powers, at the time of which we are ſpeakin
divided Greece, the Greek Republics and Maced
nia, and they were always at war: the one to preſer
the wrecks of their antient liberty, and the other t
tally to ſubject and enſlave them. The Romans, wh
were perfectly ſenſible of this ſituation of Greec
rightly perceived, that they had nothing to fear fro
theſe petty Republics, weakened by time, inteſti
diviſions, and the wars they had to ſuſtain witho
doors. But Macedonia, which had warlike troop
that did not loſe ſight of the glory of their antie
Kings, had formerly extended their conqueſts to th
extremities of the world, ſtill retained a warm, thoug
chimerical, deſire of univerſal monarchy, and had
kind of natural alliance with the Kings of Egypt an
Syria, deſcended from the ſame origin, and united b
the common intereſts of regal power: Macedonia,
ſay, gave juſt alarms to Rome, which, after the re
duction of Carthage, could have no other obſtacles t
her ambitious deſigns than thoſe powerful kingdoms
that divided the reſt of the univerſe between them, an
in particular Macedonia, which was nearer Italy tha
any of the reſt!

Rome therefore had in view to counterpoize th
Macedonian power, and to deprive Philip of the ai
he flattered himſelf with having from Greece. Thi
aid would perhaps have actually been capable of render
ing him invincible by the Romans, if all Greece ha
joined with Macedonia againſt the common enemy
To prevent this union fatal to their views, the Ro
mans

ans declared highly for these Republicks, and made their glory to take them under their protection, ithout any other apparent design, than to defend em against their oppressors. And in order to attach em by a stronger tie, they industriously profess, as reward of their fidelity, that they will protect their berty, of which all the Republicks were jealous beond all possibility of expression, and which the Kings Macedonia had always disputed with them.

The bait was most artfully prepared, and greedily allowed by the Greeks, most of whom carried their ews no farther. But the most judicious and penegting discovered the danger concealed under this re, and from time to time admonished the People the public assemblies to distrust the cloud gathering in the West, and which soon would change into a adful tempest, that would wreck them all.

Nothing at first was more candid and equitable, an the conduct of the Romans. They treated the ies and States, which put themselves under their otection, with great goodness: they aided them ainst their enemies: they were industrious in appeasg their divisions, and in putting an end to the trouas that arose amongst them, and required nothing om their Allies for all these services. By this means eir authority was established by degrees, and pred the People for an entire subjection to it.

Accordingly, under pretext of offering them their od offices, of entering into their interests, and of conciling them to each other, they rendered themves the supreme arbitrators of those, to whom they d restored liberty, and whom they considered in me sense as their freed men. They sent commissionsto them to hear their complaints, to examine their asons on both sides, and to terminate their divisions. s to the articles to which they could not make them ree upon the spot, they invited them to send their puties to Rome. They afterwards summoned such thoritatively as refused to comply, obliged them to ead their causes before the Senate, and even to appear

pear there perſonally. From arbitrators and media-
tors become judges, they ſoon aſſumed the tone o
maſters, conſidered their decrees as irrevocable dec
ſions, were highly offended if they were not imm
diately ſubmitted to, and treated a ſecond refuſal
rebellion.

Thus the Senate of Rome ſet itſelf up for the ſu
preme tribunal of the univerſe, judging all States an
Kings in the laſt reſort. At the end of every war
determined the puniſhments and rewards each ha
deſerved. It deprived the conquered People of pa
of their lands, to reward the Allies of the Commo
wealth with them: wherein there was a double ad
vantage. It attached Kings to Rome from which th
had little to fear, and much to hope; and thereb
weakened others, from whom Rome had nothing
hope, and much to fear.

We ſhall ſee one of the principal magiſtrates of th
Achæan Republic "highly complain in a public a
ſembly of this unjuſt uſurpation of a ſovereign auth
rity; and demand by what right the Romans held
haughty a ſway over them. If their Commonweal
was not as free and independent as that of Rome
By what title they pretended to ſubject the Achæa
to give them an account of their conduct? If th
ſhould approve the intermeddling of the Achæans
their affairs? And whether things ought not to
equal on both ſides?" All theſe reflexions were ju
founded in reaſon, and unanſwerable; and the R
mans had nothing to object but the law of th
ſtrongeſt.

Rome acted in the ſame manner, and obſerved th
ſame policy, with regard to Kings. She firſt attache
thoſe who were weakeſt, and leaſt capable of reſiſtin
her, to herſelf. She gave them the title of Allie
which in ſome meaſure rendered them ſacred and i
violable, and which in reſpect to them was a kind
ſafe-guard againſt more powerful Princes. She w
induſtrious to augment their revenues, and exten
their dominions, to ſhew what was to be expecte
fro

from her protection. This is what raiſed the kingdom of Pergamus to ſo high a degree of greatneſs.

In proceſs of time the Romans under various pretexts attacked theſe great Potentates, who were the maſters of Europe and Aſia. And with what haughtineſs did they not treat them, even before victory? A powerful King is incloſed within a narrow circle by a private citizen of Rome, and obliged to give his anſwer before he quits it: what haughtineſs was this! But, after having conquered them, in what manner are they treated? They order them to give them their children, and the heirs to their crown as hoſtages, and ſecurities for their good behaviour, make them lay down their arms, forbid them to make either war or alliances without their good pleaſure, drive them beyond mountains, and properly ſpeaking, leave them only an empty title, a phantom of ſovereignty, diveſted of its rights and advantages.

It cannot be doubted, but that Providence had deſtined the Romans to be the Lords of the world, as their future greatneſs had been foretold in the ſcriptures. But theſe divine oracles were unknown to them; beſides which the prediction of their conqueſts did not juſtify their ambition, which God vouchſafed to employ for the execution of the deſigns he had decreed from all eternity. Though it be difficult to be aſſured, and ſtill more to prove, that they had formed the plan of univerſal dominion from the firſt, it muſt be owned, on examining their conduct attentively, that they acted as if they always had this view, and that a kind of inſtinct had induced them to conform to it in all things.

However it were, we ſee by the event, in what this extraordinary moderation of the Romans, ſo much boaſted by their panegyriſts, terminated. Enemies to the liberty of all people, and full of contempt for Kings and regal power, conſidering the whole univerſe as their prey, their inſatiable ambition took in the conqueſt of the world: they indiſcriminately ſeized all provinces and kingdoms, and included all the people

of

of the earth under their yoke: in a word, they ſet no other bounds to their vaſt deſigns but ſuch as they were forced to ſet by deſarts and ſeas. And this we ſhall evidently ſee in the ſequel.

Hitherto we have ſeen the glorious ages of the Commonwealth. Ambition, which always was the ſoul of all the enterprizes of the Romans, was attended with ſo many glorious actions, ſuch excellent qualities, and ſhining virtues, that, eſpecially with ſuch great ſucceſſes, it may not ſeem very reproachable, and may even be conſidered as a mark of great and noble ſentiments, that riſe above the pitch of vulgar ſouls, and which alone can conduce to the glory and augmentation of a State: at leaſt this is the idea the Pagans have of it. This ambition will not always be ſo modeſt and reſerved. It will ſoon appear without veil or diſguiſe; and in the latter times of the Commonwealth, it will riſe to exceſſes, which will occaſion its ruin, and change the form of the government.

I have ſaid, that Providence deſtined the Romans to be the future Lords of the Univerſe. This truth, which is founded upon revelation, and conſequently is inconteſtable, becomes more and more evident; and with the leaſt attention to the ſeries and order of the events which hiſtory preſents us, we perceive, that every thing has relation to, and carries on, the great and eternal deſign of God concerning the eſtabliſhment of his Church. In proportion as the time of the Incarnation approaches, the conqueſts of the Romans become more rapid, and have manifeſtly more of prodigy in them. They haſten on to prepare the empire, in which the divine reign of the Son of God is to be eſtabliſhed. They render the preaching of the Goſpel more eaſy and immediate; by uniting all nations, ſo different in manners, cuſtoms, languages, and intereſts, under one and the ſame government, which will have the ſame laws, polity, commerce, morals, in which the moſt rational ſyſtem of law that the Pagan world has hitherto produced, will take place,

place; a ſyſtem that prohibits polygamy, inceſtuous marriages, arbitrary and licentious divorces, and all the diſorders ſo common, and ſo authorized in Syria, Egypt, and the Eaſt. The third empire formed by Alexander, and divided into four principal monarchies, ſeems to perceive, that the end of its duration approaches, and haſtens to give place to the fourth empire, foretold by the prophet Daniel, which is to ſwallow up all the empires and ſtates of the univerſe, in order to incorporate them in itſelf, and laſtly to ſubject them to Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, the Lord and Sovereign of all ages.

BRIEF DISCOURSE upon TRIUMPHS.

AS triumphs are frequently mentioned in the Roman Hiſtory, I thought it proper to throw together in the ſame place what is moſt eſſential to the knowledge of this ſubject, and moſt proper to give the reader a juſt and ſufficient idea of them.

The honour of a triumph was amongſt the Romans the moſt ſhining and glorious reward of military merit, as the deſcription of what paſſed in it will ſoon ſhew. Accordingly it was the moſt affecting object of the ambition of Generals, and at the ſame time a powerful motive for ſignalizing themſelves in the command of armies by actions of valour and prudence, and for gaining victories over enemies that might render them worthy of that honour.

Romulus, the founder of Rome, a * Prince born for great actions, and who had the talent of ſetting them off, was the firſt, who, after having conquered ſome neighbouring ſtates, re-entered the city in triumph with his victorious army, in the midſt of the acclamations and applauſes of the whole city.

There were two different kinds of triumphs. The great, properly called *Triumphus*: and the leſs, called

* Ipſe cùm factis vir magnificus, tum factorum oſtentator haud minor. Liv. i. 10.

Ovatio.

Ovatio. The latter is believed to be ſo called because a ſheep was ſacrificed in it, whereas a bull was the offering in the great triumph. The Ovation was granted, either when the victory was not very conſiderable, or when it was gained in the province of another, or by a General who had commanded without being inveſted with the office of Prætor or Conſul, or laſtly, when the enemy were contemptible, as revolted ſlaves.

The difference between the great and little triumph was, that in the latter the perſon who triumphed was not drawn in a chariot, but entered the city on foot without wearing the habit of triumph, not with a crown of laurel but of myrtle; and not to the ſound of trumpets, but only of flutes. In a word, this triumph was much leſs ſolemn than the great one. The * Conſul Poſtumius Tubertus was the firſt that triumphed in this manner the 251ſt year of Rome.

The great triumph was granted only for conſiderable victories, and, according to a law mentioned by Valerius Maximus, it was neceſſary, that at leaſt five thouſand of the enemy ſhould have been killed in the battle itſelf, and a much leſs number of the citizens. What had given occaſion for this law, was the exceſſive ambition of ſome Generals, who, for expeditions and battles of little importance, demanded permiſſion to enter Rome in triumph. And that this law might not be rendered ineffectual by fraud and deceit, a ſecond was paſſed, which obliged Generals to take an oath to the Quæſtor of the city, that the number of the enemies and citizens killed in the battle, mentioned in their letters to the Senate, was conformable to truth, and that they had neither augmented the one, nor leſſened the other.

The honour of triumph was ſolely granted for having extended the limits of the State, and not for having

† Triumphans de Sabinis Poſtumius Tubertus, qui primus omnium ovans ingreſſus urbem eſt, quoniam rem leviter ſine cruore geſſerat, myrto Veneris Victricis coronatus inceſſit—Hæc poſtea ovantium fuit corona. PLIN. XV. 29.

g only recovered what belonged to it before by
rce of arms. It was for this reaſon that Q. Ful-
ius was refuſed a triumph, who had retaken Capua;
nd L. Opimius, who had obliged the Fregellani to
eturn to their obedience to the Roman People.

Whatever good ſucceſs a General had in a civil
ar, the Senate neither decreed thankſgivings to the
ods, as was uſual in other wars, nor granted tri-
mphs for ſuch victories, which, though beneficial
o the Commonwealth, were always conſidered as
ournful and unhappy, having been bought with the
lood of the citizens, and rather deſerving tears and
roans than marks of joy.

The triumph, ſtrictly, was to be granted only to
he perſon, who had commanded in chief, *cum impe-*
io, and under whoſe auſpices the war had been made.
Thus a Prætor could not aſpire to this advantage,
hen the Conſul, to whom he was ſubordinate, and
ho alone had fulneſs of power, was preſent in the
ction. It is upon this principle, that in the diſpute Val. Max.
hich aroſe between the Conſul Lutatius and Vale- ii, 2.
ius Falto the Prætor, Atilius Calatinus, who had
een appointed arbitrator, gave the cauſe in favour of
utatius. However, as the Conſul had been pre-
ented by ſickneſs from acting, and the honour of
he victory appertained entirely to the Prætor, he was
lſo granted a triumph.

It was the Senate alone at firſt that granted tri-
mphs. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus obſerves, that P.
ervilius Priſcus was the firſt who triumphed by the
uthority of the People, againſt the Senate's conſent.
He was Conſul the 259th year of Rome. Livy, who
oes not mention this triumph, dates this innovation
orty-five years later. According to him, it was in
he 306th of Rome, that the Conſuls L. Valerius
nd M. Horatius, having conquered the Volſci and
he Latines, and not being able to induce the Senate,
o whom they were odious, to do them juſtice, intro-
uced the example of having recourſe to the Peo-

ple on the like occaſions, and triumphed in virt
of a decree of the People. The Senator C. Cla
dius, in the diſcourſe he made againſt this innov
tion, ſaid in expreſs terms, * that no one had ev
applied before for a triumph to the People, and th
the power of granting that honour to thoſe th
judged worthy of it, had always been left to t
Senate.

When the Generals could not obtain that hono
either from the Senate or the People, and howev
believed they had deſerved it, they made themſelv
amends in triumphing by their own authority up
the Alban mountain, about twelve miles from Rom
Papirius Maſo was the firſt, who introduced this cu
tom in the 521ſt year of Rome. Marcellus, aft
the taking of Syracuſe, not being able to obtain mo
than an ovation from the Senate, ſolemnized the gre
triumph upon the Alban mountain.

Both triumphs were granted for naval victories
well as for thoſe gained by land. The Conſul D
illius was the firſt who obtained a naval triumph.

The General who aſpired at a triumph, in ord
to obtain it, was previouſly to give the Senate an a
count of his exploits, and of the victory he had ob
tained. The Senate, for that purpoſe, aſſembled
the temple of Bellona without the city. If the ye
of his Conſulſhip or Prætorſhip was expired, and
conſequence he was only Proconſul or Proprætor,
thoſe titles were void by his entering the city, an
the perſon who triumphed, was to be inveſted wi
the right of commanding, *eſſe cum imperio*, it was n
ceſſary that one of the Tribunes ſhould propoſe
the People to exempt the General from the commo
law, and to grant him the power of commanding
for the day he was to enter the city in triumph.

* Nunquam antè de triumpho per populum actum. Semper ad
mationem arbitriumque ejus honoris penes Senatum fuiſſe---Tum p
mùm, ſine auctoritate Senatûs, populi juſſu triumphatum eſt. Liv.

Whe

When all the preparations for the triumph were mpleated, and the day fixed was arrived, the march as began from the field of Mars. The proceſſion ſually entered the city by the gate Capena. This mp was magnificent. I ſhall ſoon give an extenſive d circumſtantial deſcription of it; of which I here end only a ſlight image. The pomp began by a eat number of carriages laden with different ſpoils, d all the riches conquered from the enemy. The umpher was drawn in a chariot with four horſes. mmediately before him marched on foot the Officers, enerals, and often Princes and Kings, whom he d taken priſoners. The children of the victor, if had any, ſhared in the honour of the triumph with m, either ſitting by his ſide, or riding on horſeback, d following him with the principal officers of the my, and all the victorious troops, who were at li-rty either to ſing ſongs in praiſe of their General, even againſt him. The concourſe of the people s infinite. The pomp croſſed the Forum and the eateſt ſtreets of Rome. * When it approached the pitol, the priſoners were carried to the priſons, or equently the chiefs of the enemy were put to death the ſame day. After the triumpher had performed e duties of religion in the Capitol, he conferred fferent marks of honour upon thoſe who had diſ-guiſhed their valour in the battle, and diſtributed rtain ſums of money to all the ſoldiers of the army. he ceremony concluded with a feaſt, which he gave e principal Senators and officers of the army: after ich he was conducted home with a great train, and e ſound of drums, trumpets, and all kinds of in-uments.

Plutarch, in the life of Paulus Æmilius, has de-ibed at large, and in colours equally ſtrong and ning, the march and order of that General's tri-mph, after having conquered and taken Perſeus, the

* Cùm de foro in Capitolium currum flectere incipiunt, illos (duces ium) duci in carcerem jubent; idemque dies & victoribus impe- & victis vitæ finem facit. Cic. Verr. ult. n. 77.

laſt King of Macedonia. This was one of the mo magnificent triumphs that had ever been ſeen Rome. I ſhall copy almoſt the whole deſcription it in this place, which will give the reader an ex idea of that glorious ceremony.

TRIUMPH of PAULUS ÆMILIUS, extracte from PLUTARCH.

THE order of this triumph was as follows. In the circuſſes, Fora, and ſtreets, through which t pomp was to paſs, ſcaffolds were erected. All t citizens, dreſſed in white robes, ſpared no pains get places on them. All the temples were open the ſtatues of the Gods were adorned with crowns a garlands, and incence ſmoked upon their altars. great number of Lictors, and other public offic walked on each ſide, with ſtaves in their hands to k off the crowd, and to open the way.

This proceſſion was divided ſo as to continue d ing three days. The firſt day ſcarce ſufficed for hibiting to the eyes of the people the ſtatues paintings, which were placed in two hundred fifty carriages; a ſight ſo delightful, that the ſpe tors could not have enough of it.

The ſecond day, the fineſt and moſt magnifi arms of the Macedonians were expoſed to view, braſs and ſteel of which being new poliſhed, glitt in ſuch a manner as to dazzle the ſight. They carried upon an infinite number of carriages, though diſpoſed with much art, order and ſymm they ſeemed to be thrown together by chance; this ſeeming confuſion, though nicely ſtudied, agreeably amuſed the ſpectators, and gave the ſenſible pleaſure. Helmets and bucklers, cui and buſkins, Cretan large ſhields and thoſe of Th and quivers mingled with bits and bridles, grouped together. On the one ſide naked ſw and on the other long Macedonian ſpears, proje on the right and left, preſented their ſharp and nacing points on all ſides. All theſe different

ere tied neither too close nor too loose, so that the otion of the carriages making so many different ieces strike against and clash with each other, they ve a warlike and terrible sound: and those arms, ough conquered and taken, inspired even the vic-rs with a kind of dread and horror.

After all these carriages full of arms, came three housand men carrying coined money in seven hundred d fifty vases each, containing about * three talents, rne by four men. These three thousand men were llowed by a great number of others, who carried rns and cisterns of silver, cups made like horns, bowls d flaggons, all artificially disposed, and every one markable in itself for its magnitude, weight, and the naments in relief upon it.

The third day, the trumpets early in the morning arched at the head of the whole procession, not play-g the airs usual upon solemn festivals, but such as e used to animate the courage of the soldiers when ey are led to battle. They were followed by an ndred and twenty fat bulls, with gilt horns, and lorned with wreaths of garlands, led by young per-ns with aprons edged with purple, who were to sa-rifice them. Children came next, carrying the gold d silver vessels used in the sacrifices.

The gold coin followed these carried in seventy-seven vases, each containing three talents, and borne by

* Mr. Dacier, in his translation of Plutarch's Lives, gives us the lue of the sums both in gold and silver mentioned here, as follows. In each vase there were three talents of silver worth eighteen thou-nd drachmas, that is, about four hundred and fifty pounds sterling. onsequently in the 750 vases, there were about three hundred and enty-five thousand pounds sterling.

† Each of the seventy-seven vases contained three talents of gold, d as in these times gold was valued only at ten times as much sil-r, the three talents of gold were worth thirty of silver. Thus there s in each vase about four thousand five hundred pounds; and con-quently in the 77 there were in all about three hundred and forty-e thousand five hundred pounds According to this estimate, the hole money in specie amounted to about six hundred and eighty-ur thousand pounds. Valerius Antias, cited by Livy, xlv. 40. kes this sum amount to 750000 l. Velleius Paterculus, i. 9, to one illion three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds. he sums brought from Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius must have

four men. These vases were followed by those wh carried the sacred bowl of massy gold, which Paul Æmilius had caused to be made of the weight of te * talents and adorned with precious stones. Aft this bowl walked those who carried the bowls calle Antigonides, Seleucides, (from the name of Antig nus and Seleucus, antient Kings of Macedonia, who h used them) and the Thericleæ; (from the name Thericles, an excellent artist who had designed a executed the workmanship of them) and those w carried the gold plate of Perseus.

Immediately after came the chariot of that Prin with his arms, and upon his arms his diadem. some small distance followed his children, with th governors, præceptors, and all the officers of th household, who weeping held out their hands to t people, and taught their illustrious, but unfortuna pupils, humbly to implore the mercy of the victo These children were three in number, two Princes a a Princess, whose condition seemed the more worthy pity, as in their infant state, they were less sensible their misery. So mournful a sight, which was capa of melting the hardest hearts, drew tears from the e of almost all that were present, and rendered th unconcerned and indifferent in respect to the fate the King.

He followed his children, and all their train, i mourning robe, and in the highest anguish and con sion, like a man whom the greatness of his misfortu had entirely deprived of sense and reason. The Qu his wife was with him, according to Zonaras. A him came a troop of his friends and courtiers, w walking bare-headed, and with their eyes fixed u him, sufficiently intimated to the spectators, that t

been very considerable, as, according to Cicero, Off. ii. 76. they ficed to abolish the taxes paid by the Roman People.

* That is to say, of six hundred pounds in weight, for the t weighed sixty pounds. Thus there was to the value of an hun thousand crowns of gold in this cup: this was a very magnif one: but what must the precious stones with which it was ador have added to its worth?

were little affected with their own fate, and had no ſenſe but for that of their King.

After this crowd of the officers and domeſticks of Perſeus, four hundred crowns were carried, which cities had ſent Paulus Æmilius by their Ambaſſadors, as the reward of his victory.

Paulus Æmilius appeared laſt, in a ſuperb chariot, magnificently adorned. Though only his perſon had been exhibited, that had merited all attention without the pomp and ſplendor which ſurrounded him. But his noble mien was exalted by his robe of purple embroidered with gold; and he carried a branch of laurel in his right hand. Amongſt the other illuſtrious perſons in his train his two ſons Q. Maximus and P. Scipio were conſpicuous. His whole army followed his chariot drawn up by corps in good order with laurel branches alſo in their hands, and ſinging ſometimes verſes full of taunts againſt their General, a liberty allowed and uſual upon theſe occaſions, and ſometimes ſongs of triumph full of praiſes of his great and glorious exploits.

We muſt own that nothing could be more ſoothing to Generals, who had gained ſignal victories over the enemies of the State, than to re-enter Rome with ſuch great pomp, in the midſt of the acclamations and applauſes of an innumerable multitude, and followed by all their victorious troops. And in conſequence this pomp appeared too glorious for private perſons. Agrippa, no doubt in concert with Auguſtus, was the firſt who ſet the example of refuſing a triumph which had been decreed him. That example became a rule; and from thenceforth, the Emperors reſerved ſolely to themſelves the glory of triumphing, and gave only the ornaments of triumph to private perſons.

But if, by the pomp of triumph, military merit was glorioufly rewarded, with what pride and haughtineſs muſt ſuch a ſight inſpire the Roman citizens, who, accuſtomed from their infancy to ſee Kings and Princes ignominiouſly led before the chariots of ſuperb victors, conſidered themſelves as the maſters and ſu-

preme arbiters of the fate of whatever is greateſt and moſt honoured amongſt mankind? Did there appear the leaſt trace of humanity in a ceremony, wherein Kings and Queens in chains were exhibited as a ſpectacle to the public? Was it not affecting to ſhew an injurious contempt for the majeſty of thrones, and to inſult all the Kings of the earth, to degrade Princes in this manner, whoſe only crime was often to have been overcome? Is it not cuſtomary for the * misfortunes of Kings to excite compaſſion, and ought not their very name, which is always venerable and ſacred, to give them refuge from ſuch indignities? I do not know how Rome could juſtify acts of inhumanity ſo contrary to that goodneſs and clemency upon which ſhe piqued herſelf on all other occaſions.

* Hoc jam fere ſic fieri ſolere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ multorum opes alliciant ad miſericordiam---quod regale iis nomen magnum & ſanctum eſſe videatur. Cic. pro leg. Man. 24.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

THIS book contains the ſpace of eleven years, from 563 to 573. It treats principally of the end of the war with the Ætolians, the victories of Manlius over the Gauls in Aſia, the accuſation of Scipio Africanus, and his retreat to Linternum; the fanaticiſm of the Bacchanalians diſcovered and puniſhed; the diſcontent of Philip King of Macedonia againſt the Romans; the Cenſorſhip of Cato; and the unhappy death of Demetrius ſon of Philip.

SECT. I.

Manius Acilius triumphs over the Ætolians. The Romans defeated in Spain under Paulus Æmilius. Youth of Paulus Æmilius. That General's family. The Ætolian Ambaſſadors are ordered to quit Rome and Italy, without having obtained peace. Death of the Prætor Bæbius. Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Luſitanians in Spain. Warm conteſt in reſpect to the Cenſorſhip. Amynander is reinſtated in his kingdom by the Ætolians. The news of the approaching arrival of the Conſuls occaſions great conſternation

amongſt the Ætolians. The Conſul Fulvius arrives in Greece. He forms the ſiege of Ambracia, which makes a vigorous defence. The Ætolians demand, and at length obtain peace. Ambracia ſurrenders. The Ætolian Ambaſſadors ſet out for Rome. The treaty of peace is ratified there. The Conſul Manlius makes war againſt the Gallo-Grecians. He arrives in their country, and exhorts his ſoldiers to do their duty well. Two of the three bodies of the Gauls retire to mount Olympus. The Romans attack and defeat them there. The Conſul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls. Extraordinary action of a female Gaul priſoner. Second victory over the Gauls. Manlius returns to Epheſus. Cenſorſhip exerciſed with abundance of lenity. The Conſul Fulvius takes Samos by aſſault, and reduces the whole iſland of Cephalonia. New Conſuls. Eclipſe of the ſun. Embaſſy from the ſtates of Aſia to Manlius. Embaſſies from Antiochus, the Gauls, and Ariarathes. Conditions of the Treaty concluded between the Roman People and Antiochus. Reflections upon Antiochus. Unfortunate death of that Prince. Decrees and regulations in reſpect to the Kings and cities of Aſia. Manlius returns to Europe, and leads back his army into Greece.

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. LÆLIUS.

NOT to interrupt the ſeries of what relates to the war with Antiochus, I have omitted ſome facts, to which I now return.

Liv. xxxvii. 46. Whilſt the things of which I have ſpoke in the preceding book paſſed in Aſia, the two proconſuls Q. Minucius and Manius Acilius returned almoſt at the ſame time to Rome; both with the hopes of triumphing, the firſt over the Ligurians, and the other over the Ætolians, whom they had conquered. Minucius was refuſed that honour. Acilius, as I have already ſaid, triumphed over Antiochus and the Ætolians with abundance of pomp and magnificence.

The

The joy occaſioned by this ſhew was ſoon inter- A. R. 562.
pted, by the bad news received from Spain. The Ant. C.
oconſul Æmilius having been defeated by the Lu- 190.
anians, had left ſix thouſand men upon the ſpot, Liv.
d marched back the reſt trembling into their camp, xxxvii. 46.
ich they had defended with great difficulty, and in
ich they were even afraid to continue, and retired
forced marches into an Ally's country. This was
ſame Paulus Æmilius, who was afterwards ſo fa-
us by conquering Perſeus King of Macedonia. A
eat ought not to diſcredit a General, to whom it
y prove very uſeful, by inducing him to make no-
efforts to retrieve his reputation, as we ſhall ſoon
Paulus Æmilius did the year following. As he
act a great part in the Commonwealth, I ſhall in-
ſome ſtrokes of his life in this place extracted from
tarch.

L. Æmilius Paulus his father, who commanded, Plut. in
was killed, at the battle of Cannæ, had a daugh- Paul.
named Æmilia, who was married to the great Sci- Æmil.
and a ſon called as well as himſelf Paulus
ilius, which laſt is the perſon in queſtion. He
e into the world at a time, when a great number
perſons illuſtrious for their virtues and exploits
riſhed; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular
ner, though different from that in which young
ons acquired reputation at that time. For he did
apply himſelf to the eloquence of the bar, and he
unced intrigues, ſollicitations, careſſes, and the
r methods, practiſed by moſt People to gain the
ur of the People, by inſinuating themſelves into
good opinion by an avowed paſſion to pleaſe them.
did not take pains to make himſelf known and
med, except by valour, juſtice, and a ſtrict attach-
t to all his duties, wherein he ſurpaſſed all the
g perſons of his time.

he firſt conſiderable office he ſtood for, was the
leſhip, and the preference was given to him againſt
competitors, all ſo diſtinguiſhed by birth and me-

rit,

A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.

rit, that not one of them but afterwards attained th Conſulſhip.

Having been admitted into the college of Augur who were a certain number of prieſts, to whom th Romans aſſigned the care and ſuperintendency of th divinations taken from birds, and all ſigns and prodi gies that paſſed in the heavens, he applied himſelf i an extraordinary manner to the ſtudy of the antie rites and ceremonies of religion. As he took gre care not to innovate in any thing, he was alſo ve circumſpect in obſerving the ſlighteſt formalities, co vinced, that as in the adminiſtration of the public a fairs the Augurs had a conſiderable ſhare, when ſm matters are neglected, ſuch negligences by degrees i duce the violation of the moſt important rules, a open a door for a pernicious licence.

He was no leſs exact and ſevere in re-eſtabliſhin and cauſing to be obſerved, all the regulations of m litary diſcipline. Whilſt he commanded the armi he was never ſeen either to flatter, or careſs his ſoldie in order to gain their opinion by weak and mean co placency, as many other Generals did. He explain the minuteſt duties of their profeſſion to his troop ſhewing himſelf terrible and inexorable to ſuch diſobeyed, and holding it for a maxim, that to co quer the enemy, was almoſt a neceſſary conſequen of the war taken to form and diſcipline his cou trymen.

Plut. in Paul. Æmil.

He had for his firſt wife married Papiria, t daughter of Papirius Maſo, who had been Conſ After having lived a long time with her, and h two ſons by her, he repudiated her; ſome mot not come down to us having determined him to t divorce. But, adds Plutarch here in reſpect to parations of marriage, nothing ſeems more true th what a Roman ſaid to his friends, who reproach him on that head, and aſked him, "Is not your w "prudent? Is not ſhe handſome? Has not "brought you fine children?" To all theſe queſtio

made no other anſwer than by ſhewing them his A. R. 562. Ant. C. 190.
hoe, and aſking them in his turn: "Is not this ſhoe handſome? Is it not well made? But none of you know where it hurts me."

Divorces were allowed at Rome by the laws of the welve tables: however, no examples of them had een known before the 520th year. JESUS CHRIST, y abſolutely condemning divorces, reinſtated marage according to its primitive intention, and reſtabliſhed in its primæval purity.

In the room of Papiria, Paulus Æmilius married nother, by whom he had two male children, whom he ept in his houſe: and the two others whom he had by is firſt wife he cauſed to be adopted into the princial and moſt illuſtrious houſes of Rome. His eldeſt as adopted by the ſon of Fabius Maximus, five mes Conſul and Dictator; and the ſecond by the n of Scipio Africanus, who thereby became his faher by adoption, and his couſin at the ſame time. is this ſecond ſon of Paulus Æmilius, who is ſo ell known in hiſtory under the name of the ſecond cipio Africanus. Of the two daughters of Paulus Emilius, the one was married to the ſon of Cato the enſor, and the other to Tubero, a perſon very venable for his virtue, and one who of all the Romans ſtained himſelf with the greateſt magnanimity and onſtancy in his poverty, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

This account of the children of Paulus Æmilius ill be neceſſary for the underſtanding of many facts, hich we ſhall relate in their place.

Livy, after having related the defeat of this Gene- Liv. xxxvii. 42.
l in few words, ſays, that the colonies of Placentia nd Cremona were repeopled by ſending ſix thouſand en to them; and that two new ones were ſettled in e country which had been conquered from the oii.

In the aſſembly which was held for the election of onſuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior was nominated alone, ecauſe none of the other candidates had the cometent number of ſuffrages, that is to ſay, half of the cen-

centuries. The next day Fulvius appointed C
Manlius Vulſo his collegue.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Liv. xxxvii. 49.

The Ambaſſadors from the Ætolians, having bee
admitted into the Senate, ſhould have been induce
by the remembrance of their paſt conduct, and b
the unhappy condition to which they were actuall
reduced, to confeſs their fault or their imprudence
and humbly to aſk pardon for them. But, accordin
to their arrogant and untractable diſpoſition, the
boaſted the ſervices they pretended to have rendere
the Roman People; and by almoſt reproaching them
that it was to their valour they were indebted for thei
victory over Philip, they gave great offence to all thei
auditors by ſo inſolent a diſcourſe; and by calling t
mind antient and forgotten facts, they effectuall
made the Senate remember a much greater number o
circumſtances diſadvantageous to their nation, tha
they could inſtance in its favour. In effect, inſtea
of exciting ſentiments of compaſſion, that might ſav
them, they only inflamed the hatred and wrath, whic
occaſioned their deſtruction. A Senator having aſke
them, whether they abſolutely abandoned themſelve
to the faith of the Roman People; and another, whe
ther for the future they were determined to have n
friends nor enemies but thoſe of Rome, they gave n
ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, which occaſione
their being ordered to quit the houſe. The Senator
then cried out with one voice, "That the Ætolian
ſtill adhered to Antiochus more than ever. (Kin
Antiochus had not yet been defeated by Scipio) an
that it was this, that ſtill kept up in them the ſpir
of revolt: that in conſequence war muſt be mad
againſt them with the utmoſt vigour, till their pri
and arrogance ſhould be effectually humbled." Wha
raiſed the indignation of the Romans to its highe
pitch, was its being known, that at the time they d
mande

manded peace of the Senate, they actually made war themſelves againſt the Dolopians and Athamantes, People in the neighbourhood of Epirus, and conſequently were attacking Philip, then the ally of Rome. The Senate therefore paſſed a decree, by which they were ordered to quit Rome that day, and all Italy in fifteen. A. Terentius Varro had orders to attend them as far as the ſea; and before they ſet out, they were told, that all Ambaſſadors, who ſhould come from them, ſhould be treated for the future as enemies, unleſs they ſhould firſt have obtained permiſſion from the Roman General, who commanded in Greece, and were accompanied by a Roman officer. In this manner they were diſmiſſed. A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

The provinces of the Generals came on next in the Senate. Ætolia fell by lot to M. Fulvius, and Aſia to Cn. Manlius. Liv. xxxvii. 50.

It was at this time Cotta brought the news of the victory gained over Antiochus to Rome, and the Ambaſſadors of Eumenes, of the Rhodians, and Antiochus had audience. Ibid. 52—55.

Soon after came Ambaſſadors from the Maſſylians, who informed the Senate, that L. Bæbius, on ſetting out for his province in Spain, had been ſurrounded by the Ligurians, who had killed the greateſt part of thoſe with him, and had wounded himſelf. That that General having been carried by his order to Marſeilles without Lictors, with a ſmall number of followers, had died there the third day after his arrival. P. Junius Brutus, who commanded in Tuſcany, was ſent in his place, and charged with the command in Hiſpania Ulterior. Ibid. 57.

At the ſame time came advice, that L. Æmilius Paulus, who the year before had been defeated in that province, having drawn an army together haſtily, before his ſucceſſor came to relieve him had given the Luſitanians battle, had killed them eighteen thouſand men, and taken thirteen hundred priſoners with their camp. Ibid.

The

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. Liv. xxxvii. 58. The election of Cenſors occaſioned a very warm conteſt at Rome, becauſe many of the moſt illuſtrious Senators demanded that office with abundance of warmth. M. Porcius Cato was of this number. It was conferred upon T. Quintius Flaminius, and M. Claudius Marcellus.

Liv. xxxviii. 1. Whilſt the war was carrying on in Aſia, Ætolia was not left in tranquility. New troubles had aroſe in Athamania. After Amynander had been driven out of his dominions, they had been governed by Philip's lieutenants, who by their avarice, pride, and cruelty had ſo exaſperated the People, that they reſolved to call in their old maſter, whoſe lenity and moderation they regretted. Amynander, ſupported by the Ætolians, repoſſeſſed himſelf of his kingdom. Philip no ſooner received advice of the revolt of the Athamanians, than he ſet out with ſix thouſand men, and entered their country. But having uſed vain efforts to reduce them, he was obliged to return to Macedonia. Amynander ſent Ambaſſadors to the Roman Senate and into Aſia to the two Scipios, who had halted at Epheſus to give the troops reſt after the defeat of Antiochus. He demanded peace, and excuſed himſelf for having employed the arms of the Ætolians, in repoſſeſſing himſelf of his territories. He complained particularly of Philip's injuſtice.

Liv. ibid. 3. The Ætolians having ſubjected the Dolopians and Amphilochians, and reinſtated Amynander in Athamania, began to exult for thoſe ſucceſſes, when they were informed that the Romans had overcome Antiochus in Aſia. Some days after the Ambaſſadors whom they had ſent to Rome, returned without bringing back the peace they went to aſk, and acquainted them, that the Conſul Fulvius had already paſſed the ſea with his army. Terrified with this news they reſolved to ſend new ambaſſadors to Rome, choſen out of the principal perſons of their nation, after having engaged the Rhodians and Athenians to join theirs with them. They were in hopes, that the credit of thoſe two Republicks would make the Sena-

enate comply with the requeſt, which it had before jected. A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

Fulvius in the mean time landed at Apollonia. The Liv. xxxviii. 4—7.
rſt thing which he did was to conſult with the prin-
pal perſons of Epirus in what manner he ſhould
ommence the war againſt the Ætolians. They ad-
ſed him to begin by the ſiege of Ambracia, which
that time was gone over to the Ætolians. This
ty, beſides being defended on one ſide by the river
rethon, and on the other by a very ſteep mountain,
as ſurrounded by a ſolid wall three miles in circum-
erence. The Conſul uſed all methods the art of war
fforded for ſieges in thoſe days. It was of extreme
mportance to him with reſpect to his own reputation,
nd the ſucceſs of the whole campaign, to ſucceed in
is firſt enterprize. The attack was of the moſt vi-
orous kind, and the defence no leſs ſo. A reinforce-
ent of five hundred choſen men, whom the Ætoli-
ns found means to throw into the place, notwith-
tanding the vigilance of the Romans, very much aug-
nented the courage and confidence of the beſieged.
They employed new inventions every day for burning
he machines of the enemy. They made frequent
allies, in which they had almoſt always the advan-
age. Their defence was ſo vigorous and obſtinate,
hat the Conſul almoſt repented having undertaken
his ſiege, the ſucceſs of which began to appear doubt-
ful to him.

The Ætolians, on their ſide, were in no leſs anxiety. Liv. ibid. 8, 9.
On the one hand, Ambracia was vigorouſly preſſed;
on the other, their ſea-coaſts were ravaged by the Ro-
man fleet: and laſtly, Amphilochia and Dolopia were
a prey to the Macedonians. It was abſolutely impoſ-
ſible for them to ſuſtain the war at the ſame time in
three different places. Things being in this ſtate,
the Prætor aſſembled the principal perſons of the na-
tion, to know what they would adviſe him to do.
"All were of opinion that it was neceſſary to aſk
peace, and to conclude it upon advantageous conditi-
ons, if poſſible, or at leaſt ſupportable ones, if they
could

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. could not do otherwiſe. That they had undertake the war with the hope of being ſupported by the force of Antiochus. But in what manner could they carr it on after that Prince had been defeated by ſea an land, and driven almoſt out of the bounds of the un verſe beyond the heights of mount Taurus? Tha Pheneas and Damoteles ſhould have full power to a according to their zeal and abilities in the preſent con juncture, as they ſhould judge moſt expedient for th ſervice of their country, as fortune had reduced th Ætolians to receive the law from others."

The Ambaſſadors being arrived with theſe power "deſired the Conſul to ſpare Ambracia, and to hav compaſſion upon a nation formerly an Ally, and whic had been led on into fooliſh enterprizes, if not by in juries actually done them, at leaſt by the calamities t which they had been reduced. That the Roma had not more reaſon to complain of the prejudice re ceived from the Ætolians in the war with Antiochu than to praiſe them for the ſervices they had done ther in that with Philip; and that, as in the latter their re ward from the Romans had not been conſiderable, the other it was but equitable not to carry their puniſh ment into exceſſive rigour."

The Conſul replied, "That the Ætolians had o ten recourſe to requeſts to obtain an end of the wa but always with little faith and ſincerity. That in aſ ing peace they ſhould imitate Antiochus, whom th had drawn into the war. That that Prince had n only renounced a ſmall number of cities, to which t Romans were deſirous to reſtore liberty, but all th part of Aſia ſituated on this ſide of mount Tauru that is to ſay, to an extent of country capable of form ing an opulent and conſiderable kingdom. That to him, he would give no ear to the Ætolians, t they had laid down their arms. That they muſt b gin by delivering them up to the Romans with their horſes. That further they ſhould pay the R mans a thouſand talents (about an hundred and fif thouſand pounds) half down, and ſhould engage

he treaty to have no other friends nor enemies but thoſe of Rome." A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

The Ambaſſadors thinking theſe conditions extremely hard, and diſtruſting the inconſtant and inexible diſpoſition of thoſe who ſent them, returned ithout giving the Conſul any anſwer, to conſult the rætor and Heads of the nation again. They were ery ill received: They were reproached, that with rders to conclude a peace on any conditions whatſoever, they expoſed Ætolia to a more ſevere treatent by their ſlowneſs and protraction. They thereore ſet out again to return to Ambracia. But they ll into an ambuſcade laid for them on the way by e Acarnanians, with whom the Ætolians were war, and were carried priſoners to Thyrium, where ey were confined. And this retarded the concluon of the peace.

The Ambaſſadors of the Rhodians and Athenians ere already in the Conſul's camp, to whom they me to demand grace for the Ætolians, when Amynder King of the Athamantes, after having proded himſelf with a paſſport, came thither alſo, in der to intercede, leſs for the Ætolians in general an the city of Ambracia in particular, where he had ided during the greateſt part of his baniſhment. he Conſul having been informed by them of the iſchance of the Ambaſſadors, ordered, that they ould be brought to him from Thyrium, and when y arrived the negotiation was renewed. Amynan- earneſtly ſollicited the Ambracians to ſurrender, that was what he had moſt at heart. And as he nd it difficult to perſuade their magiſtrates in the nferences he had with them at the foot of the lls, he entered the city by the permiſſion of the nſul, and adding intreaties to counſels, he at length vailed upon them to open their gates to the Rons, after having taken the Conſul's promiſe, that Ætolian garriſon might quit the place, and reunmoleſted.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

The ſurrender of Ambracia very much advanced the concluſion of the peace. C. Valerius, the ſon of Lævinus, uterine brother of the Conſul, who had contracted an amity with the Ætolians, was of great ſervice on this occaſion to obtain eaſier conditions for them. "Fulvius only required of them five hundred Euboic talents (ſomething leſs than ſeventy-five thouſand pounds) of which two hundred were to be paid down, and the reſt in ſix half-yearly payments. That they ſhould reſtore their priſoners and deſerters to the Romans. That they ſhould hold none of the cities which, ſince the arrival of T. Quintius in Greece, had either been taken from the Romans, or had ſurrendered voluntarily. That the iſland of Cephallenia ſhould not be included in the treaty." Though the Ambaſſadors had no room to expect ſuch gentle treatment, they however demanded and obtained permiſſion to return and conſult their nation. The conditions of peace were accepted with unanimous conſent.

The Ambracians made the Conſul a preſent of a gold crown, that weighed an hundred and fifty pounds; and that General took away all the marble and brazen ſtatues and pictures in Ambracia, which were more in number, and of greater value than in any other city of the country, becauſe Pyrrhus had formerly kept his palace there. But he took no other ſpoils from thence. He had done better, if he had not caused theſe ſtatues and paintings to be carried to Rome, where this taſte, the conſequences of which were ſo pernicious, began to gain ground; and every body knows the bad effects it had there.

Liv. xxxviii. 10, 11.

The Conſul having ſet out from Ambracia, entered into the heart of Ætolia. The Ambaſſadors of the Ætolians came thither to him. Being informed by them, that the conditions of peace were accepted in a general aſſembly, he ordered them to go to Rome; permitted them to carry with them the deputies from Rhodes and Athens, to intercede for them with the Senate; and having alſo given his conſent, that

bro

brother C. Valerius ſhould accompany them, he went A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.
o Cephallenia.

When the Ætolians arrived at Rome, they found he city highly prejudiced againſt them, by the letters which Philip had taken care to ſend thither. The repeated complaints of that Prince had ſhut the ears of he Senators againſt the requeſt of the Ætolians. However, the Senate heard the Ambaſſadors of Rhodes and Athens with abundance of attention. Leon, who poke in the name of the Athenians, uſed a ſimilitude which, though common, made an impreſſion upon hem. "After * having compared Ætolia to a calm ea when the winds do not ruffle it, he added, that hen thoſe People continued in the alliance and amity f the Romans, it had been in effect of the tranquillity f their natural ſituation. But that Thoas and Dicærchus, Mænetas, and Damocritus, blowing like mpeſtuous winds, the two firſt from Aſia, and the wo laſt from Europe, had occaſioned the ſtorm, which ad driven them to Antiochus, as upon a rock where ey had ſplit." After many difficulties and delays, e Ætolians at length obtained peace, which was ratified almoſt upon the ſame terms as had been dictated Fulvius. They were left at liberty to pay gold inead of ſilver, if they choſe it, provided the † difference between one ſpecies and the other ſhould be only ten to one.

Whilſt the Conſul Fulvius made war in this man-r, and afterwards peace with the Ætolians, Manus his collegue alſo undertook a war in a region of ſia remote enough, againſt the Gauls ſettled in thoſe untries, and called by the Romans Gallo-Grecis: I ſhall ſoon ſhew why they were ſo called, and here ſituated.

* Vulgata ſimilitudine, mari tranquillo, quod ventis concitaretur, iparando multitudinem Ætolorum, uſus, cum in fide Romanæ etatis manſiſſent, inſita gentis tranquillitate quieſſe eos aiebat: ea quam flare ab Aſia Thoas & Dicæarchus, ab Europa Mene- & Damocritus cæpiſſent: tum illam tempeſtatem coortam, quæ ad tiochum eos, ſicut ad ſcopulum intuliſſet. Liv.

† The difference between gold and ſilver was in earlier times as en to one. Gold by increaſing, had loſt a third of its value.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. Liv. xxxviii. 12.

The Conſul came to Epheſus in the beginning of the ſpring, and had taken upon him the command of the troops from L. Scipio. After having reviewed them he aſſembled the ſoldiers, "and having praiſed the valour, with which they had conquered Antiochus in a ſingle battle, he exhorted them to act in the ſame manner againſt the Gauls, who had aided that Prince and who were of ſo ſavage and untractable a diſpoſition that they had driven Antiochus beyond mount Taurus to no purpoſe, if they left ſo fierce and powerful a People on this ſide of it.—He ſpoke of himſelf in few words and with modeſty, without ſaying any thing, of which the truth was not known to all the world." His diſcourſe in effect was approved by every body. The ſoldiers did not much apprehend the Gauls, who having been defeated when joined with the numerous army of Antiochus, would be ſtill leſs in a condition to reſiſt the Romans alone.

Ibid. 16.

That People, about ninety years before the time of which we are ſpeaking, leaving Gaul their native country in multitudes, either becauſe it was too ſmall to contain them, or from the hope of ſpoils, perſuaded beſides, that they ſhould find no nation on their route equal to them in valour, arrived under the command of Brennus in the country of the Dardanians. At that time a ſedition aroſe, which ſeparated the nation into two bodies. The one remained with Brennus their firſt leader; theſe were thoſe, whoſe diſaſter before Epheſus is ſo famous in hiſtory: the others, to the number of twenty thouſand, having choſen Leonorius and Lutarius to command them, went with them into Thrace. There, by valiantly fighting thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop them, and laying others, who demanded peace, under contribution, they forced their way as far as Byzantium; and during a long time cauſed all the cities of Propontis to pay tribute, which they had made themſelves maſters. Afterwards knowing from their own experience how fertile the countries of Aſia were, they reſolved to go thither in order to ſettle. In conſequence having ſeized Lyſi-

chia by treachery, and ſubjected the whole Cherſone- A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.
ſus by force of arms, they extended their power to the banks of the Helleſpont. Perceiving from thence the rich country ſeparated from them only by a very narrow arm of the ſea, they conceived a ſtill more eager deſire to go thither. Accordingly they ſent Ambaſſadors to Antipater the Governor on that ſide, to demand his permiſſion for that purpoſe. But as he amuſed them with promiſes without concluding any thing, Lutarius paſſed the ſtreight, and entered Aſia, whither Leonorius ſoon followed him. When joined together, they aided Nicomedes King of Bithynia, who by their means became maſter of the whole country called by that name, of which Zybetes occupied a part. From Bithynia, they advanced into Aſia. Of twenty thouſand men, which they were at firſt, only ten thouſand remained. However, they had implanted ſuch a terror in all the States, that inhabited on this ſide of mount Taurus, that there was not one, which did not ſubmit to pay them tribute, the moſt remote as well as thoſe neareſt them, thoſe who had not made trial of their valour as well as thoſe they had defeated. Laſtly, as the body which remained was originally compoſed of three ſepts joined together, as the Toliſtoboii, Troemes, and Tectoſages, they alſo divided Aſia Minor into three parts, each of which paid tribute to one of the three nations. The Troemes for their part had the coaſt of the Helleſpont; Æolis and Ionia fell to the Toliſtoboii; and the middle of the country to the Tectoſages: ſo that they had rendered tributary all the part of Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus. As to them, they eſtabliſhed their abode in the neighbourhood of the river Halys, and this was properly the country called Gallo-Græcia. As moſt of the antient inhabitants were colonies from Greece, theſe Gauls mixed with them were called for that reaſon Gallo-Græcians. In proceſs of time they multiplied ſo much, and became ſo formidable, that at length the Kings of Syria themſelves did not refuſe to pay them tribute. Attalus, the father of Eumenes,

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. was the firſt Prince that inhabited Aſia, who had the courage to refuſe it; and having given them battle, he gained a conſiderable victory over them, contrary to the expectation of all the world. But this did not diſcourage them ſo much, as to make them renounce their empire over the country. They retained their power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans. And even after that Prince was defeated and driven out of it, they with reaſon imagined, that remote as they were from the ſea, the Roman army would not undertake to come againſt them.

Liv. xxxviii. 12--15. They were miſtaken. The Conſul formed the deſign of going to attack them. He was ſorry for the abſence of Eumenes, who was ſtill at Rome; becauſe that Prince perfectly knew the country and the enemy, and it was for his intereſt to be delivered from ſuch incommodious neighbours as the Gauls. In his abſence he ſent for his brother Attalus from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to join him againſt the common enemy, he ſent him back to prepare ſuch aids as he was capable of ſupplying.

Some days after going from Epheſus to Magneſia, he met Attalus there, who came thither with a thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe. He had ordered his brother Athenæus to follow him with the reſt of the troops, and had left the care of Pergamus to miniſters, whoſe zeal and fidelity he knew. Manlius gave this young Prince the praiſes he deſerved for his attachment to the intereſts of the Roman People, and went to incamp with him upon the banks of the Meander, till the barks were drawn together that were neceſſary for tranſporting his troops to the other ſide of that river, which was too deep to be forded. Athenæus joined him ſoon after, with a thouſand foot of different nations, and three hundred horſe. When the Conſul arrived at Antioch upon the Meander, Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus, came to him in his camp, bringing with him the corn, which his father, by the treaty concluded with Scipio, was obliged to furniſh the Roman army.

From

From thence Manlius, ſetting out firſt, reduced all on his way either by conſent or force. He met with ſome reſiſtance in certain places; but being infinitely ſuperior both by the number and valour of his troops, he eaſily ſubjected them, and laid them all under contribution. The ſums he made them pay, without including the corn he obliged them to ſupply, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five talents of ſilver, that is, two hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns. A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

After a very long march, he at length arrived upon the lands of the Toliſtoboii. The Gauls were in great reputation throughout this country, which they had ſubjected by arms, and in which every thing had been made to ſubmit to them. He thought it proper to prepare his troops, and to deſtroy this prejudice, before he came to action. "I am not ſurprized, (ſaid "he to them) that the Gauls have ſpread the terror "of their name amongſt ſo ſoft and effeminate a peo- "ple as theſe of Aſia. Their tall ſtature, their fair "hair that reaches to the ſmall of their backs, their "bucklers of enormous ſize, their long ſwords, be- "ſides the ſongs, cries, and howling which they raiſe "before battle, with the terrible noiſe they make "with their arms and ſhields; all theſe may perhaps "frighten men not uſed to them, but not you, Ro- "mans, who have ſo often triumphed over this na- "tion. Beſides which, you know by experience, "that after the Gauls have ſpent their firſt fire, an "obſtinate reſiſtance from an enemy blunts the edge "of their courage, as well as the vigour of their bo- "dies; and that, incapable of bearing the heat of the "ſun, fatigues, duſt, and thirſt, their arms fall out "of their hands, and they ſink down weary and ex- "hauſted. Do not imagine theſe the antient Gauls "inured to fatigue and danger, and to whom a cer- "tain natural ferocity ſerved inſtead of courage. The "plenty of the country they have ſeized, the mild- "neſs of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and vo- "luptuouſneſs of the people with whom they inhabit,

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. " have entirely enervated them. * For it is with men " as with plants. Thoſe which grow in their native " ſoil, retain all their vigour and virtue; whereas " thoſe which are tranſplanted into a foreign one, ſoon " degenerate. It is with juſtice that theſe people are " called Gallo-Grecians. They are only Phrygians " covered with Gauliſh arms, and all that I fear is, " that the defeat of enemies ſo little worthy of your " ſwords, may not be much for your honour."

After this diſcourſe of Manlius, the army by its cries declared its impatience to be led againſt the enemy. When they had paſſed the river Sangarius, the Gauliſh prieſts of Cybele came from Peſſinus to meet him in their ſacerdotal habits, and pronouncing with enthuſiaſm prophetical verſes, of which the ſenſe was, that the Goddeſs granted the Romans a ſafe and an eaſy paſſage. victory over their enemies, and the dominion of all this region. The Conſul anſwered, that he accepted the omen, and purſued his march.

Liv. xxxviii. 19—23. At length arriving in the enemy's country, he was informed that the Toliſtoboii had taken refuge upon Mount Olympus; the Tectoſages at ſome diſtance from thence upon another mountain; and that the Troemes, having left their wives and children in the camp of the latter, had reſolved to go to the aid of the Toliſtoboii. What had determined them to take this reſolution, was the hope that the Romans would not march in queſt of them upon inacceſſible eminences; and that if they were ſo raſh to undertake it, an handful of men would ſuffice to check and defeat them; and laſtly, that they would not expoſe themſelves to periſhing by cold and miſery at the foot of theſe mountains, in tenaciouſly reſolving to remain there. Though they thought themſelves already ſufficiently defended by the height of the rocks and mountains, for their greater ſecurity they cut a foſſé round

* Hi tam degeneres ſunt; miſti, & Gallo-Græci verè, quod appellantur: ſicut in frugibus, non tantum ſemina ad ſervandam indolem valent, quantum terræ proprietas cœlique ſub quo aluntur, mutat. Liv.

the

he eminences on which they were intrenched, which R. A. 563. Ant. C. 189.
hey ſtrengthened with a good paliſade.

The Conſul, who had rightly expected that he hould have the difficulty of the ways to contend with t a diſtance more than the arms of the enemy, had nade an ample proviſion of javelins, darts, leaden alls, and ſtones of a bigneſs to be diſcharged with ings; and in this condition he incamped five miles rom Mount Olympus. He ſoon arrived at the ene-y's poſts, though not without having ſuſtained a-undance of danger and fatigue. Both ſides engaged t firſt at diſtance, the Gauls having the advantage of eir ground, but the Romans that of the abundance nd variety of their miſſive arms. The fight was not ng equal. For the ſhields of the Gauls, which ere long without much breadth, covered only a part their vaſt bodies; and they had no other arms but eir ſwords, of which they could make no uſe, as long they fought at a diſtance. They had not taken care provide themſelves with quantities of ſtones, which ere alone capable of being uſeful to them in this nd of combat; and thoſe they had were ſoon ex-uſted. The Romans, on the contrary, galled them om all ſides with arrows, javelins, and balls of lead, hich they could not avoid. When the Gauls were ounded, by endeavouring to pull out the darts, hich they could not effect, they only increaſed their in, and rolled upon the earth like men mad and ſperate. Thoſe who perſiſted in charging the ene-y were only the more dangerouſly expoſed; and as on as they were within reach, the Velites, that is e light-armed troops, killed them ſword in hand. his kind of ſoldiers had ſhields three feet in length their left arms, and in their right hand half pikes aſtæ) which they uſed at a diſtance; and if it were ceſſary to come to cloſe fight, they put their ſpears their left hands, and with their right uſed their aniſh ſwords, which hung at their belts. The few the Gauls, who maintained their ground, ſeeing y could not withſtand the light-armed troops, and

were

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. were upon the point of having the legions upon the hands, fled in diſorder into their camp.

The front of the legions being arrived upon the eminences, the Conſul ordered the ſoldiers to halt in order to take breath, and ſhewing them the hill ſtrewed with the dead bodies of the Gauls: "If troops "armed only with darts and ſlings," ſaid he to them, "have made ſuch a ſlaughter, what may we not expect from the legions armed at all points? The "light-armed ſoldiers have driven the Gauls into "their camp; it is your buſineſs to force them thence "and to defeat them entirely." The Gauls did not long ſuſtain the charge of ſo formidable an infantry. Seeing that thoſe who defended the gates of their camp were all cut to pieces, they did not ſtay till the victors entered it, but fled on all ſides. They threw themſelves headlong acroſs the moſt impracticable rocks. Moſt of them fell down the precipices, and either died immediately, or remained there with broken limbs. Nothing ſtopped them; the dread of the enemy engroſſing their whole attention. The Conſul purſued thoſe who fled in all the practicable places, and made a great ſlaughter of them. The exact number of the ſlain was not known: that of the priſoners mounted to forty thouſand, including women and children, and the other unſerviceable people that had followed the Gauls.

The Conſul, at his return, cauſed the arms of the Gauls to be laid in an heap, and burnt; and having ordered thoſe who had taken ſpoils contrary to the prohibition, to bring them in, he ſold part of them for the uſe of the public, and divided the reſt amongſt the ſoldiers, taking great care, that it ſhould be done in equal proportions. Then, having aſſembled the army, he publickly gave each of them the praiſes and rewards they had deſerved. He particularly praiſed Attalus, for which he was generally applauded by the officers and ſoldiers, faithful witneſſes and judges of the merit of Generals. And indeed that young Prince, after having acted with extraordinary activity

nd valour in fatigues and dangers, had ſhewn ſtill A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.
ore eſtimable reſerve and modeſty after the victory.
There remained a ſecond war with the Tectoſages, Liv. xxxviii. 24.
ho had not ſhared in the defeat of their countrymen.
he Conſul, after having given his troops ſome
ſt, ſet out in queſt of them, and the third day arriv-
at Ancyra, a famous city of the country, from
hich the enemy were but ten miles diſtant.

During his ſtay there, one of his female priſoners Liv. ibid.
d a very memorable action: ſhe was called Chio-
ara, and was the wife of Ortiagon, one of the
auliſh Chiefs, or Princes, and was equally admirable
r her beauty and chaſtity. She had been kept, a-
ongſt others taken at the defeat on Mount Olympus,
a Centurion, no leſs paſſionate for money than
omen. He at firſt endeavoured to engage her con-
nt to his infamous deſires; but not being able to
evail upon her and ſubvert her conſtancy, he thought
might employ force with a woman whom misfor-
ne had reduced to ſlavery. Afterwards, to make
r amends for that treatment, he offered to reſtore
r liberty, but not without ranſom. He agreed with
r for a certain ſum; and to conceal this deſign
om the other Romans, he permitted her to ſend any
the priſoners ſhe ſhould chuſe to her relations, and
igned a place near the river where the lady ſhould
exchanged for gold. By accident there was one
her own ſlaves amongſt the priſoners. Upon him
e fixed; and the Centurion ſoon after carried her
yond the advanced poſts with the favour of dark-
ſs. The next night two of the relations or friends
the Princeſs came to the rendezvous, whither the
nturion alſo carried his captive. When they had
livered him the Attic talent they had brought,
ich was the ſum agreed on, the lady in her own
nguage bad thoſe who came to receive her, draw their
ords, and kill the Centurion, who was amuſing
mſelf with weighing the gold. Then, charmed
th having revenged the injury done her chaſtity by
r courage, ſhe took the head of that officer, which
ſhe

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. ſhe had cut off with her own hands, and hiding under her robe, went to her huſband Ortiagon, wh had returned home after the defeat of his troops Mount Olympus. Before ſhe embraced him, ſh threw the Centurion's head at his feet. He wa ſtrangely ſurprized at ſuch a ſight, and aſked he whoſe head it was, and what had induced her to c an act ſo uncommon to her ſex. With her face co vered with a ſudden bluſh, and at the ſame time ex preſſing her fierce indignation, ſhe declared the ou rage which had been done her, and the revenge ſh had taken for it. During the reſt of her life, ſh ſtedfaſtly retained the ſame attachment for the puri of manners, which conſtitutes the principal glory o the ſex, and wonderfully ſuſtained the honour of bold and generous an action. Plutarch relates th ſame fact in his treatiſe upon the virtue and great ac tions of women, and it is from him we have the nam of this, which is well worthy of being tranſmitted t poſterity.

Liv. xxxviii. 25—27. The Tectoſages having received advice of the Con ſul's arrival, ſent deputies to him, to demand an in terview, and to treat of peace: but their true deſig was to ſurprize him in ambuſcades, which they ha laid for him, and in which he really was in great dan ger. The army of the Gauls conſiſted of ſeventy-fou thouſand men. That of the Romans, which was much inferior in number, was infinitely ſuperior i bravery, to which the perfidy of the enemy had adde new ſpirit and ardour. In conſequence, already con quered and dejected by the defeat of their country men, they did not ſuſtain the firſt charge of the Ro mans, and fled. The victors purſued them wit vigour, without being able however to kill above eigh thouſand of them; all the reſt having paſſed the rive Halys before they could come up with them. Mo of the victors ſtayed that night in the camp of th Gauls. The Conſul led back the reſt into his own The next day he viewed the priſoners and the ſpoil which were immenſe, having been accumulated b th

the moſt rapacious of all nations, which during many years had ſubdued by their arms, and pillaged, the rich countries on this ſide of Mount Taurus. A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189.

The Gauls having reaſſembled from all the places, to which they had diſperſed in flight, moſt of them wounded, and without arms and equipages, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Conſul to aſk peace of him. Manlius ordered them to come to him to Epheſus. For as it was now the middle of autumn, he removed as ſoon as poſſible from theſe parts, where the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus began to make the rigour of the cold ſeaſon very ſenſible, and led back his army to winter along the maritime coaſts. Liv. xxxviii. 27.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Aſia, every thing was quiet in the other provinces. At Rome the Cenſors T. Quintius Flamininus and M. Claudius Marcellus reviewed the Senators, and filled up the vacancies in it. Scipio for the third time had the name and quality of Prince of the Senate conferred on him. They excluded only four from it, none of which had exerciſed a Curule office. They acted with the ſame indulgence in the review of the Knights. On the muſter which they made, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight thouſand three hundred men.

All the cities of the iſland of Cephallenia had ſubmitted to the Conſul Fulvius. Only one refuſed to do ſo: this was Samos. He was obliged to form the ſiege of it. It made a vigorous defence, frequently ſallying upon the beſiegers, and almoſt always with advantage, killed them abundance of men, and ſet fire to all their works. The Conſul could not effectually check their boldneſs without the aſſiſtance of an hundred ſlingers, which he ſent for from the cities of the Achæans. They had been practiſed in this exerciſe from their infancy, being accuſtomed to diſcharge from a diſtance into a circle of a moderate bigneſs. They made themſelves ſo expert in it, that they were ſure of hitting the enemy not only on the head, but in what part of the face they pleaſed. They made Ib. 28, 29.

uſe

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 189. uſe of ſlings different from thoſe of the Balearians, and ſurpaſſed them much in dexterity. They did great execution againſt the Samians, who ſuſtained the ſiege during four months entire. They were at length reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The city was plundered, and the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves.

A great quarrel aroſe at this time between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, which had mournful effects to the latter. Both ſides ſent deputies to Rome. This affair, which properly relates to the Greeks, is treated at large in the Antient Hiſtory.

A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Liv. xxxviii. 35, 36. The new Conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Liguria fell to Meſſala, and Gaul to Salinator. The two Conſuls of the preceding year were continued in command in Ætolia and Aſia, in quality of Proconſuls.

Public prayers were decreed during three days on the occaſion of an eclipſe of the ſun, which was taken for a prodigy: ſo little was aſtronomy then known at Rome.

Ibid. 37. During the winter in which theſe things paſſed at Rome, the Ambaſſadors of all the States, that inhabit on this ſide of Mount Taurus, repaired to Manlius to congratulate him, and expreſs their own joy for the victory he had lately gained. Accordingly, if the defeat of Antiochus was more ſplendid and glorious for the Romans than that of the Gauls; on another ſide, the latter had given their allies more joy than the former. For the abſolute authority of the Kings that kept them in a kind of ſlavery, ſeemed more ſupportable to them, than the ferocity of thoſe Barbarians, who, always ready to fall like an impetuous tempeſt ſometimes on one country, and ſometimes on another, kept them in perpetual anxiety and alarm. Thus, as the defeat of Antiochus had procured them liberty, that of the Gauls had reſtored their peace.

Thoſe

Thoſe States therefore did not come merely to congratulate the Romans upon theſe glorious advantages, but they alſo brought them crowns of gold; each according to their power, out of gratitude. A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.

That General alſo received Ambaſſadors from Antiochus and the Gauls themſelves, who ſent to aſk the conditions upon which the Roman People would grant them peace. Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, alſo ſent his, to make excuſes to him, and offer ſatisfaction in money, for the fault he had committed againſt the Romans by aiding Antiochus againſt them. That Prince had a tribute of two hundred talents of ſilver laid upon him (two hundred thouſand crowns). As to the Gauls, Manlius anſwered them, that they would know their fate, when King Eumenes ſhould be returned to Aſia. He gave very obliging anſwers to the Ambaſſadors of the allied States, and ſent them back with ſtill greater joy than they came. He ordered thoſe of Antiochus to cauſe money and corn to be carried into Pamphylia, whither he was to repair with his army, conformably to the treaty made between L. Scipio and their maſter. And accordingly, in the beginning of the ſpring, having reviewed his troops, he arrived in eight days at Apamæa, where he reſided three days: from thence in three more he entered Pamphylia. There he diſtributed the corn to his army which he had ordered to be ſent thither, and cauſed the two thouſand five hundred talents, which he had received, (about three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds) to be carried to Apamæa.

When Manlius had received advice, that Eumenes and the ten commiſſioners were arrived from Rome at Epheſus, he led back his army to Apamæa; where he ordered Antiochus's Ambaſſadors to come to him. It was here, that with the advice of the ten commiſſioners of the Senate, he put the laſt hand to the treaty began with Antiochus, and concluded it on the following conditions: "The King ſhall not give "paſſage through his territories nor thoſe of his vaſſals "to any nation at war with the Roman People, or "with Liv. xxxviii. 38. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xxxv.

A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.

" with their Allies, and ſhall not aid their enemie
" either with proviſions or money, or any other ſup
" port whatſoever. The Romans and their Allie
" ſhall act in the ſame manner with regard to Antio
" chus. The King ſhall not make war upon the in
" habitants of the iſlands, and ſhall not go to Europe
" He ſhall evacuate all the cities, countries, towns
" and forts, on this ſide of Mount Taurus, as far a
" the eminences aſpecting Lycaonia. Nothing ſha
" be taken away from the cities, towns, and countries
" ceded to the Romans, except the arms worn by th
" ſoldiers on marching off; and if any thing elſe b
" taken away, the whole to be made good. Th
" King ſhall not receive into the countries dependan
" upon him either the ſoldiers or ſubjects of King
" Eumenes. If any citizens of the cities and coun
" tries he abandons, are either at his court, or in an
" other part of his kingdom, they ſhall take care t
" return to Apamæa before a certain day fixed. Suc
" of the ſubjects of Antiochus, as are amongſt th
" Romans or their Allies, ſhall be at liberty to re
" main with them, or to return into their own country
" at their choice. The King ſhall ſurrender to th
" Romans and their Allies the ſlaves, priſoners, an
" deſerters, that belong to them. That he ſhall de
" liver up Hannibal, the ſon of Amilcar, Mnaſilochu
" of Acarnania, Thoas of Ætolia —— if in his do
" minions and within his power. He ſhall delive
" up all his elephants, and ſhall not ſupply their place
" with others. He ſhall deliver up all his ſhips o
" war, with all their rigging, and ſhall retain onl
" ten ſmall veſſels without decks, of which non
" ſhall have above thirty oars. The King ſhall no
" navigate beyond the promontories of Calycadnu
" or Sarpedon, if not to carry the money, tribute, o
" hoſtages farther, or the Ambaſſadors he ſhoul
" have ſent abroad. He ſhall raiſe no ſoldiers amongſ
" the nations ſubject to the Roman People, and ſha
" not receive thoſe, who ſhall preſent themſelves vo
" luntarily to ſerve in his armies. The Rhodians an

" thei

their Allies ſhall retain the houſes and other edifices, which they have in the dominions of Antiochus upon the ſame foot as they poſſeſſed them before the war. They ſhall have liberty to ſue for the payment of the ſums which ſhall be due to them, as alſo to find out and claim the effects of which they ſhall have been deprived, and demand reſtitution thereof. If any of the cities Antiochus is to ſurrender, be in the hands of thoſe to whom he may have given them, he ſhall take care to make the garriſons quit them, and to reſtore ſuch places to thoſe to whom they ought to belong. He ſhall pay the Roman People in twelve years, and in twelve equal payments, twelve * thouſand Attic talents of ſilver of good alloy (about one million eight hundred thouſand pounds) of which each ſhall weigh fourſcore pounds Roman weight, and five hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat: and to King Eumenes, in the ſpace of five years, three hundred and fifty talents (about fifty-two thouſand five hundred pounds) and an hundred and twenty-ſeven more (about nineteen thouſand and fifty pounds) for the corn which he owes him, according to the eſtimate of Antiochus himſelf. He ſhall give the Romans twenty hoſtages, that ſhall be changed every three years, and which ſhall not be under eighteen, nor above forty-five years of age. If any Allies of the Roman People declare war firſt againſt Antiochus, he ſhall be at liberty to defend himſelf, and to repel force with force; on condition however that he ſhall not augment his dominions with any city, either by right of conqueſt or alliance. If any differences ariſe between the Allies of the Romans and Antiochus, they ſhall determine them amicably; or, if they chooſe, by arms. If it ſhall be found neceſſary to retrench from or add any thing to the conditions of this treaty, both ſides ſhall be at

A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.

* In the treaty with L. Scipio Euboic talents were expreſſed, the value of which were ſomething leſs than theſe.

A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188. "liberty to do ſo, provided it be with their mutual "conſent."

The Conſul ratified this treaty by oath in the name of the Romans; and ſent Q. Minucius Thermus, and Manlius to Antiochus, to make him alſo ratify it. At the ſame time Fabius, who commanded the fleet, ſet out by the Conſul's order, and having entered the port of Patara, he there either deſtroyed or burnt fifty ſhips of war, which belonged to the King.

So haughty a Prince as Antiochus, who had hitherto ſeen all his enterprizes attended with ſucceſs, and whom his conqueſts had acquired the ſirname of THE GREAT, muſt have been highly mortified, when he ſaw his pretended greatneſs humbled, annihilated, and covered with diſgrace by ſuch a treaty as that of which we have juſt repeated the conditions. Can we believe that ſuch an event could be the effect of chance? Fifteen or twenty years before, that Prince, after the death of Ptolomy Philopator his friend and ally, had made a league with Philip King of Macedonia to deprive that King of Egypt's ſon of all his dominions, who was then an infant ſcarce five years old. One would be tempted, ſays Polybius, on ſeeing ſo open a violation of the moſt ſacred laws of ſociety, followed at leaſt in reſpect to Antiochus, with a long and glorious proſperity, to accuſe Providence, as indifferent and inſenſible to the moſt crying and moſt horrid crimes. But Providence fully juſtified itſelf in puniſhing both thoſe Kings as they deſerved, and made them an example, which might ſerve to keep all ſuch as ſhould incline to imitate them in ſucceeding times within the bounds of their duty. For, whilſt they had no thoughts but of parcelling out between them the kingdom of an helpleſs infant, they drew the Romans upon them, who entirely ruined the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and made their children and ſucceſſors experience as great evils, as thoſe, which they had vilely deſigned to cruſh the young monarch of Egypt.

We have this obſervation from a Pagan. But Pro- A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.
vidence was not contented in reſpect to Antiochus with the chaſtiſement mentioned by Polybius. It Diog. in Excerpt. p. 298.
thought fit to puniſh him in his own perſon. That Hieron. in
prince, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the ca- Dan. c. xi.
pital and fortreſs of his kingdom. Soon after, find-
ing it difficult to raiſe the money he was to pay the
Romans, he went to the Eaſt into the province of
Elymais, entered the temple of Jûpiter Belus in the
night, and took away all the riches which had been
religiouſly kept there during a great length of time.
The People, enraged by this ſacrilege, roſe againſt
him, and deſtroyed him with all his attendants. The
Prophet Daniel, who circumſtantially foretold all the
enterprizes of Antiochus in a ſurprizing manner, as
may be ſeen in the Antient Hiſtory, remarks alſo his
death. "Then he ſhall turn his face towards the Dan. xi.
fort of his own land: but he ſhall ſtumble, and fall, 9.
and not be found." This happened the ſame
year that his treaty with the Romans was entirely
concluded.

The Proconſul Manlius having received the ele- Liv.
phants, which Antiochus was to deliver up, and hav- xxxviii.
ing made a preſent of them to Eumenes, applied him- 39.
ſelf to enquiring into the condition of the cities,
wherein the late troubles had occaſioned great changes.
King Ariarathes was exempted from paying part of
the ſum laid on him, and received into the amity of
the Roman People, in conſequence of the marriage
Eumenes had lately contracted with his daughter. As
to the cities, when each had been heard, the ten Ro-
man commiſſioners treated them differently. Thoſe
which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and had de-
clared for the Romans, were made free, and exempted
from all tribute. Thoſe which had adhered to An-
tiochus, or had paid tribute to King Attalus, were
ſubjected to Eumenes. Several cities were particu-
larly rewarded. The donation which had been made
to the Rhodians by the firſt decree of Lycia and Caria
as far as the river Meander, was confirmed. To the

A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188. kingdom of Eumenes they added the Cherſoneſus in Europe, and Lyſimachia with all its dependences, as they had been poſſeſſed by Antiochus: and in Aſia the two Phrygias, the one near the Helleſpont, and the other called Phrygia Major. They reſtored Myſia to him, which King Pruſias had taken from him. And laſtly, they added to the gift Lycaonia, Mylias and Lydia; and expreſsly the cities of Trallæ, Epheſus, and Telmiſſa. Pamphylia, which lay on both ſides of Mount Taurus, had occaſioned a diſpute between Eumenes and the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus, the deciſion of which was entirely referred to the Senate.

Liv. xxxviii. 40, 41. Manlius, after having concluded the treaties, and made the decrees of which we have been ſpeaking, ſet out with his army for the neighbourhood of the Helleſpont, whither he ſummoned the Princes of the Gallo-Græcians, and told them the conditions of peace they were to obſerve with Eumenes. He declared to them, in expreſs terms, that they muſt keep within their own country, without making incurſions into the territories of their neighbours. Afterwards having drawn together all the ſhips of the coaſt, he joined the fleet which Athenæus, the brother of Eumenes, had brought to him from Elæa, and repaſſed into Europe with all his troops. Then leading his army laden with immenſe ſpoils of all kinds, by ſhort marches, through the Cherſoneſus, he halted ſome time at Lyſimachia, to give the carriage beaſts reſt, and afterwards to enter Thrace, of which the route was very difficult, and much dreaded by the ſoldiers. This was not without reaſon. During this whole march, which was very long, they ſuffered much from the Thracians, who inceſſantly attacked them in the defiles, and dangerous paſſes, and even took from them part of their booty. They had two battles particularly, both to the diſadvantage of the Romans, in one of which Q. Minucius Thermus, a perſon of conſular dignity, and one of the ten commiſſioners ſent to Aſia by the Senate, was killed. King Philip was ſuſpected of

f having ſecretly influenced the Thracians to attack A. R. 564. Ant. C. 188.
he Romans. At length the Conſul, after having ſur-
ounted an infinity of obſtacles, quitted Thrace, and
d his army through Macedonia into Theſſaly. From
ence marching through Epirus to Apollonia, he
aſſed the winter there, the ſea not ſeeming ſafe enough
or embarking in that ſeaſon.

SECT. II.

wo Romans delivered up to the Carthaginians. Liguria given to the two Conſuls for their province. Fulvius accuſed by the Ambracians at the ſollicitation of the Conſul Æmilius. Decree of the Senate in favour of the Ambracians. Departure of the Conſuls. Manlius demands a triumph, which is diſputed with him by the commiſſioners of the Senate. Speech of the commiſſioners againſt Manlius. Triumph decreed to Manlius. Scipio Africanus is ſummoned before the People. Grievances of the Tribunes againſt Scipio Africanus. Scipio, inſtead of anſwering them, carries the whole aſſembly with him to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for his victories. He retires to Linternum. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's enemy, declares for him againſt his collegues. Reflections of Livy upon P. Scipio. Different accounts of hiſtorians concerning Scipio. Scipio's daughter married to Gracchus. Law propoſed concerning the ſums of money received from Antiochus. L. Scipio ſentenced for embezzling the public money. He is ordered to priſon. Speech of Scipio Naſica in his favour. Gracchus prevents L. Scipio from being impriſoned. The ſale and ſmall value of Scipio's eſtate juſtify him.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. A. R. 565.
C. FLAMINIUS. Ant. C. 187.

TOwards the end of the preceding year L. Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius, accuſed of having inſulted the Carthaginian Ambaſſadors, were deli- Liv. xxxviii. 42.

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. vered up to them by the order of M. Claudius Prætor of the city, and carried to Carthage.

Upon the report which ſpread that great preparations of war were making in Liguria, the Senate allotted that province to both Conſuls. Lepidus, diſſatisfied with this deſtination, complained highly "that the two Conſuls ſhould be confined in the vallies of Liguria, whilſt during two years M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius reigned, the one in Europe and the other in Aſia in the room of Philip and Antiochus, ſpreading the terror of the Roman arms on all ſides, and ſelling peace to the nations, on whom war had not been declared, for gold." The Senate made no change in the decree: they only ordered Manlius and Fulvius to quit their provinces, and march back their legions to Rome.

Liv. xxxviii. 43. M. Fulvius and M. Æmilius had long been enemies. The Conſul made the deputies of Ambracia accuſe Fulvius, and after having given them their leſſon, he introduced them into the Senate. They accuſed Fulvius "of having declared war upon them at a time when they were at peace, though they had punctually executed all that the preceding Conſuls had directed, and had offered himſelf the like ſubmiſſion and obedience. That he had beſieged them, and after the city had ſurrendered, had made them ſuffer all the moſt cruel outrages and evils it is poſſible to imagine in war. That, not contented with having plundered, burnt, and demoliſhed the houſes, confiſcated the eſtates of the citizens, and deluged the city with their blood, he had made the women and children ſlaves; and, what was ſtill more grievous than all the reſt, had taken away all the ornaments of their temples; ſparing neither the ſtatues of the Gods, nor the Gods themſelves: ſo that the wretched Ambracians no longer knew where to addreſs their prayers or pay their homage, unleſs it were to the walls whom he had left naked and diſfigured." The Conſul, after having heard theſe invectives, aſked the deputies many queſtions, the anſwers to which he had concerted with them,

and

and thereby gave them occaſion to ſay much more, as if it had been involuntarily. A. R. 56. Ant. C. 187.

The Senators ſeeming to be moved with theſe complaints, the Conſul C. Flaminius thought himſelf obliged to take upon him the defence of Fulvius in his abſence. "He reproached the Senate, that they ſuffered the Roman Generals to be expoſed as formerly to frivolous and groundleſs accuſations. He ſaid, that he was much ſurprized, that actions ſhould be made crimes to Fulvius, which ought to obtain the honour of a triumph. That Ambracia had undergone the calamities common to cities taken by force. That the Ambracians attempted in vain to ſeparate their cauſe from that of the Ætolians: that there was no difference between them and the other. After many other reaſons which he urged, he declared that he would ſuffer nothing to be determined either in the affair of the Ambracians or that of the Ætolians in the abſence of Fulvius."

The oppoſition of Flaminius ſuſpended every thing: but, unfortunately for the cauſe of Fulvius, he fell ſick. Æmilius took advantage of this accident, and brought the affair again upon the carpet. "The Senate paſſed a decree, by which the effects the Ambracians complained they had been deprived of, were reſtored, with their liberty and laws; and permiſſion was granted them to eſtabliſh cuſtoms and duties wherever they thought fit both by ſea and land; on condition, however, that the Romans and their Allies of the Latine name ſhould be exempted from them. As to the ſtatues of their Gods and the other ornaments, which they complained of having been taken out of their temples, they thought fit to wait the return of Fulvius for treating that affair, and left the deciſion of it to the college of the Pontifices." Æmilius was not contented with a ſentence ſo much in favour of his enemy: but one day. when few Senators were preſent in their houſe, he cauſed theſe words to be added to the decree, "That Ambracia had not "been taken by the force of arms." Surprizes of this Liv. xxxviii. 44.

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. kind do not argue fair dealing, and are unworthy the gravity of a Roman Conſul.

The Feriæ Latinæ were then celebrated, and the Conſuls having diſcharged all the duties of religion ſet out for their provinces.

Liv. xxxviii. 45. Immediately after the Proconſul Cn. Manlius arrived at Rome, and the Prætor Ser. Sulpicius aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Bellona to give him audience. There, after having related all he had done in Aſia for the advantage and glory of the Roman People, he demanded; firſt, that due thankſgivings ſhould be made to the immortal Gods; and ſecondly, that he ſhould be granted the honour of a triumph. But moſt of the ten commiſſioners of the Senate, who had been with him in thoſe remote provinces, oppoſed it, and none ſo much as L. Furius Purpureo and L. Æmilius * Paulus.

Liv. ibid. 45, 46. They ſaid, "that they had been ſent into Aſia to conclude and terminate in concert with Manlius the treaty of peace, which L. Scipio had began between the Roman People and Antiochus; but that Manlius had ſpared no pains to prevent the concluſion of the peace, and had even intended to carry his arms beyond mount Taurus: a deſign, from which the ten commiſſioners had found it very hard to diſſuade him, by repreſenting to him the calamities with which the Sibyl menaced the Romans, if they ever preſumed to paſs thoſe fatal bounds.

"That finding unſurmountable obſtacles to that enterprize, he had turned his views and courſe a different way, and had declared war againſt the Gallo-Græcians, without being authorized either by the Senate or People, and without being able to produce the example of a ſingle General, who had ventured to form the like projects of his own head. That the cuſtom of the Roman People, before they proceeded to hoſtilities, was to ſend Ambaſſadors to demand reparation from thoſe, of whom they had cauſe to complain.

* This is not the famous Paulus Æmilius who conquered Perſeus.

That

That he had obſerved none of the uſual formalities, A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
hat could juſtify him in ſaying, that he had made war
n the name of the Roman People, and not acted as a
rivate ſpoiler.

" But, as he was determined upon this enterprize,
hy did not he march directly againſt the pretended
nemies? Why did he march and countermarch to
earch all the corners of Piſidia, Lycaonia, and Phry-
ia, in order rapaciouſly to extort ſums out of the ſo-
ereigns, or petty tyrants of the fortreſſes ſituated in
hoſe countries? What quarrel had he with theſe States,
ho never did the Romans any hurt, and from whom
ey had no ſubject to complain?

" They added, that in reſpect of the enemy, for
e defeat of whom Manlius pretended to a triumph,
e advantages he had gained were undoubtedly not
uch for his honour. That beſides that theſe Gauls,
nervated by the voluptuouſneſs of Aſia, were not the
me in point of courage, as thoſe againſt whom the
omans had ſo often fought in Italy, the recent fall
Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, had ſo much
ſcouraged them, that the Romans had occaſion only
r the arrows and ſlings of their light-armed troops to
verthrow thoſe huge combatants, and that in the whole
ar, they had not once ſtained their ſwords with the
ood of the enemy.

" That for the reſt, Manlius had good reaſon to
mand, that public thankſgivings ſhould be made to
e immortal Gods. That indeed, without the pecu-
r protection of the Gods, the Roman army having
camped in a deep valley with the enemy over their
eads, the Gauls, without uſing their arms, might
ve overwhelmed and defeated them entirely, by rol-
g down great ſtones upon them, with which the
ountain ſupplied them in abundance. That after-
ards, as if the Gods had thought fit to give the Ro-
ans a ſenſe of what might have happened to them in
allo-Græcia, if they had to do with enemies who
ſerved that name, their troops had been defeated,
t to flight, and ſtript of their baggage by ſome fly-
ing

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. ing parties of Thrace, who waited for them on the route. That theſe were the great exploits, for which Manlius demanded a triumph.

The commiſſioners concluded where they began " by inſiſting ſtrongly upon the precautions taken in all times for declaring war; and aſking the Senate whether they thought fit to violate ſuch wiſe regulations, to aboliſh forms that were a part of religion, to deprive the Senate and People of the privilege they had always poſſeſſed of decreeing war and peace, and to give up to the caprice and ambition of Generals the power of attacking ſuch States as they ſhould think fit."

Liv. xxxviii. 47—49. When they had done ſpeaking, Manlius replied to the following effect: " Hitherto, Romans, we have " ſometimes ſeen the Tribunes of the People oppoſe " triumphs, when demanded by your Generals. This " obliges me to return the preſent Tribunes my thanks " that either out of conſideration for my perſon or " my actions, they have not only tacitly conſented to " my triumph, but have alſo ſeemed in a diſpoſition " to propoſe it themſelves, if it had been neceſſary. " I have the grief to find my adverſaries among " thoſe commiſſioners, which our anceſtors gave the " Generals to honour their victory, and regulate the " conſequences of it with wiſdom and juſtice.

" Their accuſation has two heads, as this aſſembly " may have obſerved. They pretend, that I had no " right to make war againſt the Gauls, and that I " made it with temerity and imprudence.

" The Gauls, ſay they, committed no act of hoſ- " tility againſt us: you found them in peace and " tranquillity, and however attacked them. Would " to the Gods King Eumenes, with the magiſtrates " of all the cities of Aſia, were preſent! You would " hear their complaints, and I ſhould not find it ne- " ceſſary to accuſe the Gallo-Græcians. Let Am- " baſſadors be ſent to all parts of Aſia, to enquire " the truth upon the ſpot; and you would know from " them, that the ſlavery, from which you have de-

" ver

" vered that country by obliging Antiochus to retire A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
" beyond Mount Taurus, was not harder than that,
" from which it has been delivered by the reduction
" of the Gauls. All thoſe States will inform you,
" how many times that ſavage nation has ravaged
" their countries, how many times they have carried
" off all that they had of valuable and neceſſary,
" how many priſoners they have taken from them,
" without ſuffering them to ranſom them, and laſtly,
" how often they have ſacrificed their children to their
" Gods, as barbarous as themſelves. How! If An-
" tiochus had not withdrawn his garriſons from the
" citadels, where they remained in entire tranquil-
" lity, would you believe, that you had reſtored Aſia
" to liberty; and do you imagine that Eumenes could
" peaceably enjoy the gifts you have made him, and
" the other cities the liberty they have received from
" you, whilſt the Gauls were at entire liberty to carry
" terror and deſolation wherever they thought fit?
" But wherefore ſhould I reaſon any longer upon
" a falſe ſuppoſition, as if I had not found the Gauls
" actually at war with us, and as if I had forced
" them to make it againſt us. I call you to witneſs,
" L. Scipio, you whom I ſucceeded in the command
" of the troops, and you P. Scipio, who was conſi-
" dered by the army and your brother rather as a
" collegue than a lieutenant: ſay, don't you know,
" that the Gauliſh forces ſerved in the army of An-
" tiochus; and if you did not ſee them fighting upon
" both wings, in which they conſtituted the ſtrength
" of his army? The Romans ordered you to make
" war not only upon Antiochus, but upon all thoſe
" who ſhould have joined him againſt us. The Gauls
" were indiſputably of that number, as well as ſome
" of the petty Kings and tyrants of that country. I
" was therefore in the right to treat them as ene-
" mies. However, I acted with all poſſible modera-
" tion in reſpect to them. I gave peace to the latter,
" reducing them to make a ſatisfaction ſuitable to
" your power, which they had injured. On the other
" ſide,

A.R. 565. Ant. C. 187. " ſide, I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to bring
" Gauls to reaſon, if their natural ferocity had
" capable of being mollified; and it was not till
" many attempts, that finding them always untra
" ble, I thought it for our honour to uſe force to
" duce them.

" After having juſtified the motives which de
" mined me to undertake the war, it is now nec
" ſary to ſpeak of the manner in which I made
" And in this ſecond point, I ſhould be aſſured
" gaining my cauſe, though I were even to plead
" before the Senate of Carthage, which, if what
" ſaid be true, puniſh their Generals capitally wh
" they have formed raſh enterprizes, however ſucce
" ful in the event. But what confidence ought I
" to conceive, who have to do with a Commonweal
" that never made enterprizes criminal to comma
" ders, to which the Gods have given an happy
" ſue, becauſe it regards that as the effect of t
" prayers and vows which have preceded thoſe ente
" prizes; and in decreeing either thankſgivings
" the Gods, or triumphs to Generals, always u
" theſe remarkable terms, * FOR HAVING WELL A
" SUCCESSFULLY SERVED THE COMMONWEALT
" When therefore, to avoid provoking envy, I decli
" aſcribing to my courage and good conduct the ſu
" ceſſes I have had, and I content myſelf, aft
" having conquered ſo powerful a nation without a
" loſs, with aſking that the due thankſgivings ſhou
" be paid to the immortal Gods for the good fo
" tune they have vouchſafed your arms under m
" command, and that myſelf might be permitted
" re-enter the Capitol in triumph, from which I ſ
" out after having made the cuſtomary vows for t
" proſperity of the Commonwealth, would you r
" fuſe ſuch honour to the Gods, as well as to me?

" It is objected to me, that I did not make choi
" of an advantageous place for giving battle. D

* Quod bene ac faciliter Rempublicam adminiſtravit.

" th

that depend on me? The enemy being maſters of the mountain, and reſolving not to come down from it, it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to attack them in their poſt, if I intended to defeat them. The ſame reproach may be made to our beſt Generals, who, eſpecially in the laſt wars, have not always choſen advantageous poſts for attacking the enemy, becauſe it was not in their power: I do not yet comprehend what idea they would give you, or frame to themſelves, of the enemy. If they have degenerated ſo much as they ſay, and are ſo much enervated by the voluptuouſneſs of Aſia, what danger was there in marching to attack them upon the mountain? And if they retained the courage and ſtrength of their anceſtors, why do they refuſe thoſe a triumph, who have conquered ſo formidable an enemy? * Envy is blind, Romans. Its purpoſe is to degrade virtue, and to make it loſe the honours and rewards it deſerves. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.

"The ſame ſpirit of envy and jealouſy ſhews itſelf again in what they object to me concerning Thrace. They inſiſt much upon part of our baggage being taken by thoſe robbers, and the loſs of ſome ſoldiers; and they take great care at the ſame time not to add, that upon the very day this misfortune happened, our troops defeated a great number of theſe banditti, and that the following days they either took or killed many more of them. But what do they get by this affected ſilence? The whole army is ready to witneſs the two battles, which alone deſerve the honour of a triumph.

"I aſk your pardon, Romans; if the neceſſity of a juſt defence, and not the deſire of boaſting my own actions, has made me expatiate too much."

The accuſation would upon this occaſion have had advantage of the apology, if the diſpute had not Liv. xxxviii. 50.

* Cœca invidia eſt, Patres Conſcripti, nec quidquam aliud ſcit, quam detrectare virtutes, corrumpere honoros ac præmia earum. Liv.

taken

A.R. 565. Ant. C. 187. taken up the whole day without being decided. F the Senators withdrew in a diſpoſition to refuſe Ma lius a triumph. But the next day that General's r lations and friends ſtirred ſo much, that they e gaged the Seniors of the order in their intereſt, wh authority made the affair turn in favour of Manli They repreſented, that it was without example, th a General, after having conquered the enemy, left h province in peace, and led back his victorious troo to Rome, had been deprived of the honour of triumph, and had re-entered the city as a priva perſon without any diſtinction. The malignant je louſy of his enemies at length gave way to ſuch w remonſtrances: they were aſhamed of affronting man of merit in ſo injurious a manner, and the wh Senate almoſt unanimouſly decreed him a triump There was, however, foundation to object to the co duct of this General, who, as we ſhall ſee below, h not ſtrictly kept up the diſcipline, and ſuffered t manners of his troops to corrupt. It is ſurprizin that his enemies did not urge this point againſt him.

Liv. xxxviii. 50. A much more affecting accuſation of an highly mo illuſtrious and conſiderable perſonage, made the d pute of which I have been ſpeaking be forgot. T Tribunes of the People, both called Q. Pætilius, cit P. Scipio Africanus to take a trial.

This event muſt ſeem ſtrange, when conſidered w the ſentiments of gratitude, reſpect, and admiratio which all the Romans had formerly entertained w ſo much juſtice and unanimity in favour of Scip

Ibid. 56. Val. Max. iv. 1. They were deſirous to erect ſtatues of him in the F rum, the tribunal for harangues, the Senate, and ev in the temple and chapel of great Jupiter; and th zeal for his glory had roſe ſo high, that they had ſome ſenſe equalled him with the Gods by decreein that his ſtatue, habited in the ornaments of triump ſhould be laid upon cuſhions like thoſe of the Gods the ceremony called Lectiſternium. They had ev conceived thoughts of creating him perpetual Con

Dictator. But * Scipio, leſs paſſionate to receive A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
nours than to deſerve them, would not ſuffer any
be decreed him, that were above the condition of a
izen; and by that moderation, which prevented him
m giving himſelf up to ſuch exceſſes, he ſhewed as
ch wiſdom as greatneſs of ſoul.

Accordingly, this firſt paſſion inſenſibly becoming
s ardent as is uſual, ſome years after Scipio's credit
gan to decline. The People always having him be-
e their eyes, began by little and little to abate in
ir admiration of him. The conſent and approbation
ich he had given during his conſulſhip to the ſepa-
e places of the Senators in the Games, was ill re-
ived by the public; and he experienced this decline
his authority, when it miſcarried in oppoſition to
uintius in reſpect to the Conſulſhip, which he can-
ſſed in favour of his couſin Naſica.

It was in this manner, that the event which we are
ing to relate, was made way for. Thoſe who en-
ed him ſeeing his credit weakened, believed it in their
wer to attack him. Their accuſation turned upon
pretended crime of embezzling the public money in
e war with Antiochus. They affirmed, that he had
ceived great ſums of money from that Prince to grant
im peace.

Every body judged of this proceeding according to
eir character or inclination. Some declared them-
lves not only againſt the impudence of the accuſers,
ut againſt the baſeneſs of the Romans in general,
ho did not oppoſe ſo unworthy an enterprize. "The
two greateſt cities of the Univerſe," ſaid they,
have at the ſame time expreſſed the higheſt ingra-
titude for their principal citizens, but Rome in the
moſt crying and inexcuſable manner. For at length
vanquiſhed Carthage hath baniſhed beaten Hanni-

* Quorum ſibi nullum neque plebiſcito dari, neque Senatus-conſulto decerni patiendo, pene tantum in recuſandis honoribus ſe geſſit, quantum geſſerat in emerendis. VAL. MAX. Hæc — ingentem magnitudinem animi, moderandis ad civilem habitum honoribus [ſignificabant]. LIV.

"bal,

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. "bal, the author of all their calamities: but vict
"ous Rome injures Scipio, to whom ſhe is indeb
"for her victory." Some on the contrary maintain
"that no citizen ought to be exalted ſo much ab
"the reſt, as it ſhould not be allowable to call h
"to an account for his conduct. That the means
"preſerving liberty in a Republic, was to reduce
"moſt powerful to the neceſſity of taking his trial
"defending himſelf, when it ſhould be deemed p
"per. To what private perſon, could any part
"government be confided, much leſs placing him
"the head of the Commonwealth, if he was not
"be accountable for his actions? What Secur
"could there be for intruſting any perſon whatſoe
"with the ſmalleſt intereſts, and much leſs with th
"of the whole Commonwealth, if ſuch perſon w
"not obliged to give an account of his conduc
"That it was not unjuſt to uſe force againſt any o
"whatſoever, who could not ſuffer equality." Su
was the diſcourſe of the People till the day of trial.

Never did any citizen, not excepting Scipio himſ
whilſt Conſul or Cenſor, come into the Forum with
greater train of the citizens of all orders, than when
appeared at this time to take his trial.

Liv. xxxviii. 51. The Tribunes of the People, in order to diſpo
them for the preſent accuſation, revived the old c
lumnies which had been raiſed againſt him on the o
caſion of the pretended luxury and voluptuouſneſs du
ing his reſidence at Syracuſe, and the commotions e
cited at Locri in reſpect to Pleminius. But when the
came to the crime of peculation, with which they the
charged him, they could ſupport it only with ſuſp
cions and conjectures, without producing any ſoli
proof. "They ſaid, that Antiochus had reſtored hi
his ſon without ranſom, and that he had paid him th
ſame deference, as if he had been the ſole arbiter
Rome of war and peace. That in the province he ha
acted with the Conſul as Dictator, and not as a mer
lieutenant. That he had attended him thither onl
to ſhew Greece, Aſia, and all the Kings and States o
th

e Eaſt, what he had long perſuaded Spain, Gaul, A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
cily, and Africa, that a ſingle man was the prop
d ſupport of the Roman empire; that Rome, that
ſtreſs of the univerſe, owed her ſafety only to the
adow of Scipio's name; that the leaſt ſign of his will
d all the authority of the Senate's and People's de-
ees." In a word, not being able to make him cri-
inal, they endeavoured to render him odious.

When * Scipio was ordered to anſwer, without ſay- Liv. xxxviii. 51.
g a ſingle word of the crimes objected to him, he
oke of his exploits with ſo much elevation and dig-
y, that no one had ever been praiſed either with
ore magnificence, or more truth. For the ſame
irit and courage, which had animated all his actions,
peared in his diſcourſe, and the niceſt ears could not
offended with a liberty, which he only uſed to de-
nd himſelf, and not from the motive of vain-glory.
he ſpeeches having taken up the whole day, the af-
r was referred to another.

That being arrived, the Tribunes of the People aſ-
nded the tribunal of harangues early in the morning.
he accuſed being ſummoned, broke through the
oud, attended by a great number of clients and
ends, and as ſoon as ſilence had been made in order
his being heard: "Tribunes of the People," ſaid
, "and you fellow-citizens, it was upon this very
day that I conquered Hannibal and the Carthagini-
ans in Africa. So happy a one ought not to be
paſſed in diſputes, diſcuſſions, and proſecutions. I
am therefore going directly to the Capitol to pay
adoration to great Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and
the reſt of the Gods who preſide in that temple and
citadel; and † to thank them for having given me

* Juſſus dicere cauſam, ſine ulla criminum mentione, orationem
eo magnificam de rebus ab ſe geſtis exorſus eſt, ut ſatis conſtaret,
minem unquam de rebus ab ſe geſtis exorſus eſt, ut ſatis conſtaret,
minem unquam neque meliùs, neque veriùs laudatum eſſe. Dice-
atur enim ab eodem animo ingenioque, à quo geſta erant; & au-
m faſtidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam, dicebant.
. Liv.

† Hiſque gratias agam, quòd mihi & hoc ipſo die, & ſæpe alias,
regiæ Reipublicæ gerendæ mentem facultatemque dederunt. Veſ-
m quoque quibus commodum eſt, ite mecum, Quirites; & orate

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. "on this, and many other days, the deſire and ca
"pacity to ſerve the Commonwealth with advanta
"and glory. Follow me, Romans, as many of yo
"as have leiſure, and love your country, and pra
"the Gods, that they may always give you Genera
"and magiſtrates who reſemble me. I may ſpea
"thus with confidence, if it be true, that from m
"ſeventeenth year to the advanced age, to which
"have attained, you have always preceded my a
"with your honours, as I have your honours wi
"my ſervices."

After having held this diſcourſe, he quitted th Forum, and walked towards the Capitol. That ve moment the whole aſſembly followed him thither the very clerks and ſerjeants of the Tribunes, who we left alone with their ſlaves and the crier, whom th had brought with them to cite the accuſed before ther Scipio went from the Capitol to all the temples of t city, ſtill followed by the whole Roman People. * T judge aright of true glory, this day did Scip more honour by the avowed eſteem and veneratio of the publie, than that on which he entered Ro in triumph, after having defeated Syphax and t Carthaginians.

Liv. xxxviii. 51. This was the laſt of his days of glory. For foreſe ing the differences which he ſhould neceſſarily ha with the Tribunes of the People, he took advantage the delay of the trial to retire to Linternum, fully r ſolved to appear no more to defend himſelf. † H ſoul was too haughty, and his ſentiments too elevate beſides which he had paſſed his life in too high a ſphe to deſcend to the ſuppliant, and to learn the humb part of a perſon accuſed.

deos, ut mei principes ſimiles habeatis: ita, ſi ab annis ſeptemdec ad ſenectutem ſemper vos ætatem meam veſtris honoribus anteil ego veſtros honores rebus gerendis præceſſi. Liv.

* Celebratior is propè dies favore hominum, & æſtimatione ve magnitudinis ejus fuit, quàm quo triumphans de Syphace rege Carthaginienſibus urbem eſt invectus. Liv.

† Major animus & natura erat, ac majora fortunæ aſſuetus, qu ut reus eſſe ſciret, & ſummittere ſe in humilitatem cauſam dicentiu Liv.

On the day to which the affair was adjourned, when A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. he accuſed was ſummoned, L. Scipio his brother ſaid, that ſickneſs prevented him from appearing. But the Tribunes would not admit that excuſe. They pretended, that he had abſented himſelf to avoid answering, in effect of the ſame pride that had induced him to quit the Forum, the Tribunes, and the aſſembly, to draw away with him to the Capitol his judges themſelves, and to deprive them of the right and liberty of giving their ſuffrages. Then addreſſing themſelves to the multitude: "You have," continued they, "received the juſt reward of your facility in ſuffering ſo raſh an enterprize. You quitted us to follow him, and now you ſee he abandons you yourſelves. We ſuffer our authority to decline every day in ſuch a manner, that the perſon whom ſeventeen years ago you ſent Tribunes of the People with an Ædile to ſeize and bring to Rome, though actually at the head of the army and fleet; now, when he is but a private individual, we dare not ſend to fetch from his country-houſe, in order to oblige him to ſubmit to the judgment here to be paſſed upon him." L. Scipio having implored the aid of the other Tribunes, they paſſed a decree, by which accepting the alledged excuſe of ſickneſs, they declared that it was their intention that time ſhould be given the accuſed, and that the trial ſhould be deferred.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's particular enemy, was one of the Tribunes of the People. That magiſtrate having forbade his name to be inſerted in the decree of his collegues, it was expected, that he was going to declare againſt Scipio with the utmoſt rigour, when he ſpoke as follows. "As L. Scipio pleads his brother's ſickneſs as an excuſe for his abſence, that ought to ſuffice. I will not ſuffer him to be proceeded againſt before his return; and even then, if he deſires my aid, I will ſupport him with my authority to diſpenſe with him from anſwering. Scipio, by the greatneſs of his exploits, and the honours to which you have ſo often raiſed him, has,

Liv. xxxviii. 53.

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. "by the confeſſion of Gods and men, attained to
"high a degree of glory, that it is more ſhameful
"the Roman People than for himſelf, to ſee him
"mark of the accuſations and invectives of an
"creet multitude at the foot of the tribunal of
"rangues. What!" continued he, addreſſing himſ
to the Tribunes with a tone and air of indignatio
"Would you ſee Scipio, the conqueror of Africa,
"your feet? Did he not defeat and put to flight fo
"of the moſt famous of the Carthaginian Genera
"with their four armies in Spain; did he not ta
"Syphax priſoner; did he not conquer Hannibal; h
"he not made Carthage tributary to Rome; has
"not, laſtly, forced Antiochus, by a victory of whic
"his brother is contented to ſhare the glory with hi
"to retire beyond mount Taurus, only to ſink und
"the malignity of the Pætilii, and to ſee them t
"umph over him? * How! ſhall the virtue of gre
"men never find, either in its own merit, or the h
"nours to which you raiſe it, an aſylum and kind
"ſanctuary, in which their age, if it does not recei
"the reſpect and homage due to it, may at leaſt fi
"refuge from inſult and injuſtice?"

The decree of Gracchus, and the diſcourſe he adde to it, made a great impreſſion upon the whole aſſembl and even the accuſers themſelves. They ſaid th would reflect upon the affair, in order to judge wh was conſiſtent with their duty and authority. As ſoo as the People were retired, the Senators aſſemble and the whole body, eſpecially the ſeniors and perſo of conſular dignity, returned Gracchus great than for his having ſacrificed his private reſentments to t honour of the Commonwealth. The Pætilii on t contrary were exceedingly reproached, † for havi endeavoured to cruſh virtue to acquire themſelves

* Nullis-ne meritis ſuis, nullis veſtris honoribus unquam in arc tutam, & velut ſanctam, clari viri pervenient; ubi, ſi non venera lis, inviolata ſaltem ſenectus eorum conſidat? Liv.

† Quòd ſplendere aliena invidia voluiſſent, & ſpolia ex Africa triumpho peterent. Liv.

nam

ame; and for having ſought, by triumphing over A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
Scipio Africanus, to adorn themſelves with his ſpoils. This affair was ſtifled, and no more was ſaid of it.

Though that great man had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the things that form the character of heroes, he however excelled in war more than in peace. The firſt part of his life was more memorable than the laſt, because he had paſſed his whole youth in camps and armies: whereas during the reſt of his days he had few occaſions of exerting the great talents he had received from nature. What did his ſecond Conſulſhip and his Cenſorſhip add to the glory he had acquired in the firſt? What ſplendor did his employment of lieutenant in Aſia add to his firſt exploits, which was rendered fruitleſs by ſickneſs, ſaddened by the taking of his ſon, and by the neceſſity under which he was, at his return, either to ſubmit to an unjuſt judgment, or to avoid it by renouncing his ungrateful fellow-citizens for ever? The point of light of his greatneſs and glory, is the ſecond Punic war happily terminated; the greateſt and moſt dangerous Rome ever had upon its hands. Liv. xxxviii. 53.

Scipio paſſed the ſhort time he lived afterwards in an obſcure retreat, if compared with the luſtre of his military exploits: but no leſs eſtimable and glorious for him, if we conſider the conſtancy and equality of ſoul with which he bore this diſgrace. Theſe reverſes of fortune often give the greateſt of men ſorrow, dejection, and anguiſh. The tumult and agitation in which they have always lived, make repoſe and ſolitude inſupportable to them. Scipio bore his with the ſame courage which had rendered him invincible to fatigues and dangers. He confined himſelf to the manner of life of the antient Romans, that is, a ſimple and laborious one after their example, making it an honour and pleaſure to himſelf to cultivate his land with his own victorious hands. Seneca, in a letter, which he dates from the very place to which the great Scipio retired, on mentioning the tomb that contained his aſhes, cries out, that he does not doubt

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. but the ſoul of that great man was returned to heave his true country, not becauſe he had command great armies, for the ſame might be ſaid of that we and frantic King Cambyſes, but from the moderati and patience which he ſhewed in quitting Rome. "* take great pleaſure, ſays he, in comparing t manners of Scipio with ours. That great man, t terror of Carthage and ſupport of Rome, after ha ing cultivated his field with his own hands, uſed bathe in this dark hole, (*balneolum anguſtum, tenebro ex conſuetudine antiqua*) lived under this humble roo and was ſatisfied with ſo groſs a pavement! Who no would bear ſuch a mean way of life?"

I do not doubt but a ſmall number of nob friends viſited him in this retreat, and were to hi inſtead of all Rome. But hiſtory does not menti them; and we muſt not apply to him what is ſaid the intimate friendſhip between the ſecond Scipio Af canus and Lælius, and of the rural diverſions th took together. It is eaſy, without particular atte tion, to confound the two Scipios and the two Læ with each other, in effect of their exceeding reſem blance in many things. I am well perſuaded, th the famous poet Ennius, for whom † our Scipi whoſe victories he had celebrated, had a particul affection, did not fail of paying that moſt illuſtrio exile all the duties of a good friend in his retreat. is no wonder that Scipio gave this poet great mar of his eſteem and regard. He was convinced, th as long as Rome ſhould ſubſiſt, and Africa be in ſu jection to Italy, the memory of his great actions cou

* Magna me voluptas ſubit contemplantem mores Scipionis ac n tros. In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror, cui Roma debet qu tantum ſemel capta eſt, abluebat corpus laboribus ruſticis feſſum exercebat enim opere ſe, terramque (ut mos fuit priſcis) ipſe ſubig bat. Sub hoc ille tecto tam ſordido ſtetit; hoc illum tam vile pa mentum ſuſtinuit! At nunc quis eſt qui ſic lavari ſuſtineat?

† Carus fuit Africano ſuperiori noſter Ennius. Itaque etiam ſepulchro Scipionum putatur is eſſe conſtitutus. Cic. pro Ar n. 22.

ot expire: * but he alſo believed, that the writings f Ennius were highly capable of exalting the luſtre, nd of perpetuating the remembrance of them. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.

Livy ſays, that hiſtorians differ very much con- erning the circumſtances of the trial and death of Scipio Africanus. I ſhall relate only two inſtances on his head.

Some ſay, that he ended his days, and was interred t Rome, and others at Linternum. At both places is tomb and ſtatue were ſhewn. Livy tells us, that e had ſeen his tomb and ſtatue, which had been laced upon it at Linternum, but that a ſtorm had hrown it down. We have juſt ſeen, that Seneca alſo believed that Scipio's tomb was at Linternum. On nother ſide, there were in the time of Livy, without he gate called Capena, in the place where the mo- numents of the Scipios ſtood, three ſtatues, one of which was ſaid to be that of P. Scipio, the other f L. Scipio, and the third of the poet Ennius. It ſeems probable enough, that the ſecond Scipio Africa- nus had cauſed theſe ſtatues to be erected.

Scipio had two daughters. He himſelf married the eldeſt to P. Cornelius Naſica. It is agreed that the youngeſt was married to Tib. Sempronius Gracchus: but it is not certain, that Gracchus married her till after the death of Scipio Africanus: or that this alliance was contracted between the two families in the follow- ing manner, which ſeems to ſuppoſe that P. Scipio had not been cited before the People. It is related, that as L. Scipio was carrying to priſon, Gracchus ſwore, that he was ſtill an enemy of the Scipios, and that he had no deſire to be reconciled with them: but that he would not ſuffer L. Scipio to be thrown into the ſame priſon where P. Scipio his brother had cauſed the Kings and Generals of the enemy to be confined. It is added, that the Senators accidentally ſupping that

* Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clariùs indicant
Laudes, quàm Calabræ Pierides. Hor. Od. 8. lib. iv.

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. day in the Capitol, roſe in a body, demanded of Scipio Africanus to give his daughter in marriage to Tib. Gracchus, and preſſed him to promiſe her to him in the midſt of that ſolemn feaſt. That Scipio having complied with their requeſt, told his wife Æmilia, on his return home, that he had promiſed their youngeſt daughter in marriage. That his lady, offended that he had not conſulted her, replied, that though he had choſen Tiberius Gracchus for his ſon-in-law, he ought not to have made it a ſecret to a mother. That Scipio upon this, ſeeing his wife thought as he did of Gracchus, and charmed to find her ſentiments agree with his in reſpect to what he had done, replied, that he had given her to Gracchus himſelf. This daughter was the celebrated Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, of whom much will be ſaid in the ſequel.

For the reſt I believe, that in reſpect to the accuſation of P. Scipio, we may rely upon what has been ſaid before, which is taken word for word from Livy.

Liv. xxxviii. 54. The voluntary baniſhment, or, as Livy ſays, the death of Scipio Africanus highly encouraged his enemies, the moſt conſiderable of whom was M. Porcius Cato *, who even during the life of that great man, through a virulence which does him no honour, had inceſſantly attacked him, and endeavoured to render a credit and glory ſo juſtly acquired, odious. The enmity of Cato, founded upon ſo evident a difference of characters, had broke out from the time he had been Quæſtor under Scipio in the war of Africa. † It was a cuſtom with the Romans, and a kind of law, for the Quæſtors to reſpect the Generals under whom they ſerved as their own fathers. Cato did not act in this manner. Diſguſted with the great and noble manner in which that General lived, he left him at Sicily, re-

* Qui vivo quoque eo Allatrare ejus magnitudinem ſolitus erat. Liv. It is hard to render the word ALLATRARE in French, but in Engliſh "to bark at," ſeems to come near the ſenſe of it.

† Sic à majoribus noſtris accepimus, prætorem quæſtori ſuo parentis loco eſſe oportere. Divin. in Verr. 61.

turned

rned to Rome, and inceſſantly exclaimed with Fa- A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
us in the Senate againſt Scipio's immenſe and uſeleſs pences. This enmity roſe to the higheſt exceſs at e time of which we are ſpeaking. It is believed, at it was at Cato's ſollicitation, that the Pætilii un- rtook to accuſe him in his life; and that they ought on the affair again after his death, by propo- g a law to the People, that the neceſſary enquiries ght be made for knowing what was become of the oney exacted from Antiochus and his ſubjects, which d not been brought into the public treaſury. L. rius Purpureo, a man of Conſular dignity, one of e ten commiſſioners who had been ſent into Aſia, fired that this enquiry might extend to the Kings d States of thoſe countries, in order to involve Cn. anlius his enemy in the affair. L. Scipio, who was ore concerned than any other perſon in the enquiry fired with ſo much ardor, ſeemed only ſenſible in ſpect to his brother's honour, and complained, "that is law was propoſed preciſely upon the death of that eat man. That they had not been contented with priving him of the funeral oration with which his ath ought to have been honoured, but attacked his e with calumnious accuſations. That the Cartha- nians, ſatisfied with the baniſhment of Hannibal, ried their reſentment no farther: but that the Ro- an People extended their hatred againſt Scipio ſo far, to wound his reputation after his death, and to de- e to ſacrifice his brother to the envy of his enemies." ato ſpoke in favour of the law propoſed by the Tri- nes. His diſcourſe upon this ſubject was extant the time of Livy. The authority of ſuch a perſon bliged the Mummii Tribunes of the People, to deſiſt om their intended oppoſition; after which all the ribes gave their ſuffrages conformably to the inten- on of the Pætilii, and the law was paſſed.

The Senate then nominated Q. Terentius Culeo ætor, to take cognizance of this affair, regulate e enquiry, and determine in conſequence. Imme- iately after L. Scipio was accuſed before him, with his

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. his two Lieutenants Aulus and Lucius Hoſtilius, ſi
named Cato, and his Quæſtor C. Furius Aculeo
and, to inſinuate that all his officers had their ſhare
the peculation, two regiſters or clerks, and a ſerjea
who had been employed under him, were include
But Lucius Hoſtilius and the inferior officers we
acquitted, before Scipio was tried. L. Scipio, h
Lieutenant A. Hoſtilius, and his Quæſtor C. Furi
were condemned, under pretext that Antiochus,
order to obtain more favourable conditions of peac
had given L. Scipio * four hundred and fourſco
pounds of gold in weight, and ſix thouſand of ſilve
more than he had brought into the public treaſur
to † A. Hoſtilius fourſcore pounds of gold, and fo
hundred and three of ſilver; and laſtly, to the Qua
tor Furius ‡ an hundred and thirty pounds of gol
and two hundred of ſilver.

Liv. xxxviii. 58, 59. The Prætor Q. Terentius having terminated th
famous proſecution, Hoſtilius and Furius gave ſec
rity for the ſums in which they were fined. As to
Scipio, as he proteſted, that he had cauſed all the go
and ſilver he had received to be carried into the pub
treaſury without appropriating any thing, he was o
dered to be carried to priſon. Upon which P. Scip
Naſica implored the aid of the Tribunes againſt th
violence, and made a ſpeech in which he not only i
cluded a true, and at the ſame time a very magnifico
elogium of the houſe of Cornelia in general, but of
own branch of it in particular.

He ſaid, "That the two Scipios, Publius and L
cius his brother, who was to be impriſoned, and hi
ſelf who then ſpoke, were the ſons of Cneus and Pu
lius, thoſe two illuſtrious Generals who had made w
ſo many years in Spain with the Carthaginian and Sp
niſh Generals and armies; and who, after having ac

* The gold amounts to about ſeventeen thouſand pounds ſterli
The ſilver to about twenty-two thouſand two hundred and fifty pou

† The gold three thouſand pounds. The ſilver ſeventeen hund
pounds.

‡ The gold five thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds.—The
ver, ſeven hundred and fifty pounds.

ed to the glory of the Roman name, not only by their military virtues, but the example of temperance, uſtice, and faith, which they had given thoſe nations, had at length both been killed fighting glorioufly for the Commonwealth. That it had been no ſmall honour for their children to ſuſtain the reputation of their fathers: but that Scipio Africanus had ſo much ſurpaſſed his in glory, and had raiſed himſelf ſo much above the condition of other mortals, that the Romans were convinced, he was deſcended from the Gods. That as to L. Scipio, who was at preſent in queſtion, not to mention what he had done in Spain and Africa as his brother's Lieutenant, the Senate, after having elected him Conſul, had conceived ſo high an idea of his capacity, that they had in a peculiar manner granted him the province of Aſia, and had commiſſioned him to make war againſt Antiochus; and that his brother's eſteem for him had induced him to ſerve under him as his Lieutenant, he who had been twice Conſul and Cenſor, and who had triumphed over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. That in this war, as if fortune had deſigned to prevent the glory of the Lieutenant from obliterating that of the Conſul, P. Scipio had been left ſick at Elæa, where he continued at the time his brother had given Antiochus battle, and defeated him near Magneſia. That to find a pretence for accuſing the victor after a peace, it was ſuppoſed that he had ſold it. That it did not appear, that the ſame reproach extended to the ten commiſſioners, with whoſe advice Scipio had concluded it. That even amongſt thoſe ten commiſſioners there were ſome who had accuſed Cn. Manlius, not only without obtaining entire credit, but without being able to ſuſpend his triumph in the leaſt. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.

"But it is pretended, that the conditions of peace granted Antiochus by Scipio, render that General ſuſpected of having favoured an enemy at the expence of the Commonwealth. Some are ſo bold as to advance, that his whole kingdom has been left him, and that he has loſt nothing of what he poſſeſſed before his

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. his defeat. And they venture to ſay, that of all th gold and ſilver exacted from that Prince, no part ha been brought into the public treaſury; and that th whole has been appropriated to private advantag How great a calumny is this! Was not as great quantity of gold and ſilver ſhewn to the public on th day of Scipio's triumph, as the whole ſpoils of te triumphs together, chuſe which we will, could no equal? What need I mention the bounds ſet to th dominions of the conquered Prince, to an whole Peo ple who know that before the battle Antiochus wa maſter of all Aſia, and the countries of Europe ad jacent to it? Nobody is ignorant that the countr from Mount Taurus to the Ægean ſea, forms a grea part of the univerſe, and contains a great number no only of cities, but of provinces and nations. Th this whole region, which is above thirty days marc in length, and more than ten in breadth between th two ſeas, has been taken from Antiochus, and th he has been baniſhed to the extremity of the world Admitting that peace was not ſold him, which is true could a greater part of his dominions be taken fro him? That after Philip and Nabis were conquered the firſt had been left Macedonia, and the othe Sparta. That this had not been made criminal t Quintius; without doubt becauſe he had not a brothe like Scipio Africanus, whoſe glory drew envy upo him, inſtead of preſerving him from calumny. Th though the whole eſtate of Scipio were to be ſold, in cluding a great number of inheritances that had falle to him, they would ſcarce amount to the ſum whic he was declared to have appropriated to his own ad vantage. How then could any body ſuppoſe that h had received ſo much money from Antiochus? Th in an houſe, not exhauſted by luxury, a conſiderabl increaſe of riches ſhould be found, if the accuſatio formed againſt Scipio had any foundation. That th enemies of that General, not being able to find th ſum, in which they had cauſed him to be condemned by the ſale of his goods, were going to ſatiate the

envy and hatred upon his perſon, by loading ſo illuſ- A. R. 563. Ant. C. 187.
trious a man with chains, and throwing him into a dungeon, to be the companion of thieves and aſſaſſins, and in which he would expire miſerably, to be afterwards thrown out of the priſon-gates. That ſo unworthy a treatment would reflect more diſgrace upon the city of Rome, than upon the houſe of the Cornelii."

The Prætor Terentius contented himſelf to oppoſe Naſica with the law Pætilia, the decree of the Senate, and the ſentence paſſed againſt Scipio, which he ordered to be read; adding, that if he did not cauſe the ſum in which he had been condemned to be paid into the public treaſury, he could not diſpenſe with ſentencing him to be impriſoned. The Tribunes of the People having retired to deliberate, Fannius returned a moment after, and declared for himſelf and his colleagues, except Gracchus, that the Tribunes did not oppoſe the execution of the ſentence. Liv. xxxviii. 60.

Ti. Gracchus then ſaid, "That he would not hinder the ſums which Scipio was condemned to repay into the treaſury from being levied upon his eſtate; but that he would never ſuffer a General to be impriſoned with the enemies of the Roman People, who had conquered the moſt powerful King of the world; who had extended the bounds of the empire to the extremities of the univerſe; who had attached to the Romans, Eumenes, the Rhodians, and ſo many other cities and States of Aſia by the many obligations he had laid upon them in the name of the Roman People; and laſtly, who had laid ſo many of the Generals of the enemy in priſon; and that he decreed that he ſhould not be deprived of his liberty." The decree of Gracchus was received with ſo much applauſe, and Scipio's liberty gave the whole People ſo much joy, that it might have been thought it was at ſome other place and not at Rome that he had been condemned.

The Prætor afterwards ordered the Quæſtors to confiſcate and cauſe the eſtates of L. Scipio to be ſold. Liv. ibid.

There

A.R. 565. Ant. C. 187. There not only appeared no ſign of having received money from Antiochus, but the ſale did not produce the twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds required of him. His relations, friends, and clients, raiſed a contribution amongſt themſelves, and offered him ſo conſiderable a ſum, that if he had accepted it, he had been much richer than he was before his ſentence. He thanked them all for their generoſity, but would take nothing: he only ſuffered his neareſt relations to buy ſuch of his moveables for him as were neceſſary for living with decency; and the public hatred to which the Scipios had been victims, retorted upon the Prætor, the judges, and the Accuſers.

When we conſider the accuſations formed against theſe two great men, we may well cry out with Scipio: "Oh! * how often are the citizens, moſt zealous for the honour of the Commonwealth, and who have rendered it the greateſt ſervices, to be lamented as their great actions are not only forgot, but even the greateſt crimes are imputed to them!"

* Miſeros interdum cives, optimè de republica meritos! in quibus homines non modò res præclariſſimas obliviſcuntur, ſed etiam nefaria ſuſpicantur. Pro. Mil. 83.

SECT. III.

Deſcription of the country of the Ligurians, the perpetual enemies of the Romans. They are ſubjected by the two Conſuls. Juſtice done the Galli Cenomanes. Regulation in reſpect to the Latin Allies. M. Fulvius demands a triumph, and obtains it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of a Tribune of the People. Strange and abominable fanaticiſm of the Bacchanalians diſcovered, and puniſhed, at Rome. Q. Marcius is ſurprized, beaten and put to flight by the Ligurians. Better ſucceſs in Spain. Combat of Athletæ. Origin of the war with Perſeus. Philip's grievances in reſpect to the Romans. He prepares for renewing the war. Upon the complaints of ſeveral States againſt Philip, Rome ſends three commiſſioners

miſſioners into their countries, who, after having heard the ſeveral parties, make regulations. Good ſucceſs in Spain, and in Liguria. Return of the commiſſioners from Greece to Rome. The Senate ſends new deputies thither. Philip cauſes the principal perſons of Maronæa to be aſſaſſinated. He ſends his younger ſon Demetrius to Rome.

WHILST part of the things of which we have been ſpeaking paſſed, the two Conſuls made war in Liguria. This nation ſeemed deſtined to exerciſe the arms of the Romans, and to keep up their military diſcipline at the times when they had no important wars to ſuſtain. There was no province ſo proper as this for keeping the ſoldiery employed. For Aſia, by the beauty and charms of its cities, the abundant luxury with which both the land and ſea ſupplied it, the effeminacy of the enemy they acted againſt, and the opulence of its Kings, ſent home the Roman armies richer, but did not render them more warlike. This was particularly experienced under Cn. Manlius, who, from having indulged the troops in too great a licentiouſneſs in that country, ſuffered a conſiderable defeat in Thrace, where he found the ways more difficult and the enemy more warlike. On the contrary, in Liguria every thing contributed to keep the troops in play and attentive to their duty: a rough country full of mountains; ſteep and narrow paſſes, with perpetual ambuſcades; active and vigorous enemies, who fell upon them when they leaſt expected it; fortreſſes ſtrong by art and nature, which they were under the neceſſity of attacking by expoſing themſelves to continual labours and dangers; and laſtly, a poor and barren country, in which the ſoldier was obliged to live hardly, without hope of gaining conſiderable ſpoils to make them amends for their fatigues. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. Liv. xxxix. 1.

The Conſul C. Flaminius ſeveral times defeated the Ligurians, called Friniates, in their own country, reduced them to ſubmit to the power of the Romans, Ibid. 2.

and

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. and took away their arms. But, as they had conceal-
ed the greateſt part of them, they ſoon reſumed their
quitted their towns, diſperſed into the inacceſſible place
and ſteep rocks; and not believing themſelves ſuffi-
ciently ſafe there, they paſſed the Appennine moun-
tains. The General purſued them thither, and after
they had defended themſelves for ſome time upon the
eminences to which they had retired, he obliged them
to ſurrender. He then made a ſtricter ſearch for their
arms, and deprived them entirely of them. He then
marched againſt the Ligurians called Apuani, who
had made ſuch frequent incurſions into the territories
of Piſa and Bologna, that it had not been poſſible for
the inhabitants to ſow their lands. Having alſo ſub-
jected that people, he ſecured the peace and tranquil-
lity of all the neighbouring parts, who gave him the
higheſt praiſes and thanks. This kind of expeditions,
which are very laborious and diſguſting in themſelves,
but at the ſame time very beneficial, render a General
who employs his whole care upon them without re-
miſſion, the more eſtimable, as they have nothing
ſhewy in them, or that ſooths the ambition of a war-
rior. He thought himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by
the pleaſure of doing good to mankind, and of pro-
curing them repoſe. * Something of this kind we ſee
in our times.

Flaminius not being able to employ his troops long
in war in a country where he had left them no enemies,
ſet them to work upon a † Way from Bologna to Ari-
retium. This was an admirable cuſtom of the Ro-
mans, who conſidering inaction and idleneſs as a fatal
ſource of effeminacy and vice, always kept their ſol-
diers employed, either in military or public works.
This perpetuated ſo exact and ſevere a diſcipline a-
mongſt their troops, and at the ſame time rendered
them indefatigable and invincible.

* Mr. Rollin ſeems here to allude to Corſica.

† We muſt not here confound the great road in queſtion, with the
called the Via Flaminia, which was made during the adminiſtration
of this Conſul's father, that is, the Conſul killed in the battle of Thra-
ſymenus.

The Conſul M. Æmilius attacked other Ligurian A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.
tates with the ſame vigour and ſucceſs. He deprived
hem all of their arms, and made them come down
om the mountains into the plains. Having re-
ſtabliſhed peace in Liguria, he marched his troops
nto the lands of the Gauls, and made a great road
om Placentia to Ariminum, where it joined the Via
laminia.

Furius, the Prætor of Gaul, ſeeking in peace a Liv.
retext for making war with the Cenomanes, with xxxix. 3.
hom he had no ſubject of diſcontent, had attacked,
nd diſarmed them. That People ſending to Rome
o complain of this injuſtice, were referred to the
onſul Æmilius, and having pleaded their cauſe be-
re that General, whom the Senate had impowered
decide it, were declared innocent, and Furius had
rders to quit the province.

The Senate afterwards gave audience to the depu-
s of the Allies, who, from all parts of Latium,
ere come to repreſent that great numbers of their
eople were ſettled at Rome, and cauſed themſelves
be included in the Cenſus with thoſe of the city.
he Prætor Q. Terentius Culeo was appointed to
ake the enquiry, and to ſend home all thoſe into
eir country, whom the deputies ſhould prove to
ve been inrolled there, either in their own perſons
by their fathers, during the cenſorſhip of C. Clau-
us and M. Livius, or that of their ſucceſſors. This
nquiry ſent home twelve thouſand Latines into La-
um, and diſcharged Rome of the multitude of
rangers who began to be a burthen to it.

Before the Conſuls returned to Rome, the Procon- Ibid. 4.
l M. Fulvius arrived there from Ætolia. After
aving given the Senate an account in the temple of
pollo of what he had done in Ætolia and Cephallenia,
deſired the Senators, in the uſual form, to decree
at, for the ſucceſs of his arms, due thanks might
returned to the Gods, and that he might be per-
itted to enter the city in triumph. The Tribune M.
burius declared, that he oppoſed whatever might be

A.R. 565. Ant. C. 187. decided in that reſpect before the arrival of the Conſul Æmilius. He added, "that that magiſtrate had reaſons to alledge againſt the demand of Fulvius, and that in ſetting out for his province he had deſired him to prevent any thing from being reſolved in that reſpect till his return. That this delay did Fulvius no prejudice, and that the Senate would ſtill be at liberty even in the preſence of the Conſul, to decree what they ſhould deem proper."

M. Fulvius replied, "that though the public were not apprized of the enmity Æmilius bore him, and of the animoſity and almoſt tyrannical haughtineſs with which that Conſul carried on his bad proceedings againſt him even to exceſs; it would be highly inconſiſtent that his abſence ſhould defer the duty owed to the Gods, and the reward himſelf had deſerved; and that a General ſhould be ſtopt at the gates of Rome, who had fought ſucceſsfully for the glory of the Commonwealth, with the victorious army, the priſoners he had brought with him, and the ſpoils with which the troops were laden, till it ſhould please the Conſul, who ſtopped on purpoſe, to return into the city. But what juſtice could he expect from a magiſtrate, who abandoned himſelf to paſſion and hatred to ſuch a degree, as to have a decree clandeſtinely paſſed by a ſmall number of Senators to declare that Ambracia had not been taken by force of arms, whilſt it was certain, that it had been neceſſary to employ mantles, towers, and battering rams for making breaches in the walls; that they had been obliged to make new batteries in the room of thoſe which the beſieged had burnt and deſtroyed; that they had fought fifteen days round the walls above and under ground; that the ſoldiers, when maſters of the wall, were forced to fight from morning till night; and laſtly, that more than three thouſand of the enemy had been killed during the ſiege. That he had carried his enmity ſo far as to accuſe him before the People of having plundered the ornaments of the temples in a city taken by force of arms: as if it had

been allowable to take away the ſpoils of Syracuſe and other cities to adorn Rome with them, and Ambracia was a privileged city, and the only one from which nothing could be carried off without committing ſacrilege. That he implored the Senators and the Tribune himſelf not to expoſe him to the intended injuries of an enemy actuated by pride and haughtineſs." A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.

The Senators immediately began, ſome to intreat the Tribune to deſiſt from his oppoſition, and others to reproach him. But what moſt ſerved Fulvius, was the ſpeech made by Ti. Gracchus, one of Aburius's collegues. He ſaid, "that he abhorred to uſe the power of his office even againſt his own enemies: but that nothing was more ſhameful nor more unworthy of a Tribune of the People, than to uſe the authority given them by the ſacred laws to gratify the paſſions of any one. * That it was from the ſentiments of the heart People love or hate, and from reaſon that they ſhould either approve or condemn, and not the caprice of others, in making it a rule, and blindly giving into it. That the Tribune was in the wrong to ſupport the unjuſt hatred of the Conſul, to regard the particular orders he had given him, and to forget that the Roman People had confided the Tribunitian power to him to aid the citizens when neceſſary, and maintain them in the enjoyment of their liberty, and not to favour the tyranny of Conſuls. That he did not reflect, that poſterity would know to his diſgrace, that of two Tribunes of the People of the ſame year, the one had ſacrificed his private reſentments to the general good of the Commonwealth, and the other had purſued thoſe of another, through no other motive but a mean compliance with him who had commanded it."

The Tribune gave in to theſe remonſtrances; and when he had quitted the aſſembly, a triumph was de-

* Suo quemque judicio & homines odiſſe aut diligere, & res probare aut improbare debere, non pendere ex alterius vultu ac nutu, nec alieni momentis animi circumagi. Liv.

A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187. creed to M. Fulvius. The latter, having been informed that Æmilius, to whom the Tribune had wrote that he had deſiſted, after having ſet out to oppoſe this ceremony in perſon, had been taken ſick upon the way, anticipated the day of his triumph, that it might precede the Conſul's return, and the new diſputes which he would have upon his hands with an enemy ſo virulent againſt him. Beſides very conſiderable ſums of gold and ſilver, arms, machines of war, and other ſpoils of the enemy, with twenty-ſeven officers of diſtinction priſoners of war, which adorned this triumph; two hundred and eighty-five braſs ſtatues, and two hundred and thirty marble ones were carried in it; fatal nouriſhment of the taſte for thoſe works of art, which began to prevail at Rome, and ſoon after made ſuch terrible havock! The Triumpher cauſed five and twenty denarii to be diſtributed to each of his ſoldiers (about twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence) twice as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the horſe.

Towards the end of the year Cn. Manlius Vulſo triumphed over the Gauls who inhabited Aſia. He had deferred his triumph, through fear of being cited to a trial in virtue of the law Pætilia during the Prætorſhip of Q. Terentius Culeo, and of being the victim of the enemy that had cruſhed L. Scipio. He knew, that the judges would be more inexorable in reſpect to him, than they had been in the affair of his predeceſſor, becauſe he had ſuffered the ſoldiers to live in a general licentiouſneſs, that had abſolutely ruined the military diſcipline which Scipio had cauſed to be obſerved with great ſeverity. And it was not only the account of the exceſſes into which they had ran in the province, and out of the ſight of the citizens, that rendered them odious; but ſtill more thoſe to which they abandoned themſelves every day before the eyes of the Roman People. For * it was Manlius, and

* Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Aſiatico invecta in urbem eſt—Tum pſaltriæ ſambuciſtriæque, & convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulæ quoque ipſæ & cura & ſumptu majore apparari cœptæ. Tum coquus, viliſſimum antiquis mancipium, & eſtimation

thoſe who had ſerved under him, who introduced the luxury and voluptuouſneſs of Aſia at Rome. It was they who brought in the beds adorned with braſs, rich tapeſtry, curtains for beds and litters, and other works laboured with art, and which was conſidered then as the height of luxury, tables ſtanding upon a ſingle foot, and buffets. It was they who to the pleaſures of the table added that of muſic, having in their pay female players upon the harp and other inſtruments, buffoons, actors, and the like ſort of people, whoſe trade it was to divert the gueſts whilſt at table. At this time they began alſo to cook their diſhes with more pains and delicacy. And in conſequence, a cook, who of old was the meaneſt of all ſlaves, was conſidered as the moſt neceſſary, and moſt eſteemed ſervant of the houſe; and that which was at firſt conſidered as the vileſt and moſt contemptible of offices, became a conſiderable and important employment. But theſe exceſſes, the novelty of which ſurprized at that time, were only a faint image of the enormous luxury into which the Romans plunged afterwards. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 187.

Manlius's triumph was very ſplendid and magnificent. The whole army in general, in the military ſongs which uſually attended that pomp, gave him the praiſes which manifeſtly proceeded from his facility and indulgence. This occaſioned his triumph to be more applauded by the ſoldiers than the people.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS,
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186.

A kind of inteſtine conſpiracy, covered with the pretence of religion, kept the two Conſuls this year at Rome, and did not leave them at liberty to employ themſelves in military expeditions. A certain Greek of neither birth nor note came firſt to Tuſcany, and brought thither new ſacrifices, or more properly, fran- Liv. xxxix. 8—19.

matione & uſu, in pretio eſſe; &, quod miniſterium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conſpiciebantur, ſemina erant futuræ luxuriæ. LIV.

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. tic and criminal ſuperſtitions. He was not one of thoſe, who, for ſubſiſtence, profeſs publickly ſome religious worſhip, and teach people rites and ceremonies which include nothing contrary to the intereſts and laws of ſociety. His myſteries were unknown, and celebrated in ſecret. At firſt he initiated only a ſmall number of perſons: but he ſoon admitted indifferently all who offered themſelves of either ſex. And in order to attract a greater number, he prepared them with the pleaſures of wine and feaſting. The darkneſs of the night giving room for abandoned licentiouſneſs, all kinds of crimes and abominations were committed at theſe meetings. So horrid a libertiniſm was not the only vice of theſe nocturnal aſſemblies. Abundance of other crimes iſſued from the ſame corrupt ſource; as falſe witneſs, forgery of wills and other writings, informations againſt innocent perſons, poiſoning, and laſtly, murders committed ſo ſecretly, that the very bodies of the unhappy perſons were not found to have interment.

Theſe abominations from Tuſcany reached Rome like a contagious diſeaſe that ſpreads gradually. The greatneſs of the city kept them concealed ſome time, as uſually happens. But at length it came to the knowledge of the Conſul Poſtumius in the following manner. P. Æbutius, the ſon of a Roman Knight, having loſt his father, and his mother (whoſe name was Duronia) having married again, he had fallen into the hands and guardianſhip of Sempronius his father-in-law. The latter, who had managed his pupil's eſtate ſo as not to be capable of giving an account of it, conceived thoughts of ridding himſelf of the young man. The means which ſeemed to him moſt proper for that end, was to cauſe Æbutius to be initiated in this ſect of the Bacchanalians. His wife, to whom he had imparted his deſign, propoſed it to the young man, and told him that during the time he had been ſick, ſhe had vowed to the Gods, that ſhe would initiate him amongſt the Bacchanalians as ſoon as he recovered. He readily conſented to accompliſh a vow,

to

which he believed himſelf indebted for his life, and made certain preſcribed preparations for it, of which one of the principal conſiſted in abſtaining from women during ten days. This young man had contracted A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. a commerce with a courtezan, who lived in the neighbourhood, called Hiſpala Fæcenia. She had ſentiments uncommon to perſons of her profeſſion, and had attached herſelf to young Æbutius out of eſteem and affection, and not at all from the motive of intereſt. By her liberality he was enabled to live in an handſome manner, which he could not otherwiſe have done through the avarice of his father-in-law, and even of his mother, who in reſpect to him was become a very mother-in-law.

As the young man concealed nothing from her, he declared to her that he intended to be initiated in the myſteries of the God Bacchus, and told her the reaſon. "May the Gods forbid," cried out Hiſpala, terrified with what he ſaid, "and rather give us both death, "than ſuffer you to execute ſo fatal a deſign." Æbutius ſurprized at her diſcourſe, and ſtill more at the concern of Hiſpala, deſired her to explain herſelf. She told him, that when ſhe was a ſlave, ſhe had waited upon her miſtreſs to theſe myſteries, where ſhe had never been ſince ſhe had been free: but that ſhe had ſeen enough at them to convince her, that there was no kind of vices to which perſons did not abandon themſelves in theſe nocturnal aſſemblies. She did not quit him, till ſhe had made him ſwear, that he would entirely renounce ſuch deteſtable myſteries.

After this converſation, he went home to his mother's; and on her telling him what he muſt do that and the following day to prepare himſelf for the ceremony of which ſhe had ſpoke to him, he declared to her in the preſence of his father-in-law, that he would not be initiated. Duronia immediately cried out in a rage, that Hiſpala had given this advice: that inchanted by the poiſonous charms of that Circe, he regarded neither his father, mother, nor the Gods. The diſpute growing warm by degrees, Sempronius

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. and Duronia turned him out of doors. The young man went directly to his father's ſiſter Æbutia, and told her the reaſon for his mother's turning him out of her houſe. The next day, by the advice of that lady, he went to the Conſul Poſtumius, to whom he ſecretly told all he knew of theſe nocturnal myſteries. That magiſtrate, having heard him, diſmiſſed him with orders to return three days after. That time he employed in making the neceſſary enquiries. He began by Æbutia, the young man's aunt, whom he deſired to go to the houſe of his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a lady of great diſtinction. Upon the firſt queſtions which he made her, ſhe wept, complaining of her nephew's misfortune, who, deprived of his eſtate even by thoſe that ought to have protected him, was then at her houſe, having been turned out of his mother's, for only having too much innocence and modeſty to conſent to partake in myſteries that were ſaid to be full of horrors and obſcenities.

He then ſent for Hiſpala, who was more capable than any one of giving him an exact account of all theſe dark myſteries. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw the Conſul, ſhe ſwooned, and did not recover from her fright without great difficulty. Poſtumius having encouraged her, took her into the moſt private part of the houſe, and there, in the preſence of Sulpicia he told her, "that ſhe had nothing to fear, if ſhe could reſolve to tell the truth: that himſelf, or Sulpicia, if ſhe thought beſt, would give her their promiſe and full aſſurance of this. That ſhe muſt therefore inform him without any diſguiſe of all that uſually paſſed in the nocturnal ſacrifices of the Bacchanalians in the grove Stimula." (This was probably the name of a Goddeſs invoked in theſe ceremonies.) On theſe words Hiſpala was ſeized with ſuch terror and a trembling of every limb, that ſhe continued a great while without being able to open her mouth. When ſhe had recovered herſelf, ſhe declared, that whilſt ſhe was a ſlave and very young, ſhe had accompanied her miſtreſs to theſe ſacrifices: but that during ſeveral

l years ſince ſhe had been free, ſhe had known no- A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186.
ing of what paſſed in them. As ſhe perſiſted in enying that ſhe knew any thing farther, the Conſul ſſuming the tone of ſupreme magiſtrate, declared to er, "that as he was perfectly informed in every ing, he did not want her evidence; but that he ell knew how to puniſh her criminal ſilence and im- udent lies as they deſerved." Terrified by theſe enaces, and at the ſame time a little encouraged by e kind expreſſions of Sulpicia, ſhe began by de- aring that ſhe was afraid of the Gods, whoſe hidden yſteries ſhe was going to reveal, but ſtill more of en, who, when they ſhould know what ſhe had ſaid ainſt them, would tear her to pieces. The Conſul ving promiſed her entire protection, ſhe diſcovered ery thing to him, tracing things from their origin. e told him, "that at firſt theſe myſteries had been lebrated by women, no man being admitted to em. That three days in the year were ſet apart for e initiation of thoſe who offered themſelves to be mitted into this ſociety. That the women ſuc- eded each other as prieſteſs, each in their turn. But at Paculla Minia of Capua having been raiſed to at dignity, had introduced changes and innovations theſe ceremonies, with which ſhe ſaid ſhe had been ſpired by the Gods. That it was ſhe who had ad- tted the firſt men to be preſent in them, namely, r two ſons Minius and Herennius. That ſhe had uſed theſe ſacrifices to be celebrated in the night, d not in the day; and that inſtead of three days apart every year for the initiations, ſhe had inſti- ted five every month. That ſince men had been mitted into them, and the darkneſs of the night d admitted a licentiouſneſs which day-light had ba- ſhed before, there were no kind of crimes, vices, d abominations, to which they had not abandoned emſelves without ſcruple. That thoſe who refuſed ſhare in them were inhumanly maſſacred, as victims appeaſe the wrath of the Gods." After having re- ed other leſs criminal ceremonies, ſhe added,

"That

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. "That the number of the initiated was already great, that it compoſed a ſecond People at Rome, which many illuſtrious perſons of both ſexes we part."

She concluded with proſtrating herſelf at the Co ſul's feet, and imploring him out of pity to tranſpo her far from Italy into ſome place, where ſhe mig be ſafe from the revenge of thoſe whoſe vile actio ſhe had diſcovered. Poſtumius aſſured her that ſ had nothing to fear, and that he would provide f her ſecurity without making her quit Rome. In t mean time, Sulpicia lodged her in a ſeparate apartme at the top of her houſe. As for Ebutius, he was o dered to ſtay in the houſe of one of the Conſul's clien Poſtumius having taken this care of the two informe acquainted the Senate with all he had learnt.

When he had made his report, the Senators we ſeized with a double terror. They apprehended t conſequences of ſo pernicious a conſpiracy for t Commonwealth, and each of them was particula afraid, leſt ſome of their own family or friends mig be engaged in it. It was decreed that the Con ſhould be thanked for the pains he had taken in d covering the whole without noiſe or tumult. By t ſame decree the Senate appointed him and his colleg to enquire in an extraordinary manner concerning t miniſters of theſe nocturnal ceremonies, and their complices and adherents, taking great care to prot Ebutius and Hiſpala from their cruelty, and prom ing rewards to whomſoever ſhould aſſiſt them in d covering this myſtery of iniquity. They alſo decre that the prieſts and prieſteſſes, who preſided in th ſacrifices, ſhould be ſeized not only at Rome, b in all the other adjacent towns and cities, and t they ſhould be at the diſcretion of the Conſuls: t it ſhould be prohibited at Rome by an edict, wh ſhould be alſo ſent throughout all Italy, for all ſu as had been initiated amongſt the Bacchanalians, aſſemble upon the occaſion of theſe ſacrifices, or a ceremony relating to them. The decree expre me

entioned that all ſuch ſhould be puniſhed who A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186.
d conſpired againſt the lives or honour of any perſon
hatſoever.

The Conſuls commanded the curule Ædiles to find
t all the prieſts of theſe ſacrifices, to ſeize them,
d to keep them confined, in order to their being
terrogated from time to time, and the Ædiles of the
eople to take care that no ſacrifices ſhould be per-
rmed in ſecret. The Triumviri Capitales (officers
juſtice employed in criminal affairs) were ordered
plant ſentinels in the different quarters of the city,
d to prevent nocturnal aſſemblies. And in order to
event fires, commiſſion was given to ten other of the
il officers, ſome on one ſide, and five on the other
the Tiber, to take care in concert with the Trium-
ri, and under their orders, for the preſervation of
ildings, each in their reſpective quarters.

As ſoon as the diſpoſitions were made, the Conſuls
lled an aſſembly of the People. Poſtumius ſpoke,
d began with the ſolemn prayer which the magi-
rates repeated previouſly to haranguing the People.
his cuſtom is remarkable, and ſhews that the Ro-
ans implored the aid of the Divinity on all important
caſions. The Conſul added, "That this prayer
as never more neceſſary than in the affair upon which
was to ſpeak to them, which equally concerned
e worſhip of the Gods, and the ſafety of the Com-
onwealth. That a new religion under the name of
e Bacchanalians had been eſtabliſhed not only in the
ovinces, but Rome itſelf, during ſome years; and
at it conſiſted of nocturnal aſſemblies of men and
omen, in which all kinds of the moſt execrable
imes were committed. That every kind of liberti-
ſm, fraud, villany, and impiety, that had been acted
ring ſome years, had come out of that infamous
ciety. That the number of the perſons initiated into
at impious ſect encreaſed daily, and might become
rmidable to the State itſelf, if the progreſs of it were
t ſtopt. That many had been drawn into the error
rough weakneſs and ignorance, becauſe nothing is
more

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. more capable of ſeducing than a criminal ſuperſtiti covered with the venerable garb of religion. That was not unlikely, but that ſome of their kindred friends might through libertiniſm have engaged in th infamous ſociety: but, in that caſe, that they ough to own them no more for friends and relations. Th they ought not to be alarmed by any ſcruples up this occaſion, nor fear of acting contrary to religion approving and ſeconding the ſeverity of the Senate a Conſuls againſt execrable crimes, the horror of whi the guilty endeavoured to hide under the veil of pie to the Gods. That the Gods themſelves, not bei able to ſuffer ſuch crimes and ſacrileges to be comm ted in their names, had brought theſe enormities o of darkneſs to expoſe them in full light, not with a ſign that they ſhould remain unpuniſhed, but th they might avenge, by the exemplary puniſhment the guilty, their violated majeſty. That whilſt t magiſtrates were intent upon reforming this evil their cares and vigilance, they, on their ſide, ough punctually to perform the orders that ſhould be p ticularly given for the ſame end."

The Conſuls afterwards cauſed the decree of Senate to be read, and propoſed a reward to whoe ſhould bring before them, or inform them of any their accomplices. At the ſame time they "declar that if any of thoſe informed againſt ſhould fly certain fixed time ſhould be ſet for their appearan after which they ſhould be condemned for contuma That if any out of Italy ſhould be accuſed, a lon term ſhould be granted them for appearing, a making their defence. They farther prohibited an edict all perſons, of whatſoever condition th might be, from ſelling or buying any thing with def to favour the flight of the accuſed; or to take th into their houſes, keep them concealed, or aſſiſt th in any manner whatſoever."

As ſoon as the aſſembly of the People was d miſſed, the whole city was in a conſternation, whi ſoon extended to the territory of Rome, and fro

then

ence throughout all Italy, in proportion as the citi- A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186.
ns wrote to their friends and acquaintance to inform em of the decree of the Senate, the diſcourſe of the nſuls to the People, and the edict which they had uſed to be publiſhed. The night after the aſſembly the People, ſome of the criminals going to the tes of the city in order to eſcape, were ſtopt by oſe who were appointed to guard them, and put to the hands of the Triumviri. A great number ho had already got out, were brought back. Abunnce both of men and women, were informed againſt, nongſt whom were ſome who prevented puniſhment a voluntary death. The number of the initiated both ſexes amounted to above ſeven thouſand. ur in particular, two of whom were of the city Rome, and the other two of the neighbouring ies, were conſidered as the heads of this impious bal, the high-prieſts, and founders of theſe ſacri-es, in a word, the authors of all the crimes and orders committed in them. Such right meaſures ere taken, that they were ſoon ſeized. As ſoon as ey appeared before the Conſuls, they confeſſed their ime, and did not delay their ſentence in the leaſt.

As many of thoſe who had been informed againſt, ere not at Rome to appear and make their defence fore the Conſuls, thoſe magiſtrates, in order to terinate this affair as ſoon as poſſible, removed into e neighbouring cities, to carry on the proſecutions, d to paſs ſentence. Thoſe who were not convicted having been initiated, and of having pronounced e form of the oath dictated by the Prætor, but not mmitted any of the exceſſes to which they had obged themſelves by their oath, were kept priſoners. ut the corrupters, murtherers, falſe-witneſſes, forgers, oſe who had counterfeited wills, or offered any other rged writings in evidence, were puniſhed with eath. The majority were found to deſerve death. he women, whom the Conſuls condemned, were ut into the hands of their kindred or guardians, in der to their execution. If there was no body to whom

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. whom they might be delivered to be puniſhed, t were publickly put to death.

The Senate afterwards paſſed a * decree for deſtr ing and entirely demoliſhing firſt at Rome, and throughout all Italy, the abominable places where Bacchanalians were celebrated. That, if any thought it their duty to do ſuch acts of religion, that he could not be diſpenſed from performin without guilt, he ſhould deliver in his declaration the Prætor of the city, who ſhould make his rep of it to the Senate. That, if the Senate conſiſting at leaſt an hundred fathers permitted it to be do he might offer his ſacrifice, on condition, howev that not above five perſons at moſt ſhould be pre at it, that there ſhould be no common purſe, and t no one ſhould take upon him the quality of prieſt maſter of the ſacrifices.

It was thought proper to ſend Minius Cerrinus Campanian, one of the four principal heads of t ſociety, to the priſon of Ardea, with orders to magiſtrates carefully to guard him, not only to p vent all means of his eſcape, but even of kill himſelf.

Poſtumius being returned to Rome, after havi finiſhed his proſecutions, and propoſed to the Sen that a reward ſhould be given to P. Ælutius and H pala, it was decreed that the Quæſtors of the ſhould pay each of them an hundred thouſand a (about two hundred and fifty pounds.) Singular p vileges were granted to both. Amongſt other thin Hiſpala, who was a freed-woman, was permitted marry a free huſband, without imputation of infa to the man who married her. The Conſuls and Pr tors for the time being were directed to protect h and to ſecure her againſt all kinds of inſult. A theſe regulations, and others expreſſed in the dec of the Senate, were confirmed by a Reſolution of t

* This decree is come down to us, and the learned have publi it and commented upon it, as found upon a plate of braſs, that endured ſo many ages.

Peop

eople. The Conſuls alſo had orders to reward the nformers as they ſhould think proper. A. R. 565. Ant. C. 186.

The event which we have juſt related, ſhews of hat exceſſes man is capable, when left to himſelf and he depravity of his corrupt nature. To engage by ath, that is by what is moſt ſacred in religion, to com- it the moſt abominable of crimes: what blindneſs! hat horror!

The two Conſuls had Liguria for their province. Liv. xxxix. 20. he affair of the Bacchanalians being terminated, they repared for their departure. Marcius ſet out firſt, nd arrived amongſt the Ligurians called Apuani. Vhilſt he was purſuing them in their foreſts, their ſual refuge againſt the Roman armies, he fell into mbuſcades which they had laid for him, and loſt our thouſand men, many enſigns, and a great quan- ity of arms.

Almoſt at the ſame time news came to Rome, that Liv. ibid. 21. . Atinius, who had gone to Spain two years before as rætor, had gained a conſiderable advantage there. Having given the Luſitanians battle in the territory of ſta, he had killed them ſix thouſand men, put the eſt to flight, and taken their camp. He marched im- ediately after to beſiege the city of Aſta with the vic- orious legions, and took it with as much eaſe, as he ad done the camp of the enemy. But having ap- roached the walls with a little too much imprudence, which is a great fault in a General) he received a ound of which he died ſome days after.

On this ſide of the Iberus in Spain the Celtiberians ave Manlius Acidinus battle, near Calaguris. The omans killed them twelve thouſand men upon the pot, took two thouſand priſoners, and made them- elves maſters of their camp. If the ardor of the vic- ors had not been ſtopt by the arrival of his ſucceſſor, he Celtiberians would have been entirely ſubjected. his change of Generals was a conſiderable inconve- ience in the form of the Roman government, but had owever its great advantages.

M. Ful-

A. R. 566. Ant. C. 186. Liv. xxxix. 22. M. Fulvius, to diſcharge a vow, which he had made in the war of Ætolia, exhibited games at Rome, in which were combats of Athletæ, and hunting of lions and panthers for the firſt time.

A. R. 567. Ant. C. 185.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Liv. xxxix. 23. The war which the Romans had ſome time after with Perſeus and the Macedonians, had, according to Livy, another cauſe than that commonly aſſigned by the Roman hiſtorians before him. And the deſign of it was not conceived by Perſeus, but his father Philip, who would have begun it himſelf, if death had not prevented him.

Of all the laws impoſed upon that Prince as conquered, that which gave him moſt pain, was the Senate's having deprived him of the right to puniſh ſuch of the Macedonians as had quitted his party during the war, though Quintius, in referring the deciſion of this point to another time, had given him room to hope that he ſhould have ſatisfaction in it. He had alſo other ſubjects of complaint, as the following. After the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the Conſul Acilius and Philip had ſeparated, to go at the ſame time, the one to beſiege Heraclea, and the other Lamia. Now Acilius, after having reduced Heraclea, had forbad Philip to continue the ſiege of Lamia, which afterwards ſurrendered to the Romans. The Conſul indeed, to conſole and mollify him, ſuffered him to gain ſome advantages. But a King does not eaſily digeſt and forget ſuch haughty and rigorous treatment, which ſeemed to reduce him into a kind of ſlavery.

Theſe reſerves of the Conſul ſeemed to have ſomewhat appeaſed the indignation which Philip had conceived againſt the Roman haughtineſs: but he inceſſantly made preparations to ſet new forces on foot, in order to be in a condition to renew the war, as ſoon as a favourable occaſion ſhould offer. He not only in-

creaſed the taxes that ſubſiſted upon the eſtates of A. R. 567. Ant. C. 185.
e country, and the merchandize imported into the aritime cities, but he reinſtated the old mines that d been abandoned, and cauſed others newly diſco-ered to be worked. And, in order to repeople his ominions, the greateſt part of the inhabitants of hich had been carried off by the calamities of war, did not confine himſelf to the meaſures he had eady taken, in obliging his ſubjects to marry and opagate children: he alſo ſettled a great multitude Thracians in Macedonia, and during the whole me that he had no enemies upon his hands, he ared no pains to augment the riches and ſtrength of s kingdom.

The Romans ſoon gave him new matter of diſcon-nt. For the Theſſalians, Perrhæbians, and King umenes, having brought their complaints to Rome, e firſt by themſelves, and Eumenes by his Ambaſſa-ors; the Senate heard both ſo as to give the com-lainants cauſe to judge they were inclined to eſpouſe eir cauſe. Other States alſo made their repreſentati-ns. Philip did not omit to ſend his Ambaſſadors to ome to vindicate himſelf; affirming, that he had acted othing but in concert with the Generals of the Com-onwealth, and with their permiſſion. The Senate ot believing it proper to decide any thing in the King's bſence, ſent three commiſſioners to terminate theſe ifferences upon the ſpot.

When they arrived at Tempe in Theſſaly, an aſ-mbly was called, in which appeared on the one ſide e Ambaſſadors of the Theſſalians, Perrhæbians, thamantes, and on the other King Philip in perſon; very mortifying ſtep in itſelf for ſo powerful a Prince s him. The Ambaſſadors expreſſed their ſubjects of omplaints againſt Philip more or leſs ſtrongly, each ccording to his character and genius. "Some * con-

* Petentes ut ignoſceret pro libertate loquentibus: & ut, depoſita omni acerbitate, aſſueſceret ſocium atque amicum ſeſe præſtare: & mitaretur populum Romanum, qui caritate, quàm metu, adjungere bi ſocios mallet. Liv.

A. R. 567. Ant. C. 185. juring the King of Macedonia not to take offence complaints which proceeded ſolely from the love ma kind naturally have for liberty, implored him to q the inſupportable rigor of abſolute lord and maſt and to aſſume in reſpect to them the good-will a favour of friend and ally, and to imitate in that t Roman People, who choſe rather to attach States them by love than fear. Others, and eſpecially t Theſſalians, leſs moderate and reſerved, reproach him to his face with injuſtice, violence, and uſurp tion. That he had thereby ſo much terrified all t Theſſalians, that there was not a ſingle man among them, that dared to open his mouth either in their c ties, or in the general aſſembly of the nation, the R mans who could ſupport them in liberty being remot whereas they had upon their borders an imperio maſter, who would not permit them to enjoy the go intentions of the Roman People. And what was the of freedom in man, if debarred the liberty of ſpeec That in reality, if they preſumed to groan rather th ſpeak, they were indebted for it to the preſence a protection of the Roman commiſſioners. That if t Romans did not find means to put an end to the ſu jection of the nations that bordered upon Macedoni and check the inſolence of Philip, they had conquer him, and reſtored the liberty of Greece in va * That, like a reſty horſe, that Prince could only kept in by ſharp and painful curbs." Philip, order to appear rather the accuſer than the accuſe on his ſide made ſome complaints in reſpect to plac that he ſaid had been uſurped from him. The after having anſwered in his way the reproaches a demands of theſe different States, he added, " Th † the Theſſalians paſſionately abandoning themſelv

* Ut equum ſternacem non parentem, frenis aſperioribus caſtig dum eſſe.

† Inſolenter & immodicè abuti Theſſalos indulgentia populi R mani, velut ex diuturna ſiti nimis avidè meram haurientes liber tem. Ita, ſervorum modo præter ſpem repente manumiſſorum, centiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare ſeſe in ſectatione & c viciis dominorum. Liv.

to the ſweetneſs of entire and unlimited liberty, for which they had long impatiently thirſted, inſolently and exceſſively abuſed the goodneſs and indulgence of the Roman People. That therein they reſembled ſlaves, who, in the firſt moments of a liberty obtained contrary to their expectation, began the uſe of it with the exceſs of licence, and made it a glory to treat their maſters with reproaches and inſult." A.R. 567. Ant. C. 185.

The commiſſioners, after having heard the accuſations and anſwers, the particulars of which I thought proper to omit, as little material to the reader, and made ſome particular regulations, deferred giving their judgment upon the reſpective demands of either ſide.

From thence they went to Theſſalonica, to examine what related to the cities of Thrace, and the King ſhowed them highly diſcontented. The Ambaſſadors of Eumenes repreſented to the commiſſioners, "That if Rome was reſolved to reſtore the liberty of the cities Ænea and Maronæa, the King was far from oppoſing it. But that if ſhe did not concern herſelf in reſpect to thoſe cities conquered from Antiochus, the ſervices of Eumenes, and thoſe of Attalus his father, ſeemed to claim that they ſhould rather be given up to their own maſter than to Philip, who had no right to them, and had uſurped them by open violence. That beſides, Eumenes had the decree of the ten commiſſioners for him, who in granting him the Cherſoneſus and the city of Lyſimachia, had undoubtedly granted him Ænea and Maronæa, which by their very ſituation muſt be conſidered as appurtenances of ſo conſiderable a gift." The Maronites, who were heard next, complained bitterly of the injuſtices and violences which Philip's garriſon exerciſed in their city.

Philip did not ſpeak at this time in his uſual tone, but perſonally addreſſing his diſcourſe to the Romans, he declared, "he had long perceived, that they were determined to do him juſtice in nothing. He made a long enumeration both of the conſiderable injuries he pretended to have received, and of the

A. R. 567. Ant. C. 185.

vices he had rendered the Romans on different occa-
ſions; inſiſting much upon the inviolable attachme
he had evidenced for them, ſo as to refuſe three tho
ſand talents, (about four hundred and fifty thouſan
pounds) fifty ſhips of war, and a great number
cities, which Antiochus had offered him to enter in
an alliance with him. That, notwithſtanding, he h
the grief to ſee Eumenes preferred to him in eve
thing, with whom he thought it below him to com
pare himſelf; and that the Romans, far from addi
any thing to his dominions, as he conceived he h
well deſerved, deprived him of cities which were
ther his own by right, or which themſelves had giv
him. "It is your buſineſs, Romans," ſaid he
concluding, "to reſolve upon what terms I am
"be with you. If you are determined to treat m
"as an enemy, and to drive me to extremities
"ſuch, you have only to go on as you have bega
"But if you ſtill regard in me the quality of a Kin
"your friend and ally, ſpare me, I conjure you, t
"ſhame of ſo unworthy a treatment, which I u
"doubtedly do not deſerve."

This diſcourſe of the King made ſome impreſſi
upon the commiſſioners. They therefore would n
abſolutely condemn him, but anſwered in ſuch a ma
ner as to leave him ſome hope. They declared
"That if the cities in queſtion had been adjudg
to Eumenes by the ten commiſſioners, as he preten
ed, they could change nothing in the decree. Th
if Philip had acquired them by right of conqueſt,
was juſt that they ſhould continue his. That if ne
ther the one nor the other was proved, the cognizan
of the affair ought to be referred to the Senate, an
in the mean time the garriſons to evacuate the citie
the right of the parties on both ſides to continue
all its extent."

This regulation, which proviſionally obliged Ph
lip to withdraw his garriſons out of the cities, f
from ſatisfying that Prince, left in his heart a diſco
tent and reſentment, which would inevitably ha
brok

roken out in an open war, if a longer life had af- A. R. 567. Ant. C. 185.
orded him time.

The two Prætors of Spain, who had united their Liv.
roops, at firſt received a ſlight blow, but ſoon after xxxix. 30, 31.
ained a conſiderable victory near the Tagus. The
nemy loſt above thirty thouſand men in it. Above
hundred and thirty enſigns were taken in it. The
ſs of the Romans was but inconſiderable.

The two Conſuls had alſo good ſucceſs in Liguria. Liv. ibid. 32.

There was a very warm diſpute concerning the
onſulſhip for the enſuing year, eſpecially between
e Patricians, who to the number of four ſollicited
e ſingle place they could have, for one was reſerved
r the Plebeians. Of theſe four, three had already
nvaſſed this office ineffectually: P. Claudius was
e ſole new candidate. The Conſul Appius Claudius
s brother, forgetting his dignity in his favour, ran
out the Forum with him without being attended by
s Lictors, and like a private perſon. His adverſa-
es, and the greateſt part of the Senate, repreſented
him, that he ought to have more regard to the
aracter of Conſul than to that of the brother of P.
laudius, and to remain upon his tribunal to be either
e arbiter, or quiet ſpectator of the election of the
onſuls. He however continued his ſollicitation with
leſs warmth, and at length ſucceeded in cauſing
s brother to be elected Conſul. L. Porcius Licinus,
the order of the Plebeians, was given him for
llegue.

P. Claudius Pulcher. A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184.
L. Porcius Licinus.

The commiſſioners, in quitting Macedonia, had Liv.
paired to Achaia, which they left highly diſſatisfied xxxix. 33.
ith the Achæans, who had refuſed to call a general
ſembly to give them audience. At their return to
ome, they reported their commiſſion to the Senate,
d at the ſame time introduced the Ambaſſadors of
hilip and Eumenes, and thoſe of other States. They

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184. only repeated on each ſide the ſame complaints an anſwers, which had been already made in Greece The Senators decreed a new commiſſion, at the hea of which Appius Claudius was placed, to go int Macedonia and Greece to enquire whether the The ſalians and Perrhæbians were put into poſſeſſion of th cities from which Philip had engaged to withdraw h garriſons, and to make him evacuate Ænea and Ma ronæa, and in one word, to quit all the fortreſſes, te ritories, and cities which he poſſeſſed upon the mari time ſide of Thrace.

Liv. xxxix. 34. When Philip was informed by his Ambaſſador who were returned from Rome, that he muſt abſ lutely evacuate the cities of Thrace, exaſperated madneſs to ſee his realm hemmed in on all ſides, vented his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronæ He ordered Onomaſtus, who commanded along th ſea-coaſt, to cauſe all the heads of the faction again him to be put to death. That officer employed on Caſſander of the King's party, long ſettled at Mar næa, to put that Prince's barbarous order in execu tion. He made a body of Thracians enter the plac in the night, who put thoſe to the ſword whoſe death were deſired, with the ſame inhumanity as if it ha been in a town carried by ſtorm. Philip, having th taken his revenge of thoſe who were not of his fac tion, quietly waited the arrival of the commiſſioners convinced that none would preſume to declare them ſelves his accuſers.

The commiſſioners arrived ſoon after, and being in formed of what had paſſed at Maronæa, warmly re proached Philip with this bloody execution, no le unjuſt to the innocent Maronæans, than an inſult the Roman People, whoſe protection had occaſioned ſo cruel a death to thoſe whoſe liberty the Senate ha intended to eſtabliſh. That Prince affirmed, th neither himſelf, nor any agents of his, had any ſha in this maſſacre; that it had been the effect of a com motion which had happened between his partiſans an thoſe of Eumenes. He went ſo far as to propoſe t th

the commiſſioners to interrogate the Maronæans. But who would have dared to accuſe that Prince, after the late terrible example of his vengeance? "It is in "vain," ſaid Appius, the principal commiſſioner, "for you to excuſe yourſelf. I know what hath "paſſed, and who was the author of it." Theſe words gave Philip great anxiety. They however urged the affair no farther on this firſt interview. A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184.

But the next day Appius commanded him to ſend Onomaſtus and Caſſander immediately to Rome, in order to their being interrogated by the Senate upon the fact in queſtion; adding, that it was his only means for juſtifying himſelf. On this order, Philip changed colour, wavered, and heſitated long before he replied. At laſt he ſaid, that he would ſend Caſſander, who was at Maronæa during the time of the affair: but he inſiſted upon keeping Onomaſtus with him, who, ſaid he, cannot be in the leaſt ſuſpected, becauſe at the time of this maſſacre he was very remote from that country. His true reaſon was his fear, that a man who had his confidence, and whom he had often employed on very delicate occaſions, might diſcover many ſecrets to the Senate beſides what related to the people of Maronæa. As to Caſſander, as ſoon as the commiſſioners had quitted Macedonia, he made him embark: but he ſent people with him, who poiſoned him in Epirus. And ſuch is often the reward of thoſe who perpetrate the unjuſt and tyrannical will of bad Princes.

After the departure of the commiſſioners, who ſet out fully convinced, that Philip had ordered the maſſacre at Maronæa, and that he was upon the point of breaking with the Romans, the King of Macedonia ſaw all he had to fear. Reflecting alone and with his friends, that his hatred againſt the Romans, and the deſire of avenging himſelf began to appear, he was much inclined to take arms againſt them immediately, and to make war openly upon them: but, as his preparations were not yet compleat, he conceived an expedient for gaining time. He reſolved to ſend his Liv. xxxix. 34.

A. R. 568. Ant. C. younger ſon Demetrius to Rome, who had long bee
384. an hoſtage in that city, and having acquired eſteem there, ſeemed more proper than any other perſon as well to cauſe his juſtification to be accepted, as t obtain favour for what it would not be eaſy to ex cuſe. He therefore prepared every thing neceſſar for this embaſſy, and choſe perſons of confidence ou of the principal lords of his court to accompany hi ſon.

At the ſame time he promiſed the people of Byzan tium to aid them againſt the Thracians, who incom moded them; not that he was much concerned abou their defence, but becauſe, in going to their aid, h ſhould ſpread terror amongſt the petty Sovereigns o Thrace in the neighbourhood of Propontis, an ſhould prevent them from being an obſtacle to the de ſign he had formed of making war with the Romans Accordingly, having conquered thoſe petty Kings in a battle, and taken their leader, he diſabled them from hurting him, and returned into Macedonia.

I omit the diſpute, which aroſe between the Achæ ans and Lacedæmonians, of which the ſame commiſ ſioners, who had been ſent by the Romans to Philip took cognizance, becauſe that affair has more relation to the hiſtory of the Greeks, than to that of the Romans It is treated with ſufficient extent in the Antient Hiſ tory.

SECT

SECT. IV.

Very warm diſpute concerning the Cenſorſhip. Cato is choſen Cenſor, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the Nobility. L. Valerius is his collegue. Cato nominates his collegue Prince of the Senate. He degrades L. Quintius Flaminius. Cato's efforts againſt luxury. Gauls who paſs the Alps into Italy. They build a town, which the Romans oppoſe. Complaints againſt Philip brought to Rome. Demetrius his ſon, who is there, is ſent back into Macedonia with the Ambaſſadors. Death of three illuſtrious Generals. Gauls driven out of Italy, where they are deſirous to ſettle. New colonies. Different rumours upon the return of Demetrius into Macedonia. He gives his brother great diſquiet, and his father much jealouſy. Violent and cruel proceedings of Philip in reſpect to his ſubjects. Philip, upon the information of falſe witneſſes ſuborned by Perſeus, puts Demetrius to death. He himſelf dies of grief. Perſeus ſucceeds him. Diſpute between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa. Succeſsful expedition againſt the Ligurians. Conſiderable defeat of the Celtiberians. The tomb of Numa found in the earth. Firſt gilt ſtatue at Rome. The Ligurians aſk peace. Hoſtages reſtored to the Carthaginians. The Ligurians called Apuani are tranſported into Samnium. The Celtiberians are defeated by Fulvius, in the very ambuſcades they had laid for him. Fulvius, crowned with glory, returns to Rome. Expedition of the Conſuls in Liguria. Complaints againſt Gentius King of Illyricum. Great number of poiſoners condemned. Fulvius triumphs over the Celtiberians, and is elected Conſul. Firſt law called Annalis. *Games celebrated by the Conſul Fulvius. Reconciliation of the two Cenſors, who had long been declared enemies.*

P. Clau-

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Liv. xxxix. 40. THIS year the election of Cenſors occaſioned very warm and violent commotions. The Cenſorſhip was the ſupreme of honours, and, to uſe the expreſſion, the crown of all the dignities to which the ambition of a Roman citizen could aſpire. Beſides the great powers annexed to it in reſpect to the different kinds of public affairs, it gave thoſe inveſted with it a right to take cognizance of the lives and manners of individuals. For the Romans judged, that it was not conſiſtent to leave every one at liberty to act as he ſhould think fit, and to live according to the dictates of his own paſſions and deſires; and that it did not ſuffice, that only the crimes, which directly infringed the laws of ſociety ſhould be puniſhed, if vices and actions contrary to probity and honour were not liable to the public animadverſion of magiſtrates, free and independent of the uſual formalities of judiciary proceedings. This almoſt unlimited authority awed not only the common people, but the principal perſons of the State, who, after the moſt glorious actions, were liable to be diſgraced by the Cenſor with a note of infamy, if they had been deficient in point of probity and morals. It was in this view, that the Romans had inſtituted Cenſors, to be in a manner the guardians, inſpectors, and reformers of manners, to prevent perſons from deviating from the paths of virtue, and from throwing themſelves into the arms of voluptuouſneſs and vice. We have explained in another place what the different functions of the Cenſors were.

A great number of competitors of the principal families of Rome, five Patricians, and four Plebeians, canvaſſed for the Cenſorſhip. But however illuſtrious both the one and the other were by birth, not one of them eclipſed the merit of M. Porcius Cato. He had ſuch a greatneſs of ſoul and elevation of genius, that in whatever rank of birth fortune had placed him, ſays Livy, he would infallibly have raiſed himſelf to the

greateſt

greateſt honours by his perſonal merit. He wanted none of the talents neceſſary for ſucceeding in either public or private affairs. He was equally capable of what either related to the city, or the country. We have ſeen citizens attain the great offices, ſome by eloquence, ſome by their knowledge of the law, and others by their military abilities. * As to him, he had ſo happy, convertible, and univerſal a genius, that to whatever he applied it, it might be ſaid that he was born only for that. He was perſonally brave, and few officers had ſignalized themſelves more by particular actions of valour; and after his having attained the great employments, he had been conſidered as one of the greateſt and moſt able of Generals. During peace, if he was conſulted upon matters of law, he was a very learned counſellor; if a cauſe were to be pleaded, a very eloquent orator. He was not of the number of thoſe who acquire eſteem during their lives by the talent of ſpeaking, without leaving behind them any monument of their eloquence. His, after having ſhone out during his life in act, was after his death conſigned to poſterity by writings of all kinds, which were much admired. He compoſed many orations either for himſelf or his friends, or againſt his adverſaries. His † enemies, who were very numerous, gave him no little employment, and on his ſide he gave them no leſs. In the war which perpetually ſubſiſted between him and the Patricians, it cannot be ſaid whether they gave him moſt trouble, or he made them ſuffer moſt. It muſt be confeſſed, that he was of an auſtere, and even cruel, character, and that he carried his invectives to an exceſs of liberty and groſsneſs.

A. R. 563. Ant. C. 184.

* Huic verſatile ingenium ſic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum dueres, quodcumque ageret.

† Simultates nimio plures & exercuerunt eum, & ipſe exercuit eas. Nec facilè dixeris, utrùm magis preſſerit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Aſperi procùldubio animi, & linguæ acerbæ & immodicè liberæ fuit: ſed invicti à cupiditatibus animi, & rigidæ innocentiæ; contemptor gratiæ, divitiarum: in parſimonia, in patientia laboris periculique, ferrei propè corporis animique: quem ne ſenectus quidem, quæ ſolvit omnia, fregerit. LIV.

But

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184. But, to make amends, he was to all the paſſions that ſway mankind, of a ſtrict and undeviating rigor of manners; equally deſpiſing both favour and riches; an enemy to all ſuperfluous expence; ſo intrepid in dangers, and ſo indefatigable in labours, that it might almoſt be ſaid, that his body and courage were of ſteel, the vigour of which time, that ſubdues all things, could never change or depreſs. For at fourſcore and ſix years old having been cited before the People, he pleaded his own cauſe, and left it in writing; and at the age of fourſcore and ten, he accuſed Servius Galba at the ſame tribunal.

When Cato offered himſelf as a Candidate for the Cenſorſhip, the Patricians, who had declared againſt him on all the occaſions of his life, did not fail to unite then to prevent his election. They conſidered it as a diſgrace for the Nobility to ſuffer perſons of obſcure birth, and, as they called them, New Men, to be raiſed to the higheſt degree of honour, and the ſupreme of dignities. Independently of this jealouſy, which was become in a manner natural to them, all Cato's competitors, who ſtood for this office at the ſame time, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to exclude him from it, in order to obtain it for themſelves. L. Flaccus, who had been Conſul with him, and who was far from oppoſing him, muſt be excepted from this number; for it was he, as we have obſerved elſewhere, who had made Cato known to the People, and opened his way to the great offices. And laſtly, and thoſe not the leaſt to fear, many who had made it their buſineſs to offend Cato on all occaſions, and who knew him to be a man that did not forget injuries; and others who lived in ſplendor and magnificence, and were many of them conſcious of an irregular life and corrupt manners: all theſe people dreaded the auſterity of a Cenſor, who in all times had declared againſt all pomp and luxury, the irreconcileable enemy of the criminal, and inflexible in every thing relating to the duties of his office.

In

In the midſt of ſuch violent intrigues, Cato, far from having recourſe to flattery, or mean ſubmiſſions, as was too much the cuſtom of candidates, appeared in the public place with an almoſt menacing air, and reproached his enemies, "that they only oppoſed him becauſe they apprehended a free, firm and determinate Cenſor. At the ſame time he repreſented to the citizens, that the evils of the Commonwealth augmenting perpetually, and threatening it with approaching ruin, they ought not to flatter themſelves that it was poſſible to cure them with gentle remedies, and that it would be a wiſe part in them to chuſe, for ſo important an operation, not the gentleſt and moſt tender phyſicians, but the moſt reſolute and vigorous. And he did not heſitate to ſay, that the phyſicians of that character, ſuch as were neceſſary, were himſelf and Valerius Flaccus: that they were the only ones who could be expected to reform the new abuſes, to cut away to the very root the luxury and effeminacy which had already infected all branches of the State, and to reinſtate the auſterity of the antient diſcipline." A.R. 568. Ant. C. 184.

Rome muſt have had a very great idea of Cato's merit, himſelf extraordinary credit with every body, and the Roman People themſelves a great fund of wiſdom, to make the choice they did. Notwithſtanding the cabal of the Nobility and Grandees, they not only unanimouſly elected Cato Cenſor, but gave him L. Valerius, whom he had deſired, and almoſt commanded, for his collegue. Virtue, though frequently enough deſpiſed, ſometimes opens itſelf a way through the greateſt obſtacles.

The commencement of their exerciſing the Cenſorſhip gave great expectation, not without being dreaded by many. The firſt thing that Cato did, was to nominate his friend and collegue, L. Valerius Flaccus, Prince of the Senate. They deprived ſeveral Senators of their dignity, one of which was no leſs illuſtrious by his birth, than the honourable offices he had born: this was L. Quintius Flaminius, a perſon of Conſular dignity, and brother of him that had conquered Philip. Liv. xxxix. 42.

On

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184. On the latter's requeſt, Cato gave his reaſon for acting as he had done. It was very ſolid. This Quintius, whilſt he commanded in Gaul in quality of Conſul, to pleaſe a courtezan, who had expreſſed a great deſire to ſee a man put to death, cauſed a criminal to be brought from priſon, and to have his head cut off in the preſence of that harlot, whilſt they were at table. The circumſtances of this action are differently related; but are the ſame at bottom. The accuſed denied the fact. Cato offered him his oath: but he would not venture to go further; ſuch weight had the religion of oaths with the antients!

Liv. xxxix. 44. His conduct in reſpect to Scipio Aſiaticus did not do him ſo much honour. On reviewing the Roman Knights, he took from him the horſe kept for him by the Commonwealth; that is, he degraded him from the rank of Knight. This rigor was not approved, and ſeemed to proceed from the ſame ſource as his envy and ill-will to Scipio Africanus.

Liv. ibid. Cato's great deſign, which was highly worthy of him had it been poſſible for him to ſucceed in it, was entirely to extirpate luxury, which he conſidered as a cauſe that would one day inevitably ruin the Commonwealth. He could not attack it directly and with open force: it began to grow univerſal, and had already infected all orders of the State. His only reſource was to give it indirect blows, and to endeavour to ſubvert it by gradually undermining it. One of the principal functions of the Cenſors was to take of all the citizens accounts of their income, in order to tax them in proportion to it. They had authority to ſettle the value of each perſon's eſtate as they ſhould think fit. The citizens took an oath before they gave in their eſtimate; and it is obſerved, that none had given in falſe ones. This was an highly admirable fidelity, eſpecially in the point in queſtion, in which people uſually believe it no crime to falſify, provided it can be done with impunity.

Before Cato's time, the moveables, equipage, clothes, and women's toilets, were not included in the eſtimate of

of the effects which the citizens were obliged to deliver to the Cenſors. Theſe are, however, things wherein luxury hath a great ſcope for diſplaying itſelf. Cato took them in, in the manner we are going to relate. If the effects we have juſt mentioned coſt above fifteen thouſand aſſes, or, as Plutarch expreſſes it, above fifteen hundred drachmas, that is, about thirty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, theſe effects were included in the eſtimate. After they were cauſed to be valued at ten times as much as they had coſt, and three pieces were laid on them as a tax for every thouſand of ſuch valuation: ſo that a thing, for example, of the value of ſixteen thouſand Aſſes, or fourſcore pounds, he cauſed to be eſtimated at an hundred and ſixty thouſand Aſſes, or four hundred pounds, and laid about four and twenty ſhillings by way of duty. Thus a tax of about four and twenty ſhillings was laid upon a thing which had not coſt, and was not actually worth, above fourſcore pounds. A.R. 568. Ant. C. 184.

Slaves, before Cato, were included in the eſtimates of eſtates; and actually ſometimes made a great part of them: but only thoſe of above twenty years of age were ſet down. Cato cauſed thoſe under that age to be alſo included, who ſince the laſt Cenſus had been bought at the rate of ten thouſand Aſſes or upwards: becauſe theſe were more frequently ſought after than others. They were valued at ten times as much as they had coſt, and conſequently at an hundred thouſand Aſſes for ten thouſand; and three for every thouſand were laid upon them, as upon the effects mentioned above.

I do not know whether theſe new impoſitions were an effectual remedy againſt luxury; becauſe, in order to that, it would be neceſſary to know how high theſe expences roſe, which might be carried to exceſs. But it ſeems to me, that Cato's principle was excellent in itſelf, and that if every thing which miniſters to luxury had great taxes laid upon it, this would perhaps be a means, if not of deſtroying, at leaſt of conſiderably weakening and diminiſhing it. Would it not be

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184. rendering an whole nation great ſervice, and eſpecially the French Nobility ſo worthy of eſteem and conſideration for their courage, and ſtill more for their zeal and devotion for their Prince, to aboliſh theſe idle and fooliſh expences in armies, of which every body knows the inconvenience and pernicious conſequences?

Theſe reformations introduced by Cato, and ſome others which I omit, occaſioned great exclaiming againſt him. But, as he acted ſolely from the view of the public good, he diſregarded all theſe clamours, and continued firm and inflexible in the reſolution he had taken. It appears that the People, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Great and Rich, generally applauded the manner in which Cato acquitted himſelf of his Cenſorſhip. For they erected a ſtatue to him in the temple of Health, and placed at the bottom of it as an inſcription, not his battles, victories, and triumph, but what follows: "To the honour of Cato, "who having found the Roman Commonwealth in "a ſtate of declenſion in reſpect to manners, re-eſta-"bliſhed and reformed it during his Cenſorſhip by "ſacred decrees, wiſe inſtitutions, and ſalutary in-"ſtructions."

The People, hitherto, had not done him the like honour. And when many expreſſed their wonder to him, that abundance of perſons without merit or name had ſtatues, and that he had none: "I am better "pleaſed," ſaid he, "that it ſhould be aſked why no "ſtatue is erected to Cato, than why there is."

The two Cenſors alſo applied themſelves to different works for the convenience of the public. They cauſed ſeveral watering-places to be paved with ſtone, and the common ſewers to be cleanſed in the places which wanted that repair, and ordered new ones to be made in mount Aventine, and other parts of the city, where they were wanting. Cato, in particular, undertook to build a Baſilica or court of juſtice at the expence of the public in the Forum, below the place where the Senate was held. The Nobility oppoſed him

him very much in this undertaking. The building was however compleated, and called after him Baſilica Portia; a proof that Cato, according to the great principle of the Roman People, approved as much public magnificence, as he was an enemy to private pomp. *Odit Populus Romanus privatum luxurium, publicam magnificentiam diligit.* Pro Mur. 76.

A. R. 568. Ant. C. 184.

The Conſuls of this year did nothing remarkable.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Q. FABIUS LABEO.

A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183.

The two new Conſuls had Liguria for their province.

Some troops of the Gauls beyond the Alps, having entered Italy towards the end of the year 566, by defiles hitherto unknown, had advanced into the country of the Veneti, and without committing any ravages or hoſtilities there, had choſen not far from the place where Aquileia afterwards ſtood, a place proper for building. The Romans had ſent Ambaſſadors over the Alps to demand the cauſe of this proceeding. They were anſwered, that this enterprize had not been ſet on foot either by the authority or conſent of the nation, and that they did not know what thoſe Rome complained of were going to do in Italy. They were actually employed in building their town. The Prætor had orders to prevent this enterprize, without employing the force of arms as long as he could avoid it. That if he was compelled to declare war, he ſhould Liv. ibid. 45. ſurprize the Conſuls of it, it being the Senate's intention that one of them ſhould march his legions againſt thoſe Barbarians. Liv. xxxix. 22.

From the time the report had ſpread amongſt the ſtates bordering upon Macedonia, that thoſe who went to Rome with complaints againſt Philip had been heard there, and that many had found their advantage in it; a great number of cities, and even private perſons, went thither to relate their grievances againſt a prince, whoſe neighbourhood coſt them all very dear,

A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183. in hopes either to be effectually redreſſed in reſpect t the injuries they declared, or at leaſt to have ſom conſolation from the liberty they ſhould have of de ploring them. King Eumenes among the reſt, t whom, by decree of the Roman commiſſioners an Senate, the places in Thrace were to be ſurrendere ſent Ambaſſadors, at the head of which was his br ther Athenæus, to inform the Senate that Philip di not withdraw his garriſons from Thrace, as he ha promiſed to do, and to complain of his having ſe aid into Bithynia to Pruſias, who was then at war wi Eumenes.

Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, was then at Rom whither, as we have ſaid, his father had actually ſe him to take care of his intereſts. He had a gre number of points to anſwer alledged againſt his f ther, the particulars of which would be tedious, a the diſcuſſion much too prolix. The Senate ſeei that the young Prince, who was little accuſtomed ſpeak in public, was confounded, cauſed him to aſked, to ſpare him that pain, whether the King h father had not given him ſome memorandums, a contented themſelves with his reading them. Phi juſtified himſelf in the beſt manner poſſible in reſp to moſt of the facts alledged againſt him: but particularly expreſſed how much he was diſconten with the decrees paſſed in reſpect to him by the co miſſioners appointed by Rome, and with the man in which he had been treated. The Senate eaſily co ceived to what all this tended; and as the you Prince endeavoured to excuſe certain things, and clared in reſpect to others that every thing ſhould done according to the dictates of Rome, the Sen anſwered, "That Philip could not have acted a w part, nor one more agreeable to the Senate, t ſending his ſon Demetrius to Rome to make his a logy. That as to the paſt, the Senate could o look, forget, and endure many things: that for time to come, they confided in the promiſes made Demetrius. That though he was upon the point

quitt

quitting Rome to return into Macedonia, he left his A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183. good diſpoſition, heart, and attachment for Rome as hoſtages, all which he could retain inviolably, without departing from his duty to his father. That out of conſideration for him, Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent into Macedonia, to rectify without noiſe or debate what might hitherto have been done contrary to regulations. That for the reſt, the Senate was well pleaſed, that Philip ſhould know that he was accountable to his ſon Demetrius for the manner in which the Roman People acted in regard to him." After this audience the young Prince ſet out for Macedonia. Theſe marks of conſideration which the Senate gave him to raiſe his credit with his father, ſerved only to excite envy againſt him, and in the ſequel occaſioned his deſtruction.

Livy, in relating the unfortunate end of the illuſ- Liv. xxxix. 50. trious Philopœmen, which may be found in the Ancient Hiſtory, obſerves, that many authors, both Greek and Roman, have thought proper to apprize poſterity, that this year had been famous for the deaths of the three greateſt Captains of their time, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and P. Scipio Africanus; an obſervation, which does great honour to the General of a little Republic, ranked upon the level with the two moſt illuſtrious Generals of the two moſt powerful ſtates of the world.

We have loſt ſight of Hannibal, ſince the ſhame- Liv. ibid. 51. ful peace Antiochus concluded with the Romans, one condition of which was, that he ſhould deliver up that great man. Hannibal did not give him time, and firſt retired to the iſle of Crete, and then to Pru- Cor. Nep. in Annib. 9—11. Juſtin. xxxiii. 4. ſias King of Bithynia, to whom he did great ſervice in the war that Prince ſoon after undertook againſt Eumenes King of Pergamus, the friend and ally of the Romans. The latter did not leave him long in repoſe, and cauſed complaints to be made to Pruſias of his giving aſylum to the declared enemy of the Romans. Pruſias, to make his court to them, was

A.R. 569. Ant. C. 183. not afraid to betray his gueſt. Hannibal havin found all the paſſages ſeized through which he ende voured to eſcape, cauſed the poiſon to be brough him, which he had kept a great while in order to u it on this occaſion, and holding it in his hand "Let us," ſaid he, "deliver the Roman Peopl "from the apprehenſions they have had ſo long "ſince they have not patience to wait the death o "an old man. Their victory of this day over a man di "armed and betrayed, will not do them much honou "with poſterity." After having vented imprecation againſt Pruſias, and invoked againſt him the God protectors and avengers of the ſacred rites of hoſp tality, he ſwallowed the poiſon, and died at the a of ſixty-five years.

Not to interrupt the ſeries of our hiſtory, I ſha refer my reflexions upon the characters of Hannib and Scipio to another place, though they ſhould n turally come in here.

Liv. xxxix. 53—55. We have related above, that Gauls had paſſed t Alps into Italy with deſign to ſettle there, and we actually employed in building themſelves a city in t country of the Veneti. As ſoon as the Conſul Ma cellus appeared, thoſe Barbarians ſurrendered ther ſelves to him. They were twelve thouſand in num ber, moſt of them with no other arms than what th had taken in the country. It was not without great di ficulty that they could reſolve to deliver them up, well as the other effects they had taken in their wa or had brought with them. Accordingly they ſe Ambaſſadors to Rome with their complaints. Wh they were introduced into the Senate by the Prætor C. Valerius, they repreſented, "that having be obliged to abandon Gaul their country, that was n capable of ſubſiſting the too great multitude of i habitants, they had paſſed the Alps in queſt of ſo ſettlement elſewhere. That they had ſtopt in the fi place they found uncultivated and uninhabited, wh they had began to build themſelves houſes, wh manifeſted that they neither came with deſign to h

ny body, nor to uſurp either cities or countries from A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183.
ther States. That this was their ſituation, when Marcellus ſummoned them to ſurrender, or to prepare for war. That as to them, preferring a certain peace, though little honourable, to the war with which they were menaced, they had at firſt more really relied on the faith of the Roman People, than ſubmitted to their power. That ſome few days after they had been ordered to abandon their city and lands; and that at the time they meditated retiring without noiſe, and to go in queſt of an abode into ſome other country where they might be ſuffered to ſtay, all their arms and the other effects, which they could either carry off or drive before them, had been taken away. That they deſired the Senate and People of Rome not to treat them, who had ſurrendered without committing any hoſtility, with more rigour than enemies conquered by the force of arms."

The Senate replied, "That, though they were in the wrong to enter Italy, and to build a city in a country which did not belong to them, without the permiſſion of the Roman magiſtrates who commanded in the province, however, they did not approve of the rigor with which a People who had ſurrendered, had been uſed. That therefore they would ſend Ambaſſadors with them to the Conſul, to order him to reſtore all that had been taken from them, on condition that they would return into their country. That the ſame ambaſſadors ſhould paſs the Alps, to declare to the chiefs of the States who inhabit on the other ſide, that they ſhould keep their ſubjects in their own country. That the mountains which ſeparated them were the bounds nature itſelf ſeemed to have placed with deſign, and rendered almoſt impracticable, in order to divide the two regions; and that thoſe who ſhould endeavour to paſs them for the future, ſhould repent"

The States who inhabited the other ſide of the Alps, gave the Ambaſſadors a very courteous and rational anſwer. "Their elders even complained of

A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183. the too great lenity, with which the Roman People had treated a body of men, who having quitted their country without order of the nation, had undertaken to build a city in a foreign one, without permiſſion from thoſe to whom it belonged. That their temerity deſerved to be puniſhed ſeverely, to make others not deſirous of doing the ſame." After this diſcourſe, they made the Romans preſents, and attended them, out of honour, to the frontiers of their country.

Marcellus having thus driven the ſtrangers out of the province, with the permiſſion of the Senate went to Iſtria. All he did there was to found a colony of Latines at Aquileia. Two of Romans were alſo ſettled, the one at Modena (*Mutina*) and the other at Parma; and laſtly, one of Romans alſo at Saturnia, in the territory called *Caletranus ager*.

A. R. 570. Ant. C. 182.

CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Paulus Æmilius did not attain the Conſulſhip, till after having ſuffered ſeveral repulſes, which frequently happen to the moſt deſerving perſons. Theſe repulſes were probably an effect of his cool, grave, ſerious character, which did not know how to make ſubmiſſions, and aſſume inſinuating manners for careſſing and ſoothing the People.

Liv. xxxix. 53. We have obſerved before, that Demetrius the ſon of Philip was returned from Rome into Macedonia. That Prince's return had different effects there, according to the different diſpoſition of people. Thoſe, who were extremely apprehenſive of the conſequences of the rupture with the Romans, and of the war for which preparations were making, looked with a good eye upon Demetrius, in hopes he would prove a reconciler and author of peace. Beſides which they conſidered him as the perſon who was to aſcend the throne after his father's death. For, though he was the youngeſt brother, he had the advantage over Perſeus of being indiſputably legitimate; whereas Perſeus, though owner

owned as ſuch by Philip, paſſed either for the ſon of a concubine, or even as ſuppoſititious. Neither was it doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius upon his father's throne, Perſeus not having any credit with them. Theſe were the common reports. A. R. 570. Ant. C. 182.

Accordingly Perſeus on one ſide was highly anxious, leſt the advantage of ſeniority ſhould prove but a weak title for him, his brother having all other advantages; and on the other, Philip rightly judging, that he ſhould not have it in his power to diſpoſe of the throne according to his own will, looked with a jealous eye upon, and dreaded the too great credit of, his younger ſon. He alſo ſaw with pain a kind of ſecond court formed, even during his life and before his eyes, by the affluence and numbers of the Macedonians who flocked to the houſe of Demetrius. It muſt be owned, that the young Prince himſelf was not ſufficiently attentive to prevent or remedy the malignity of people. Inſtead of endeavouring to diſarm envy by kind, modeſt, and polite behaviour; he only provoked and exaſperated it by a certain air of haughtineſs, which he had brought with him from Rome; piquing himſelf upon the marks of diſtinction he had received there, and openly declaring that the Senate had granted him many things, which it had before refuſed his father. We ſee here what vanity and blind complacency for one's own merit, whether true or falſe, produces. This is a failing common enough in young Lords and Princes, and which renders their beſt qualities uſeleſs, and often even pernicious.

Philip's diſcontent increaſed ſtill more upon the arrival of the new Ambaſſadors, to whom Demetrius almoſt paid his court more regularly than to his father himſelf; eſpecially when he ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon Thrace, to draw off his garriſons from it, and to undergo other mortifications conformably to the decrees of the firſt commiſſioners, or in effect of new orders arrived from Rome. He did not obey without repugnance, and inward rage; but however he obeyed, to avoid drawing a war upon his hands,

A. R. 570 Ant. C. 182. for which he was not yet ſufficiently prepared. At the ſame time, to remove all ſuſpicion that he had ſuch thoughts, he carried his arms into the heart of Thrace againſt people for whoſe intereſts the Romans had no kind of concern.

Liv. xl. 3, 4. But his real diſpoſitions were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commiſſioners, who had ſignified the Senate's orders to Philip, wrote that all the diſcourſe and meaſures taken by the King indicated an approaching war. The better to aſſure himſelf of the maritime cities, he made all the inhabitants and their families quit them, tranſplanted them into the moſt northern part of Macedonia, and placed Thracians and other barbarous nations in them, upon whom he believed he could more rely. The whole country rung with complaints, groans, and curſes againſt Philip. He only became more furious in the effect, and exerciſed unheard-of cruelties againſt his people. The reader may ſee a deſcription of them in the Antient Hiſtory, and particularly the deplorable fate of an whole illuſtrious family reduced to deſpair.

The horror of that tragical event excited new deteſtation of Philip. He was publickly abhorred as a cruel tyrant, and horrid imprecations were every where vented againſt him and his children, * which ſoon had their effects, ſays Livy, the Gods giving him up to a blind fury, which carried him to the greateſt extremes againſt his own blood.

Liv. xl. 5—15. Perſeus ſaw with infinite pain and grief, that the regard for his brother Demetrius in Macedonia, and his credit with the Romans, increaſed every day. We have in the Antient Hiſtory related the ſecret plot of that wicked Prince againſt Demetrius, to ſecure the throne to himſelf in prejudice of him: the accuſation which was brought againſt him before Philip: the pleadings of both the brothers: the ſentence of death paſſed by the King upon Demetrius in effect of the

* Quæ diræ brevi ab omnibus diis exauditæ, ut ſæviret ipſe in ſuum ſanguinem, effecerunt. Liv.

depoſi-

depoſitions of witneſſes ſuborned by Perſeus, which he cauſed to be executed in private by giving him poiſon. A. R. 570. Ant. C. 182.

Two years paſſed, without any thing of the plot formed by Perſeus againſt his brother being diſcovered. Philip however felt the moſt exceſſive grief and remorſe, inceſſantly lamented the death of his ſon, and reproached himſelf with his own cruelty. The ſurviving ſon, who conſidered himſelf already as King, and to whom the courtiers began to pay homage as to one who was ſoon to be their maſter, gave him no leſs anguiſh. He was highly enraged to ſee his age deſpiſed, ſome expecting his death with impatience, and others not ſo much as waiting till it arrived. The entire diſcovery of the plot formed againſt Demetrius, raiſed his grief to the higheſt exceſs. Tormented with the continual want of ſleep, he imagined that he ſaw the ghoſt of his ſon Demetrius almoſt every night, which reproached him with his death, and uttered curſes againſt him. He took meaſures to prevent Perſeus from enjoying the fruits of his crime, as well as impunity. But he wanted time. He expired, lamenting one of his ſons, and curſing the other, after having reigned forty-two years. Perſeus aſcended the throne. Liv. xl. 54—56.

I reſume the thread of the hiſtory, from which I departed, in order to put what I had to ſay concerning Philip all together.

Nothing conſiderable paſſed during the 570th year of Rome, neither in Liguria, which was the province of the two Conſuls, nor in either of the Spains.

The moſt remarkable event of this year was a judgment paſſed by the Roman commiſſioners between the Carthaginian People and King Maſiniſſa. The queſtion was concerning the poſſeſſion of a territory of which Gala, Maſiniſſa's father, had deprived the Carthaginians. Syphax had afterwards driven Gala out of it, and reſtored it to the Carthaginians in conſideration of Aſdrubal his father-in-law. And laſtly, the current year, Maſiniſſa had retaken it from the Carthaginians. Liv. ibid. 17.

A. R. 570. Ant. C. 182. thaginians. The affair was debated by the two parties, before the commiſſioners of Rome ſent to Africa with no leſs heat than it had been before diſputed ſword in hand. "The Carthaginians thought they had a good right to reclaim a territory which had firſt belonged to their anceſtors, and which Syphax had reſtored to them. This was a double title to them on which they much inſiſted. Maſiniſſa, on his ſide affirmed, that he had retaken a diſtrict, which had been part of his father's dominions, and which belonged to him by right of ſucceſſion, and even by that of conqueſt: that beſides the goodneſs of his cauſe, he actually had it in poſſeſſion." The deputies left it ſo without paſſing a final judgment, which they referred to the Senate.

A. R. 571. Ant. C. 181.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Liv. xl. 25—28.

As ſoon as L. Æmilius Paulus, to whom, after his Conſulſhip, the command in Liguria had been continued, ſaw the ſpring return, he made his army march into the country of the Ligurians Ingauni. The enemy ſeeing him incamped upon their lands, ſent Ambaſſadors to him, in appearance to aſk peace, but in reality to view his force, and the ſituation of his camp. Æmilius having refuſed to hearken to any accommodation, till they had previouſly ſurrendered, they ſeemed inclined to ſubmit, but at the ſame time demanded time to make a nation enter into the ſame diſpoſition, which, ſaid they, is intractable and barbarous. The Conſul gave them a truce for ten days, to which they deſired him to add another favour: this was, not to ſend his ſoldiers to fetch wood and forage beyond the neighbouring mountains, becauſe that was the only cultivated part of their country. As ſoon as they had obtained this point, they drew together all their troops behind thoſe mountains from which they had had the addreſs to remove the enemy. When they were in a condition to act, they came with

an infinite multitude of troops to attack the Proconſul's camp, who expected nothing leſs, and at the ſame time aſſaulted it at all the gates. They continued this aſſault the whole day with ſo much vigour, that they did not leave the Romans either the means for making their troops quit the camp, or the ground neceſſary for drawing up. All that the Romans could do, was to crowd about the gates, where they ſtopt the enemy, leſs by fighting, than by cloſing them with their bodies. A. R. 571. Ant. C. 181.

After ſunſet, when the enemy were retired, Æmilius ſent two of the horſe to Piſæ with letters to the Conſul Cn. Bæbius, by which he deſired him to come and extricate him out of a danger into which the enemy had brought him, by a fraudulent ſurprize under the pretext of a truce. Bæbius had unfortunately ſent his troops elſewhere. All that he could do was to write to the Senate, to inform them of Æmilius's danger. The Ligurians returned to the charge the next day. The Proconſul might have removed before their return, and quitted his lines: but he believed it better to keep his ſoldiers within his intrenchments, and gain time, till troops might arrive from Piſæ to his aſſiſtance.

Bæbius's letter occaſioned great conſternation in the city, and the more, becauſe it did not ſeem poſſible for any aid to arrive in time. However, the Conſuls were made to ſet out. Æmilius not hearing any thing from Bæbius, believed that his horſemen had been ſeized, and reſolved to rely only upon himſelf. The enemy's aſſaults were much leſs vigorous than the firſt days. They did not take arms, till after having filled themſelves with meat and wine. On quitting their intrenchments, they diſperſed without keeping their ranks, aſſuring themſelves that the Romans would not venture to advance out of their camp to meet them. They came on in this manner, when the Romans, whom Æmilius had drawn up in battle, and had exhorted in the ſtrongeſt terms to do their duty well, ſeconded by the cries of all thoſe who remained

in

A. R. 571. Ant. C. 181. in the camp, ſoldiers, ſervants, ſutlers, ſallied through all their gates, and charged the Ligurians. The latter, as much terrified by this unexpected attack as if they had fallen into ſome ambuſcade, were at firſt amazed; and having ſuſtained the fury of the enemy for ſome time, they fled with ſome precipitation. Æmilius ordered his horſe to purſue them, and to give no quarter to ſuch as ſhould fall in their way. This was not a flight, but a total defeat, and the ſlaughter was horrible. In their diſorder they took refuge in their camp, which they ſoon ſurrendered to the victors. More than fifteen thouſand men were killed that day, and about two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners. Three days after the whole nation of the Ligurians Ingauni ſurrendered to the Proconſul, and gave him hoſtages. The Ligurians alſo practiſed piracy. C. Matienus at the ſame time took two-and-thirty ſhips from them.

Æmilius ſent this news to Rome, and to demand permiſſion to quit a province, where nothing farther remained for him to do, to march back his troops with him, and to diſmiſs them. He obtained all that he aſked of the Senate, who beſides, on his account decreed feaſts and thankſgivings for three days in all the temples.

Liv. xl. 31—33. The Romans gained alſo a very conſiderable advantage in Hiſpania Citerior. Q. Fulvius, who commanded there in quality of Prætor, gave the Celtiberians battle, near the city of Ebora. He acted in it with no leſs valour than good conduct. The enemies left three-and-twenty thouſand upon the field of battle: and four thouſand eight hundred were taken priſoners. Above five hundred horſes were alſo taken with fourſcore and eighteen enſigns. This victory was followed with the taking of Contrebia and a new defeat of the enemy, who again loſt twelve thouſand men, four hundred horſe, with ſixty-two enſigns. The number of the priſoners amounted to above five thouſand.

This

This year the tomb of Numa Pompilius with his books were found in digging up the ground. They have been ſpoken of elſewhere. A. R. 571. Ant. C. 181. Liv. xl. 34.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, in dedicating the temple of Piety, cauſed the firſt gilt ſtatue which had been ſeen in Italy to be erected in honour of his father Glabrio.

The Proconſul L. Æmilius Paulus triumphed over the Ligurians Ingauni. What contributed to render this triumph more famous, for neither gold nor ſilver were carried in it, was an embaſſy, which the Liguri-ans had ſent to Rome, to demand peace for all futu-rity, and to aſſure the Senate that the Ligurians were fully determined never more to take arms, if not by the order and for the ſervice of the Romans. The Prætor Q. Fabius anſwered them in the name of the Senate: "That this language of the Ligurians was not new; but that it concerned them moſt to think and act in a new manner, and conformably to their promiſes. That they ſhould go to the Conſuls, and punctually execute what they ſhould be directed. That thoſe magiſtrates were the only perſons, to whom the Senate would refer themſelves in reſpect to the ſincerity of the intentions of the Ligurians." Ibid. 34.

The Roman People this year reſtored an hundred of their hoſtages to the Carthaginians; and not only con-tented with leaving them in peace themſelves, they pro-cured it for them from Maſiniſſa, who with his troops occupied the diſtrict in diſpute between him and the Carthaginians.

A. Postumius Albinus Luscus. A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

The death of the latter of theſe two Conſuls de-layed the departure of the troops for ſome time. How-ever, P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius, who had done no-thing memorable in their Conſulſhip, marched their army into the country of the Ligurians Apuani. Thoſe people, who did not expect that they ſhould be attacked before the arrival of the new Conſuls, ſurren- Liv. xl. 38—40.

A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180. ſurrendered, to the number of twelve thouſand. The two Proconſuls, after having wrote to the Senate for advice, reſolved to remove them from the mountains into the plains, and to ſuch a diſtance from their country, that they ſhould loſe all hopes of ever returning to it again. They were convinced that was the only means for terminating the war on that ſide. They therefore commanded the Ligurians Apuani to quit the mountains which they occupied, with their wives, children, and all their effects, in order to be tranſplanted into Samnium. The Ligurians firſt ſent deputies to the Roman Generals, to conjure them not to compel them to abandon the country which had given them birth, their houſhold Gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors; offering for the reſt to deliver up their arms, and to give hoſtages. But finding the Proconſuls inexorable, and knowing that they were not ſtrong enough to ſuſtain the war, they determined to obey. They were therefore made to remove at the expence of the Commonwealth to the place allotted them, to the number of forty thouſand men, with their wives and children. A ſufficiently conſiderable ſum was given them to purchaſe the things they ſhould have occaſion for in their new ſettlement. The two Proconſuls were charged with the diſtribution of the new land, and of all relating to it. When the whole was terminated, they led back the army under their command to Rome, and obtained the honour of a triumph. They were the firſt Generals who triumphed without having made war.

Liv. xl. 39. The ſame year, the Celtiberians knowing, that the Prætor Fulvius Flaccus was to paſs through a certain defile, they laid ambuſcades for him; and as ſoon as the Romans were in them, they charged them ſuddenly at the ſame time on two ſides. Flaccus, having ordered the ſoldiers to halt, made them lay down their baggage in an heap, and without ſhewing any fear or perplexity, drew up his troops in battle, repreſenting to the ſoldiers, "that they had to deal with an enemy whom they had already twice forced to ſurrender

That what they had now more than formerly, was not force or courage, but guilt and perfidy. That they ſhould be obliged to them for a glorious and illuſtrious return into their country; whereas they were preparing to go home only with the fame of their paſt exploits. That on arriving at Rome they would carry thither their ſwords almoſt ſtill ſmoaking with blood newly ſhed, and adorn their triumph with ſpoils almoſt reeking with blood." A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180.

He ſaid no more. The enemies fell upon the Romans, and the fight, which was already begun at both extremities, ſoon extended throughout the whole army. They fought every where with equal animoſity. But the Spaniards ſoon finding that they could not withſtand the Roman legions by fighting in front, endeavoured to break them, by attacking them in a point or wedge. This was a kind of charge in which they had ſo much the advantage, that wherever they attacked, it was impoſſible to ſuſtain them. In conſequence they put the legions into ſome diſorder, and had almoſt broke the main body. But Flaccus ſpurring on to the cavalry of the legions, ſaid to them: "If you do not ſtop the enemy, our infantry will "ſoon be routed. Double your ranks by uniting the "horſe of the two legions; and, in order to charge the "enemy with more force, unbridle your horſes, and "ride on full ſpeed." This ſingular practice was common with the Romans. They immediately executed what was commanded, fell upon the Spaniards, broke all their lances, repulſed them a great way, and made a great ſlaughter of them. The cavalry of the allies, after the example of the Roman horſe, alſo charged this half defeated body, and compleated their overthrow. As this body was the ſole hope of the enemy, the defeat of it drew on that of the whole army. The ſlaughter was great. Seventeen thouſand Celtiberians remained upon the place: more than three thouſand were taken, with two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven enſigns, and almoſt eleven hundred horſe. This victory coſt Fulvius dear. He loſt four hundred and ſeventy-

A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180. ſeventy-two Roman citizens, a thouſand and ninete allies of the Latine name, and three thouſand Spani auxiliary troops. The Romans after this advantag which was an high addition of glory to them, returne to Tarraco.

The Prætor Ti. Sempronius, who arrived ther two days before, came to meet Fulvius, and congra tulated him on the great advantages he had gaine over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Thoſe tw Generals eaſily agreed upon the troops which ſhoul be diſmiſſed, and thoſe which ſhould remain in th province. After they had regulated every thing wit perfect amity, Fulvius embarked the ſoldiers, wh were diſmiſſed, and Sempronius marched his troop into Celtiberia.

Liv. xl. 41. The two Conſuls had Liguria for their provinc They led their legions thither by different route Poſtumius with the firſt and third, ſeized the mou tains of Baliſta and Suiſmont, and by ſhutting up th narrow paſſes, through which the enemy receive their proviſions, he ſtarved them, and by the want all neceſſaries to life, reduced them to the neceſſity ſubmitting. Fulvius, who had been ſubſtituted t Calpurnius with the ſecond and fourth, having attacke the Apuani, who inhabited upon the banks of the r ver Macra, on the ſide of Piſæ, he reduced them t ſurrender; and having embarked to the number of ſe ven thouſand, he tranſported them to Naples along th coaſt of Tuſcany. From thence he made them go t Samnium, and incorporated them with their country men, giving them alſo ſome lands to cultivate. As t the Ligurians who inhabited the mountains, Poſtu mius cauſed their vines to be pulled up, their corn t be burnt; and by dint of making them ſuffer all th calamities of war, he reduced them to ſurrender and t deliver up their arms.

Ibid. 42. This ſame year, L. Duronius, Prætor the year be fore, who had been appointed to check the piraci committed by the Illyrians upon the coaſts of Ital returned to Rome. After having related in the S na

nate what he had done in his province, he affirmed, A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180.
that King Gentius was the author of all the rob-
eries committed upon the ſea. That all the ſhips
which had plundered the coaſts of the ſea called Mare
Superum belonged to him. That he had ſent Am-
baſſadors to that Prince to complain of thoſe hoſtili-
ties, but that they could not gain admittance to him."
On the other ſide, Gentius had ſent to Rome, to re-
preſent to the Senate, "that exactly at the time the
Roman Ambaſſadors came to his court, to make their
remonſtrances, he was at the extremity of his king-
dom dangerouſly ill. That he had deſired the Senate
not to give credit to the falſe accuſations, which his
enemies had conceived to do him hurt." However,
Furonius added to what he had ſaid, that many Ro-
man citizens and allies of the Latine name had been
inſulted and abuſed in his dominions; that it was
even ſaid, that he had many Roman citizens priſon-
ers in Corcyra. The Senate decreed, that they
ſhould all be brought to Rome, and that the Prætor
L. Claudius ſhould take cognizance of this affair, be-
fore an anſwer ſhould be returned to Gentius and his
ambaſſadors.

C. Mænius, Prætor of Sardinia, to whom commiſ- Liv. xl. 43.
ſion had been given to inform againſt the poiſoners in
Italy, at the diſtance of ten miles from Rome, in-
formed the Senate, that he had already condemned
three thouſand perſons convicted of that crime: but
that the number of the guilty increaſed in proportion to
his enquiries.

The People of Cumæ, who were Greeks by origin,
were granted permiſſion to uſe the Latin tongue in their
public acts, and to cry the merchandizes to be ſold
at auction in the ſame language.

At the ſame time, Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned
from Spain to Rome full of glory, and whilſt he lodg-
ed out of Rome waiting the day of his triumph, he
was created Conſul with L. * Manlius Acidinus his

* This Manlius was the own brother of Fulvius, but had been adopted into the family of the Manlii.

A. R. 572. Ant. C. 180. brother. This is the only example of two brothers being collegues in the Conſulſhip, as Velleius Paterculus II. 8. obſerves. Some few days after he triumphed over the Celtiberians.

Liv. xl. 44. L. Villius Tribune of the People then paſſed the firſt law which determined the neceſſary age for entering into each magiſtracy: which occaſioned Villius to be ſirnamed Annales. We have already obſerved elſewhere, that the age required for the Quæſtorſhip was twenty-ſeven; for the Curule Ædileſhip thirty-ſeven; for the Prætorſhip forty; for the Conſulſhip forty-three. The cuſtom was uſually the ſame before: this law only confirmed and eſtabliſhed it.

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Manlius Acidinus.

The Conſul Fulvius, in his laſt battle with the Celtiberians, had engaged by vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, and cauſe a temple to be built to Equeſtrian Fortune. The games were celebrated during ten days with great magnificence.

Liv. xl. 45, 46, & 51, 52. The aſſemblies were afterwards held for the election of Cenſors. The People's choice fell upon M. Æmilius Lepidus, who a little before had been raiſed to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, and upon M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians. There was a mutual enmity between them, which had broke out in violent conteſts both in the Senate and before the People. The new Cenſors at this time being come, according to cuſtom, to take their place upon the Curule chairs in the field of Mars, near the altar of that God, the moſt conſiderable of the Senators followed them thither with a great multitude of citizens, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus ſpoke to them in theſe terms.

"We well know, Cenſors, that the Roman People have juſt made you the arbiters and judges of our conduct; and that, in this capacity, it is who are to receive your opinions and remonſtranc-

"a

and not you ours. Permit us, however, to obſerve what gives offence in you to all perſons of worth, or at leaſt what they are deſirous that you ſhould amend. When we conſider each of you ſeparately, Æmilius, and you Fulvius, we do not know any perſons in Rome that we would prefer to you, if we were to give our ſuffrages again. But when we ſee you both together, we cannot help apprehending, that you are very ill joined, and having grudges at heart againſt each other, it is of no conſequence that you have the eſteem and affection of all the reſt of the citizens. You have been at variance a great while, which cannot but ſit heavy upon you. But it is much to be feared, that, from this day, it will become infinitely more ſo to us and the Commonwealth, than it is to you. We could repeat many reaſons, which would juſtify our apprehenſion, if it were not doing you a kind of injury, to conſider your diſſenſion and hatred as irreconcileable. We all both in general and particular conjure you this day to put an end to your enmity in this ſacred and venerable place. After the Roman People have united you with each other by aſſociating you in the ſame office, give us the joy of being able to flatter ourſelves, that on our ſide we have alſo reunited you by a ſincere and perfect reconciliation. You have the liſt of the Senators to ſettle, the review of the Knights to make, the number and cenſus of the citizens to adjuſt, and to cloſe the luſtrum. In theſe functions, and in almoſt all thoſe of your charge, you uſe this form; MAY THE GODS GRANT, THAT THE AFFAIR, WHICH WE ARE NOW EMPLOYED UPON, MAY TURN TO THE ADVANTAGE AND GLORY OF MY COLLEGUE AND MYSELF. Act therefore in all things ſo unanimouſly, that the public may be convinced, that you obſerve theſe ſolemn vows in your hearts as well as mouths, and that you ſincerely deſire the accompliſhment of the prayers which you are to addreſs to the Gods. Romulus

A.R. 573. Ant. C. 179.

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179. " and T. Tatius, after having fought ſword in hand
" in the midſt of Rome, reigned afterwards in the
" ſame city in peace and union. Not only private
" diſſenſions, but wars themſelves, are terminated by
" pacific agreements; and we have often ſeen States
" from enemies that they were, become faithful allies
" and ſometimes fellow-citizens of the ſame country.
" The Albans, after the ruin of their city, removed
" to Rome, and were incorporated with its inhabi-
" tants. The Latines and Sabines have been aſſocia-
" ed with the Roman People. This maxim, FRIEND-
" SHIPS OUGHT TO BE IMMORTAL, AND ENMITIES
" MORTAL, became a proverb, only becauſe it
" truth made impreſſion upon every mind."

A murmur of applauſe interrupted the diſcourſe of Metellus, and all that were preſent joined their reque with his, and earneſtly exhorted the Cenſors to conſen to a reconciliation. After ſome complaints on both ſides, each of them declared for his own part, that his collegue would conſent to it, that they would comply with the deſire of ſo many illuſtrious citizens. Upon the repeated inſtances of all preſent, they tenderly embraced each other, and proteſted that they would entirely forget all that was paſt, and renounce all reſentment. The joy was general, and roſe even to ſhedding of tears. The aſſembly ſeemed incapable of ſufficiently praiſing and admiring them, and followed them in a body to the Capitol, whither they repaired that moment. The Senate highly approved both the care, which the principal perſons of the city had taken to reconcile the two Cenſors, and the facility of thoſe magiſtrates in complying with their deſires. It appeared from the manner in which they behaved during their whole adminiſtration, that their reconciliation was hearty and ſincere. M. Æmilius Lepidus, one of the two Cenſors, was nominated Prince of the Senate by his collegue. They executed many public works and buildings, both very uſeful and very conſiderable.

Examp

Examples of this kind are of great importance in a State, and produce wonderful effects upon a people, even down to ſucceeding ages. It gives me joy to ſee Cicero, long after, cite the fact of which we have juſt been ſpeaking in juſtification of his conduct in reſpect to Cæſar, with whom he believed it incumbent on him to renew the friendſhip they had long before contracted with each other, and had been often interrupted. "If, ſays he, I ſacrifice my reſentment to "the Commonwealth, who can take offence at me "for it, eſpecially as I pique myſelf upon directing "my conduct by that of the great men of antiquity? "Does not hiſtory tell us, that M. Lepidus, who "was twice Conſul and Great Pontiff, on the very "day he was elected Cenſor, was reconciled in the "field of Mars to M. Fulvius his collegue, who till "then had been his declared enemy, in order unanimouſly to diſcharge the functions of an office "common to them both? And does not the ſame "hiſtory alſo inform us, as well as the verſes of a "great * poet, that this action was generally applauded by all orders of the State?—— † You "know, fathers, that I have always been actuated by "an incredible zeal for the Commonwealth. It is "the ſame zeal which this day reunites, reconciles, "and reinſtates me with C. Cæſar. Let what will "be judged of it; but I cannot help being the "friend of whoever renders the Commonwealth "ſervice."

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179.

* Ennius evidently.

† Ardeo, mihi credite, Patres Conſcripti——incredibili quodam more patriæ.——Hic me meus in rempublicam animus priſtinus ac parentis cum C. Cæſare reducit, reconciliat, reſtituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines exiſtiment; nemini ego poſſum eſſe non de republica merenti non amicus.

SECT. V.

Characters of, and compariſon between, Hannibal a Scipio Africanus.

HANNIBAL and Scipio have acted glorio parts in the Roman Hiſtory, and both deſervi to be ſtudied attentively and thoroughly known, thought it proper to give what I have ſaid * elſewhe a place here, and to unite the great qualities commo to both, and the differences between them in the ſam point of view. I imagine, in thus comparing the characters, that I in a manner again bring them in the field together: but I ſhall leave it to the reader give the preference, and adjudge the victory to whic of the two heroes he ſhall think moſt deſerving. however do not undertake to make an exact comp riſon between them, but only to trace the princip points of it. I ſhall examine in this parallel the mi tary, moral, and civil virtues; which form the gre Captain and Worthy Man.

SECT. I.

MILITARY VIRTUES.

1. *Extent of capacity to form and execute great deſigns*

I Begin by this quality, becauſe, properly ſpeakin it is that, which forms great men, and has t greateſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of affairs: this Polybi calls, σὺν νῷ πράτ]ειν τὸ προτεθέν. It conſiſts in havi great views; in forming plans at a diſtance; in pr poſing an end and deſign from which the auth never departs; in taking all the meaſures, and pr paring all the means, that are neceſſary for its ſucce in knowing how to ſeize the favourable moments

* In the Belles Lettres.

occaſio

occaſion, which are rapid in their courſe, and never return; to make even ſudden and unforeſeen accidents ſubſervient to a plan; in a word, to foreſee and be upon the watch againſt every thing, without being perplexed or diſconcerted by any event. For, as the ſame Polybius obſerves, the concurrence of all the moſt wiſely concerted and executed meaſures is ſcarce ſufficient to make a deſign ſucceed; whereas the omiſſion of only one, how ſlight ſoever it may appear, often ſuffices to render it abortive. Page 552

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both form a deſign great, bold, ſingular, of vaſt extent, long conſequences, and capable of exerciſing the greateſt heads, but the only one ſalutary and deciſive.

Hannibal, from the beginning of the war, rightly conceived that the only means of conquering the Romans, was to attack them in their own country. He prepared every thing before-hand for this great deſign. He foreſaw all the difficulties and obſtacles. The paſſing of the Alps did not ſtop him. So wiſe a Captain, as Polybius obſerves, would not have undertaken it, if he had not been previouſly aſſured, that thoſe mountains were not impracticable. The ſucceſs anſwered his views. Every body knows the rapidity of his victories, and that Rome ſaw herſelf upon the very brink of deſtruction. Page 201, 202.

Scipio formed a deſign which ſcarce appeared leſs bold, but which was more ſucceſsful: this was to attack Africa itſelf. What obſtacles ſeemed to oppoſe this deſign! Was it not natural, one would ſay, to defend his own country, before attacking that of the enemy, and to ſecure peace in Italy, before carrying the war into Africa? What reſource had the Commonwealth, if victorious Hannibal had marched againſt Rome? Would it then have been time enough to recal the Conſul to its aid? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he had happened to loſe a battle? and what was not to be feared from the Carthaginians and their allies in conjunction, and fighting

for their lives and liberties in the ſight of their wives, children, and country? Theſe were the reflections of Fabius, which ſeemed very plauſible, but which did not ſtop Scipio; and the ſucceſs of the enterprize ſufficiently ſhewed with what wiſdom it had been conceived, and with what ability it had been conducted; and it is obvious that in the actions of that great man, nothing was the effect of chance, but that every thing was the reſult of ſolid reaſon and conſummate prudence, which indicates the General, whereas mere execution is only the ſoldier's part.

2. *Profound ſecrecy.*

Page 552. One of the moſt neceſſary means for making a deſign ſucceed is ſecrecy, and Polybius is for having a General ſo impenetrable in this point, that not only friendſhip, nor the moſt intimate familiarity ſhould ever wreſt from him a ſingle indiſcreet word, but that it even ſhould not be poſſible for the moſt ſubtle curioſity to diſcover any thing either in his looks, or air, of what he has in his thoughts.

The ſiege of Carthagena was the firſt enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the firſt ſtep to all his other conqueſts. He communicated it only to Lælius, and confided in him, only becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary. It could alſo be only in effect of ſilence, and the moſt profound ſecrecy, that another ſtill more important enterprize ſucceeded, which drew on the conqueſt of Africa, when Scipio burnt the two camps, and cut to pieces the two armies of the enemy in the night.

Hannibal's frequent ſucceſſes in laying ambuſcades for the Romans, and in deſtroying ſo many Generals in them with their beſt troops; in ſtealing his marches, and ſurprizing them by unforeſeen attacks; in moving from one part of Italy to the other, without meeting any obſtacles from the enemy, are proofs of the profound ſecrecy, with which he concerted and executed all his deſigns. Artifice, illuſion, and ſtratagem,

gem, were his peculiar talents; all which would have been ineffectual without impenetrable ſecrecy.

3. *Well to know the characters of the leaders againſt whom a General acts.*

Well to know the character of the Generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their failings, is great ability, and an highly important part of military knowledge. For, ſays Polybius, it is the ignorance or neglect of commanders, that renders moſt enterprizes abortive. Hannibal was a perfect maſter of this ſcience; and it may be ſaid that his continual attention in ſtudying the genius of the Roman Generals, was one of the principal cauſes of his gaining the battles of Trebia and Thraſymenus. He * knew as well what paſſed in the enemy's camp as in his own. When P. Æmilius and Varro were ſent againſt him, he was ſoon informed of the different characters of thoſe Generals and of their diviſions: *diſſimiles diſcordeſque imperitare*; and he did not fail to take advantage of the hot and impetuous diſpoſition of Varro, in laying a bait for his temerity, by ſome ſlight advantages which he let him gain, that were followed with the famous dreadful defeat at Cannæ.

What Scipio learnt of the little diſcipline which the Generals of the enemy cauſed to be obſerved in their camps, made him conceive the thought of ſetting fire to them in the night: an enterprize, of which the ſucceſs acquired him the conqueſt of Africa. *Hæc relata Scipioni ſpem fecerant, caſtra hoſtium per occaſionem incendendi.* Liv. xxx. 3.

4. *To keep up an exact diſcipline amongſt the troops.*

Military diſcipline is in a manner, the ſoul of the army, which binds and unites all its parts together,

* Omnia ei hoſtium haud ſecus, quàm ſua, nota erant. Liv. xxii. 41. Nec quicquam eorum quæ apud hoſtes agebantur, eum fallebat. Ibid. 28.

ſets

ſets them in motion, or keeps them at reſt, according to occaſion, aſſigns and diſtributes to each its functions, and obliges them all to obſerve their duty.

It is agreed that our two Generals excelled in this part: but it muſt be allowed that in this kind of merit that of Hannibal muſt ſeem much ſuperior to that of Scipio. And accordingly it has been always conſidered as the greateſt addreſs, the maſter-piece of military ability, that Hannibal, during a war of ſixteen years in a foreign country ſo far from his own, with ſuch various ſucceſs, at the head of an army conſiſting not of Carthaginian citizens, but of a confuſed mixture of many nations, who had nothing common to them neither cuſtoms, nor language; whoſe habits, arms, ceremonies, ſacrifices, and even Gods were different; that Hannibal, I ſay, ſo united them, that no ſedition ever aroſe either between them or againſt him, though they were often in want of proviſions, and their pay had been often delayed. In order to this, how ſolidly muſt the diſcipline have been eſtabliſhed, and how inviolably obſerved amongſt the troops!

Liv. xxviii. 12.

5. To live in a ſimple, modeſt, frugal, and laborious manner.

It is a very bad taſte, and argues little elevation of mind, and nobleneſs of ſoul, to make the greatneſs of an officer or General conſiſt in the magnificence of equipages, moveables, dreſs or table. How have ſuch frivolous things been capable of becoming military virtues? What do they ſuppoſe, except great riches; and are thoſe riches always undoubtedly proofs of ſolid merit, and the fruits of virtue? It is the diſgrace of reaſon and good ſenſe; it is the degradation of ſo martial a people as ours to deſcend to the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, by introducing the luxury of cities into camps and armies. Does not an officer, a commander, know better how to employ the time, attention, and expences neceſſarily beſtowed upon all this ſuperfluity: and does he not owe them to his country

try? The Captains of the Antients thought and acted quite differently.

Livy gives Hannibal a praiſe, which we have already repeated, and at which I do not know but many of our officers ſhould believe they ought to bluſh. "No labour, ſays he, could tire his body, or depreſs his mind. He bore cold and heat with equal indifference. It was neceſſity and occaſion, not pleaſure, that regulated his eating and drinking. He had no ſet hour for ſleeping: he gave the time his affairs left him to repoſe, and did not court it by ſilence and the ſoftneſs of his bed. He was often found lying upon the ground in a ſoldier's veſt amongſt the ſentinels and guards of his army. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his equals, not by the magnificence of his habit, but the goodneſs of his horſes and arms."

Polybius, after having praiſed Scipio for the ſhining virtues the world admired in him, his liberality, magnificence, greatneſs of ſoul; adds, that thoſe who knew him moſt intimately admired * no leſs the ſober and frugal life that he led, which enabled him to beſtow his whole application to the public affairs. He gave himſelf little trouble in adorning his perſon. His dreſs was manly and military, well ſuiting his ſtature, which was large and majeſtic. *Præterquam quòd ſuapte natura multa majeſtas inerat, adornabat promiſſa cæſaries habituſque corporis, non cultus munditiis, ſed virilis verè ac militaris.* What Seneca tells us of the ſimplicity of his baths, and of his country-houſe, gives us room to judge what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops. Senec. Ep. 86.

It is by leading ſuch a ſober and frugal kind of life, that Generals are capable of diſcharging that part of their duty, which Cambyſes recommends ſo much to his ſon Cyrus, as extremely proper for animating the troops, and to make them love their leaders; which is to ſet the ſoldiers the example of labour, by ſuſtaining with them, and even more than them, cold, heat, Xenoph. in Cyrop. lib. 1.

* Ἀγχίνους καὶ νήπτους καὶ σὺν διανοίᾳ περὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐντεταμένους. POLYB. pag. 577.

and

and fatigues: wherein, * ſays he, the difference will always be very great between the General and the ſoldier, becauſe the latter finds only labour and toil in it; whereas the other, expoſed as a ſight to the eyes of the whole army, has honour and glory from it; motives which much leſſen the weight of fatigue, and render it leſs painful.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to wiſe and moderate pleaſure. †Livy in ſpeaking of Philip's honourable reception of him, when he paſſed through his dominions with his brother againſt Antiochus, obſerves that Scipio was highly pleaſed with it; and that he admired in the King of Macedonia the wit, politeneſs and graces with which he knew how to ſeaſon the entertainments he gave them; qualities, adds Livy, which the illuſtrious Roman, ſo great in all other reſpects, deemed eſtimable, provided they did not degenerate into pomp and luxury.

6. *Equally to know how to employ force and ſtratagem.*

What Polybius ſays is very true, that in matter of war, artifice and ſtratagem are of much more effect than open force and declared deſigns.

In this Hannibal excels. In all his actions, in all his enterprizes and battles, artifice and ſtratagem had always the greateſt part. The manner in which he deceived the moſt wary and prudent of all Generals by ſetting fire to ſtraw upon the horns of two thouſand oxen, to extricate himſelf out of a dangerous ſituation, would alone ſuffice to ſhew how expert Hannibal was in the ſcience of ſtratagems. Nor was

Liv. xxii. 16, 17.

* Itaque ſemper Africanus (meaning the ſecond of that name) Socraticum, Xenophontem in manibus habebat: cujus imprimis laudabat illud, quòd diceret, eoſdem labores non eſſe æquè graves imperatori & militi, quòd ipſe honos laborem leviorem faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. 2. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 62.

† Venientes regio apparatu accepit, & proſecutus eſt Rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas viſa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant, virum, ſicut ad cetera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ ſine luxuria eſſet, non averſum. Liv. xxxvii. 7.

it leſs known by Scipio; and his burning the two camps of the enemy in Africa, is a proof of it. Liv. xxx. 3--6.

7. *Never to expoſe his perſon without neceſſity.*

Polybius lays down as a maxim eſſential and capital to a General, that he ought never to expoſe his perſon, when the action is not general and deciſive, and that even then he ought to keep as far out of danger as poſſible. He enforces this maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whoſe raſh bravery, which ill ſuited a Captain of his age and experience, coſt him his life, and threatened the ruin of the Commonwealth. It is upon this occaſion he obſerves, that Hannibal, whom none certainly can ſuſpect of fear, or of too great a love of life, in all the battles which he fought, took particular care to poſt himſelf in ſafety. And he makes the ſame remark in reſpect to Scipio, who in the ſiege of Carthagena was obliged to expoſe his perſon, and confront the danger, but he did ſo with prudence and circumſpection. Pag. 603. Pag. 587.

Plutarch in his compariſon of Pelopidas and Marcellus, ſays, that the wounds or death of a General ought not to be merely accidental, but a means that contributes to ſucceſs, and conduces to victory and the preſervation of an army: ὁ πάθος, ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις; and he laments that the two great men of whom he ſpeaks, ſacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being ſo prodigal of their blood and lives without neceſſity, and died for themſelves and not for their country, to which Generals are accountable for their deaths, as well as lives.

8. *Art and ability in battles.*

It were neceſſary to be a ſoldier by profeſſion to obſerve, in the different battles fought by Hannibal and Scipio, upon their ability, addreſs, preſence of mind, attention in taking advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the ſudden occaſions reſulting from chance,

chance, of all the circumſtances of time and place, in a word, of all that can contribute to victory. I eaſily conceive that military perſons muſt take great pleaſure in reading in good authors the narrations of the famous battles which decided the fate of the Univerſe, as well as the reputation of the Captains of the Antients; and that it is a great means for attaining perfection in the art military, to ſtudy under ſuch maſters, and to be thereby capable of improving as well from their defects as great qualities. But ſuch reflexions are above my capacity, and do not ſuit me.

9. *To have the gift of ſpeaking, and to know how to give the proper bent of mind to people with addreſs.*

I place this quality amongſt the military virtues, becauſe a General ought to be ſo in all things; and to diſcharge the functions of his office, his tongue, as well as his head and hand, is often a neceſſary inſtrument. This is one of the things, which Hannibal eſteemed moſt in Pyrrhus: *artem etiam conciliandi ſibi homines miram habuiſſe*; and he puts this talent on an equal rank with the perfect knowledge of the art military, by which Pyrrhus diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt.

Liv. xxxv. 14.

To judge of our two Captains by the ſpeeches which hiſtorians have preſerved, they both excelled in the talent of ſpeaking: but I cannot tell, whether thoſe hiſtorians have not lent them ſome part of their own eloquence. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, which have come down to us from hiſtory, ſhew that he had an excellent fund of wit, and that nature alone was capable of doing that in him, which art and ſtudy do in others. But * Cornelius Nepos tells us, that he did not want letters, and that he had even compoſed works in Greek. As to Scipio, his parts were more improved; and though the age he lived in was not ſo polite as that of the ſecond Scipio,

* Atque hic tantus vir, tantiſque bellis diſtrictus, non nihil temporis tribuit Literis. Namque aliquot ejus libri ſunt Græco ſermone confecti. CORN. NEP. in Annib, cap. 13.

ſir-

ſirnamed Africanus, as well as him, his intimacy with the poet Ennius, with whom it was his deſire to have a common tomb, gives us room to believe, that he did not want taſte for polite learning. However it be, Livy obſerves, that, when he arrived in Spain to command the army, in the firſt audience which he gave the deputies of the province, he ſpoke with a certain air of greatneſs that commanded reſpect, and at the ſame time in that ſimple and natural manner which perſuades and inſpires confidence; ſo that, without letting a word eſcape that ſavoured in the leaſt of haughtineſs, he preſently engaged the good opinion of every body, and acquired univerſal eſteem and admiration. Idem. Lib. 26. n. 19.

On another occaſion, when Scipio and Aſdrubal happened to be in the palace of Syphax to treat of affairs, the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, that Scipio had ſuch an aſcendant in converſation, and influenced people as he pleaſed with ſo much addreſs, that he equally charmed his hoſt and his enemy by the force and attractions of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned, that this private converſation had given him an higher idea of Scipio than his victories and conqueſts; and that he did not doubt, but that Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, ſo much art and capacity had Scipio in conciliating every body to his views. A ſingle fact like this ſuffices to ſhew of what conſequence it is to perſons deſtined to the profeſſion of arms, induſtriouſly to cultivate the talent of ſpeaking: and it is hard to conceive how officers, who may have great talents for war, ſhould ſometime ſeem to be aſhamed to know things out of their profeſſion. Lib. 28. n. 18.

CONCLUSION.

The queſtion ſhould now be to determine between Hannibal and Scipio in reſpect to military talents: but ſuch a deciſion is not within my ſphere. I have heard that in the opinion of the beſt Judges, Hannibal the moſt conſummate Captain the world ever ſaw in

the military art. And indeed it was in his ſchool th Romans attained perfection in it, after having paſſe their firſt apprenticeſhip in the ſcience againſt Pyrrhu It muſt be confeſſed, that no General ever knew be ter how to take advantage of his ground for draw ing up an army in battle, applying his troops to th ſervice for which they were moſt fit, laying ambu cades, finding reſources in diſtreſs, or keeping up di cipline amongſt ſo many different nations. He him ſelf found ſubſiſtence and pay for his troops, re mounted his cavalry, recruited his infantry, and ſup plied all the munitions neceſſary for ſuſtaining a heavy war in a foreign country, againſt powerful ene mies, during the ſpace of ſixteen ſucceſſive years, an notwithſtanding a powerful domeſtick faction, whic refuſed him every thing, and diſtreſſed him in al things. And certainly we may call this a great General

I alſo own, that to make a juſt compariſon betwee the deſign of Hannibal and that of Scipio, that o Hannibal muſt be confeſſed to be the boldeſt, mo dangerous, moſt difficult, and the moſt deſtitute o reſources. He had the country of the Gauls to pa through, whom he was to conſider as enemies; th Alps to paſs, which would have been impracticabl to any other; to ſettle the theatre of the war in th midſt of the enemy's country and in the very heart o Italy, where he had neither towns, magazines, certai aid, or hopes of retreat. Add to this, that he at tacked the Romans at the time of their greateſt force when their troops were entirely freſh, and ſtill haughty and fluſhed from the ſucceſs of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As to Scipio, he had but a ſhort trip to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was maſter of the ſea. He preſerved a free communication with Sicily, from whence he had in any quantities ammunitions and pro viſions. He attacked the Carthaginians towards the end of a war, in which they had ſuffered great loſſes, at a time when their power began to decline, and when they began to be exhauſted of money, men, and cou-

rage.

rage. Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diverſions againſt the Romans. Aſdrubal's army had lately been cut to pieces: that of Hannibal was extremely weakened by many blows, and an almoſt univerſal want of all things. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to give Hannibal much the preference to Scipio.

But two difficulties give me pauſe: the one deduced from the Generals he overcame; the other from the faults he committed.

May it not be ſaid, that the glorious victories, which rendered the name of Hannibal ſo famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and raſhneſs of the Roman Generals, as to his own valour and good conduct? When Fabius was given the command againſt him, and afterwards Scipio; the one checked his progreſs, and the other entirely defeated him.

The two faults ſaid to be committed by Hannibal, the firſt in not marching directly to Rome immediately after the Battle of Cannæ, ſuppoſing it really a fault; the ſecond, in ſuffering his troops to be enervated at Capua, muſt greatly leſſen his reputation. For theſe faults appear to ſome, eſſential, deciſive, irreparable, and entirely contrary to the principal quality of a General, which is ſenſe and judgment. As to Scipio, I do not find that he is reproached with any thing of the like nature, during the whole time he commanded the Roman armies.

I do not wonder therefore, that Hannibal, in the judgment he is ſaid to have paſſed upon the moſt accompliſhed Generals, having given himſelf the third place after Alexander and Pyrrhus, on Scipio's aſking him what he ſhould ſay if he had conquered, replied: "I ſhould then have ſet myſelf above Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all the Generals that ever were." A fine and delicate praiſe, and highly in favour of Scipio, which it diſtinguiſhes from all other Captains, as ſuperior to them, and as being above compariſon with any of them.

SECT. II.

MORAL and CIVIL VIRTUES.

THIS is Scipio's triumph, whoſe goodneſs, mildneſs, moderation, generoſity, juſtice, even chaſtity, and religion, are with reaſon admired: I ſay, this is the triumph of Scipio, or rather that of virtue, infinitely preferable to all the moſt glorious victories, conqueſts, and dignities. This is the fine thought which we have ſeen in Livy, where he ſpeaks of the deliberation of the Senate, aſſembled to determine which of the Romans was the beſt and moſt worthy man. *Haud parvæ rei judicium Senatum tenebat, quis vir optimus in civitate eſſet. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei ſibi quiſque mallet, quàm ulla imperia honoreſve ſuffragio ſeu Patrum ſeu plebis delatos.* Liv. xxix. 24.

The reader will not heſitate here, in whoſe favour to declare, eſpecially if he remembers the horrid account Livy gives us of Hannibal. "His great vices," ſays that hiſtorian, after having repeated his praiſe, equalled ſuch great virtues: inhuman cruelty, more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for truth or anything ſacred; no fear of the Gods, no regard for oaths, no religion." *Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia pluſquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil ſancti: nullus deûm metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.* Liv. xxi. 4.

We have here a ſtrange portrait. I do not know whether it be faithfully copied after nature, and whether prejudice has not much heightened the colours. For, generally ſpeaking, the Romans may be ſuſpected of not doing Hannibal ſufficient juſtice, and of having ſaid abundance of ill of him, becauſe he had done them much. Neither Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequently occaſion to mention him, gave him the horrid vices imputed to him by Livy. The very facts related by Livy contradict his picture of him.

To

To mention only the ſingle imputation, * *nullus deûm metus, nulla religio*, there are proofs to the contrary. Before he ſet out from Spain, he went to Cadiz to diſcharge the vows he had made to Hercules, and to make new ones to him, in caſe that God favoured his enterprize. *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exolvit, noviſque ſe obligat votis, ſi cetera proſpere eveniſſent.* Liv. xx. 22. Is this the behaviour of a man who knows neither religion, nor God? What induced him to quit his army, and undertake ſo long a pilgrimage? if it was hypocriſy, to impoſe upon ſuperſtitious nations, it had been more for his advantage to aſſume this maſk of religion in the ſight of all his troops aſſembled, and to imitate the religious ceremonies uſed by the Romans in the luſtrations of their armies. Soon after Hannibal has a viſion, which he believes to come from the Gods, who reveal futurity to him, and the ſucceſs of his enterprize. Ibid. 12. He paſſed ſeveral years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia; and he not only took away nothing from it in the moſt preſſing occaſions of his army, but he was ſo attentive to protect it, though it was without the city, that none of his troops ever ſtole any thing out of it; and himſelf, before he quitted Italy, left a ſuperb monument there. Ibid. xxviii. 46. It was very clearly acknowledging the power of the divinity, to declare, as he did, that the Gods had ſometimes deprived him of the will, and ſometimes of the power of taking Rome. Ibid. xxvi. 11. In the treaty which he made with Philip, † after having invoked the Gods to witneſs it, he evidently ſhews, that it is from their protection he expects all the ſucceſs of his arms. Ibid. xxiii. 33. And laſtly, at his death, he invokes all the Gods avengers of hoſpitality. All theſe facts, and many others, abſolutely acquit him of the crime of irreligion with which Livy taxes him. The ſame may be ſaid of his perjuries and want of faith in treaties. I do not find that he ever violated any, though the Carthaginians did, but without his participation. However it be, I ſhall not

* No fear of the Gods, no religion.
† Polybius relates this circumſtance.

draw a parallel in this place between these two Captains, in respect to civil and moral virtues. I shall content myself with relating some of those, that shone out most in Scipio.

1. *Generosity, liberality.*

These are the virtues of great souls, as the love of money is the vice of mean spirits, void of honour. Scipio knew the true value of money, which is to make friends with it, and to attach mankind. The gifts which he had the address to time seasonably, the money which he generously restored to those who came to ransom either their children or relations, gained him almost as many adherents as his victories. He thereby entered into the views and character of the Roman People, who, as Scipio said himself, chose rather to attach men to them by acts of beneficence, than by fear: *quo beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit.*

Liv. xxvi. 20.

2. *Goodness, lenity.*

It is not possible to do good to all men, but it is to express good-will for all men. This is a coin with which many are satisfied, and does not exhaust the coffers of a General.

Scipio had a wonderful talent for conciliating good opinion, and for gaining the heart, by kind, polite, and engaging behaviour.

He treated the officers with good-breeding, set the full value upon their services, extolled their glorious actions, gave them great presents or great praises, and even acted in the same manner with those who might have given some cause of jealousy, if he had been capable of it. He always kept Marcius, that famous officer, about his person, who, after the death of his father and uncle, had reinstated the affairs of Spain; thereby shewing, says the historian, how far he was from taking umbrage at the merit of others: *Ut fa-*

Ibid. 20.

ci-

cilè appareret nihil minùs quàm vereri, ne quis obſtaret gloriæ ſuæ.

He knew how to temper even his reprimands with an air of goodneſs and candour, which rendered even reproof amiable. That which he was obliged to make Maſiniſſa, who, blinded by his paſſion, had married Sophoniſba, the declared enemy of the Roman People, is a perfect model of the manner in which perſons ought to behave and ſpeak in ſuch delicate conjunctures. All the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wiſdom, all the reſerves of friendſhip, and all the dignity and elevation of command, without any air of haughtineſs, are employed in it. Liv. xxx. 14.

His goodneſs diſplayed itſelf even in chaſtiſements. He uſed them only once, and very much againſt his will. This was in the ſedition of Sucro, which neceſſarily required, that examples ſhould be made. "* He thought it, ſays he, tearing out his own bowels, when he ſaw himſelf obliged to expiate the crime of eight thouſand by the deaths of thirty." It is remarkable that Scipio on this occaſion does not make uſe of the words, *ſcelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is a much ſofter term, and ſignifies only a *fault*. Neither does he venture to determine whether it be a fault or not; and leaves room to ſuppoſe that it was only imprudence and levity: *octo millium ſeu imprudentiam, ſeu noxam.*

He deemed it infinitely more meritorious to contribute to the preſervation of a ſingle citizen, than to kill a thouſand of the enemy. †Capitolinus obſerves, that the Emperor Antoninus Pius often repeated this maxim of Scipio's, and put it in practice.

* Tum ſe haud ſecus quàm viſcera ſecantem ſua, cum gemitu & lacrymis triginta hominum capitibus expiaſſe octo millium ſeu imprudentiam, ſeu noxam. Lib. 28. n. 32.

† Antoninus Pius Scipionis ſententiam frequentabat, qua die diceret, malle ſe unum civem ſervare, quàm mille hoſtium occidere. Capitol. cap. 9.

3. *Juſtice.*

The excerciſe of this virtue is properly the function of thoſe who are eſtabliſhed in dignity and authority. It was by this that Scipio rendered the Roman ſway ſo gentle and grateful to the allies and conquered nations, and made himſelf ſo tenderly beloved by the States, that they conſidered him as their protector and father. He muſt have had a great paſſion for juſtice, as he piqued himſelf upon doing it even to the enemy after they had rendered themſelves entirely unworthy of it. The Carthaginians, during a truce which had been granted at their earneſt requeſt, took and plundered, with the knowledge and by order of the Republic, ſome Roman ſhips which had put to ſea; and to carry the inſult to the utmoſt height, the Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to Carthage to complain of the inſult, were attacked on their return, and almoſt taken by Aſdrubal. The Ambaſſadors of Carthage, who returned from Rome, had fallen into Scipio's hands. He was preſſed to uſe repriſals. "No *, ſaid he. Though the Carthaginians have not only violated the faith of the truce, but alſo the law of nations in the perſons of our Ambaſſadors, I ſhall not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either of the Roman dignity or the rules of moderation, which I have hitherto followed."

4. *Greatneſs of ſoul.*

It ſhines out in all the actions, and almoſt in all the words of Scipio. But the States of Spain were entirely ſtruck with them, when he refuſed the name of King, which they offered him, when charmed wit

* Etſi non induciarum modò fides à Carthagienſibus, ſed etiam j gentium in legatis violatum eſſet; tamen ſe nihil nec inſtitutis p puli Romani nec ſuis moribus indignum in iis facturum eſſe. Li 30. n. 25.

his valour and generoſity. They perceived, ‡ ſays Livy, what greatneſs of ſoul there was in thus regarding with contempt and diſdain a title, which conſtitutes the principal object of the admiration and deſire of the reſt of mortals.

It is with the ſame air of greatneſs, when obliged to make his defence before the People, that he ſpeaks ſo nobly of his ſervices and exploits: and that inſtead of making a timorous apology for his conduct, he goes to the Capitol, followed by the whole People, to thank the Gods for the victories they had vouchſafed that he ſhould gain. Lib. 38.

5. *Chaſtity.*

We can ſcarce conceive how a Pagan could carry the love of this virtue ſo high as Scipio did. The ſtory of the young Princeſs of exquiſite beauty, who was kept in his houſe as if ſhe was in that of her own father, is known by every body. I have related it with ſufficient extent, as well as the fine diſcourſe which he made to Maſiniſſa upon the ſame ſubject.

6. *Religion.*

I have frequently quoted the famous converſation between Cambyſes King of Perſia and his ſon Cyrus, which, with reaſon, is conſidered as an abridgment of the moſt uſeful leſſons that can be given to whoever is to command armies, or be employed in government. This excellent diſcourſe begins and ends with what concerns religion, as if all other advice without that muſt be uſeleſs. Cambyſes, above all things, recommends to his ſon religiouſly to diſcharge all the duties which the Divinity requires from mankind: never to form any enterprize great or ſmall, without conſulting the Gods: to begin all his actions by imploring their aid, and to cauſe them to be ſucceeded by thankſgiv-

‡ Senſere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales ſtuperent, id ex tam alto faſtigio aſpernantis. Lib. 27. n. 19.

ings; all good ſucceſs proceeding from their protection, to which no one has a right, and which conſequently is to be aſcribed to them. Accordingly this is what Cyrus practiſed very exactly; and he confeſſes himſelf in the converſation from which this is extracted, that he ſet out for his firſt campaign full of confidence in the goodneſs of the Gods, becauſe he is conſcious to himſelf of having never neglected their worſhip.

I do not know, whether our Scipio had read the Cyropœdia, as the ſecond certainly had, who made it his uſual ſtudy: but it is evident, that he imitated Cyrus in every thing, eſpecially in religious worſhip. From the time that he put on the robe of manhood, that is, from the age of ſeventeen, he never began any affair, either public or private, without having firſt been at the Capitol, to implore the aid of Jupiter. We have in Livy the ſolemn prayer which he made to the Gods in ſetting out from Sicily to Africa: and the ſame hiſtorian does not omit to obſerve, that ſoon after the taking of Carthagena, he publickly thanked the Gods for the good ſucceſs of that enterprize: *Poſtero die, militibus navalibuſque ſociis convocatis, primùm diis immortalibus laudeſque & grates egit.*

Liv. xxvi. 19.

Ibid. xxix. 27.

Ibid. xxvi. 48.

The queſtion here is not to examine what this religion was either of Cyrus, or Scipio. Every body knows that it muſt have been falſe. But the example which he gives all commanders, and all men, of beginning and ending all their actions by prayers and thankſgivings, is but too ſtrong. For what would they not have ſaid and done, if like us they had been illuminated with true religion, and had the good fortune to know the true God? After ſuch examples what ſhame would it be for Chriſtian Generals, not to ſeem as religious as theſe Captains of the antient Pagan world.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE TWENTY-FIFTH.

THE great ſubject of our hiſtory during the ten or twelve following years, is the war of the Romans with Perſeus the laſt King of Macedonia, which terminates with the ruin of that kingdom, and the end of the Macedonian power. This event is mingled in Livy with ſome inconſiderable expeditions in Spain, Iſtria, Liguria, Sardinia, Corſica, and ſome other provinces. I ſhall firſt treat of theſe expeditions ſeparately, and in the moſt ſuccinct manner poſſible; however, without omitting any thing that ſhall ſeem worthy of attention. I ſhall do the ſame in reſpect to the domeſtick affairs and polity of Rome. In this method, the war in Macedonia, not being interrupted with foreign events, will be related with more order and leſs obſcurity.

Affairs of Spain.

L. Poſtumius and Ti. Sempronius Proprætors, di- A. R. 573.
vided Celtiberia between them, and each on their Ant. C. 179.
ide gained many battles, and took a great number Liv. xl.
f cities. Both had afterwards the honour of tri- 47—50.
mphing.

Five

A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174. Liv. xli. 26.

Five years after, the Celtiberians, whom Sempronius ſeemed to have entirely ſubjected, revolted with great inſolence, and even were ſo bold to attack the camp of the Romans, which they at firſt put into great confuſion: but they were ſoon vigorouſly repulſed. Fifteen thouſand men were either killed or taken priſoners on their ſide.

A. R. 582. Ant. C. 170. Flor. ii. 17. Liv. xliii. 4.

A revolt, excited amongſt the Celtiberians by an enthuſiaſtic ſoldier, who pretended to have received a ſilver javelin from heaven, and deſigned to aſſaſſinate the Prætor, was quelled by the death of the criminal, who was killed upon the ſpot, and by the wiſe moderation uſed by the Prætor to bring the people back to their duty.

War of Iſtria.

A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178. Liv. xli. 1—6.

Iſtria is a province of Italy in the ſtate of Venice: its principal cities are POLA, called alſo *Pietas Julia*; PARENTIUM, *Parenzo*; TERGESTA, *Trieſte*; which were antiently part of it.

The Conſul Manlius had Gaul for his province. Not finding any thing there to deſerve a triumph, at which he aſpired, he ſeized the occaſion of making war upon the Iſtrians with joy. Beſides the aid they had formerly granted the Ætolians againſt the armies of the Commonwealth, they had very lately made incurſions upon the allies of Rome, that had terminated in plunder, of which this nation were very greedy. Manlius, without waiting the Senate's orders, ſet out from Aquileja, where he was, in order to attack the people. The Commonwealth had a ſquadron on the ſea to defend the coaſt. The Conſul ſent part of it into the neareſt port of the confines of Iſtria, with tranſports laden with proviſions. He repaired thither himſelf by land, and incamped five miles from the ſea. To ſecure the convoys, and ſuſtain the foragers, he poſted many detachments round his camp. The on the ſide of Iſtria between the ſea and the camp had orders not to quit their poſt. This was a cohort

f new raiſed men in the colony of Placentia, ſtrengthned with ſome other troops. A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178.

The Iſtrians had followed the enemy's army through y-ways without being diſcovered, watching an occaion to attack it with advantage. Having diſcovered hat the detachments which ſurrounded the camp were ot numerous, and obſerved little order, they attacked he cohort of Placentia. A fog that aroſe that morng concealed their march: but being half diſperſed y the firſt rays of the ſun, a kind of gloom remaind, which magnifying objects, preſented the appearnce of a much more numerous army to the eyes of he Romans, than that of the enemy was. The ſolliers fled terrified into the camp, where they occaioned ſtill more dread than they had themſelves. The ries raiſed at the gates, the gloom which augmented he confuſion, the agitation of the ſoldiers, who in unning from their ſeveral quarters crowded and fell ver one another, all this made the remoteſt appreend, that the enemy had entered the intrenchments. A voice raiſed by chance bade the troops run towards he ſea. As if it had been the ſignal for departure, t firſt a ſmall number of ſoldiers, moſt without rms, made towards the port: a greater number mitated them: and at laſt all the troops followed hem to the Conſul himſelf, who had ineffectually mployed his authority, orders, and even entreaties o retain them. None ſtayed but the legionary Triune M. Lacinius Strabo, with about five or ſix hunred men.

The enemy having entered the lines, fell upon that fficer, who was drawing up his ſmall body of troops n battle. The fight was bloody, and ended only hen that Tribune with all his ſoldiers was killed. The Iſtrians having found a great abundance of all inds of proviſions in the camp, their King, called Epulo, ſate down to table, and began to feaſt. All hat followed him quitting their arms, did the ſame ithout regard to the enemy. As it was not their uſtom to meet with either ſuch good proviſions, or in ſuch

A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178. ſuch abundance, they greedily glutted themſelves wit wine and meat.

The Romans were then in a very different ſituatio They were in a conſternation both by ſea and lan The marines ſtruck their tents, and carried awa as faſt as poſſible the proviſions and munitions e poſed upon the ſhore. The land-ſoldiers full of te ror threw themſelves into boats and endeavoured t gain the ſea. The pilots and mariners, apprehendi that their veſſels would be overladen, took care, ſom to keep off the multitude that came for refuge, an others to remove their ſhips from ſhore, and to ſtan out to the open ſea. Hence aroſe a fight betwee the ſoldiers and ſhips crews, which did not paſs with out wounds and bloodſhed; till at length by the Co ſul's order, the fleet removed from the ſhore, and mad out to ſea.

The whole Roman army would have been the ene my's prey, if they had known any thing of makin war. The Conſul, taking advantage of their igno rance, drew together all the troops that remained fro the different places into which they had diſperſed i flight. Without loſs of time he led them to the camp The few Iſtrians, who were not drunk, fled: the re were put to the ſword. The Romans recovered a they had left in their camp, except the wine and provi ſions which the Barbarians had conſumed. Abou eight thouſand Iſtrians were killed. Their King fle more than half drunk with the help of an horſe upo which his people had ſet him, after having taken hi in haſte from table. The loſs of the Romans was no conſiderable.

The news of the flight of the Conſular army havin reached Rome, occaſioned great alarm there. A rumour always magnifies objects, eſpecially for th worſt, the army was believed to be entirely defeated New troops were raiſed with extraordinary haſte. Or ders were given on different ſides for ſending aid t the Conſul. Junius his collegue marched from Ligu ria into Gaul. But he was informed on his route tha

that the Roman army was ſafe, and that the Iſtrians were retired. He immediately diſpatched a courier to Rome to carry this good news thither, which delivered the city from great diſquiet. The two Conſuls returned to Aquileja, in order to put their troops into winter quarters there. A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177.

As ſoon as the winter was over, the two Conſuls of the preceeding year, Manlius and Junius, made their troops enter the country of the Iſtrians, and put all to fire and ſword. The latter, having armed all their youth, ventured a battle, in which about four thouſand were killed. They retired into their cities and towns, from whence they ſent to demand peace of the Roman Generals, and then gave the hoſtages required of them.

When this news was brought to Rome by letters from the proconſuls, the Conſul C. Claudius, to whom Iſtria had fallen by lot for his province, apprehended that this good ſucceſs would deprive him of the occaſion of ſignalizing himſelf. He therefore ſet out ſuddenly from Rome in the night, without having made the uſual vows in the Capitol, and without being attended by his Lictors, or apprizing his Collegue of his deſign. After having aſſembled the army, he began by declaiming in violent terms againſt the cowardice with which Manlius had abandoned his camp: whereby he mortified all the ſoldiers, who had fled firſt. He afterwards reproached Junius of making himſelf the accomplice of his Collegue's bad conduct, by joining him. And he concluded his invectives by giving them both orders to quit the province immediately. Liv. xli. 10.

They anſwered him, that if he had made the ſolemn vows in the Capitol for the ſafety of the State, and had quitted the city in his coat of arms and preceded by his Lictors, as cuſtom and the laws required, they would

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177. would make no difficulty to obey him. But till h had diſcharged thoſe obligations, they could not a knowledge the conſular authority in him. This a ſwer put the Conſul into a fury. He ordered Ma lius's Quæſtor to be called, and commanded him bring chains, threatening to ſend Junius and Manli bound hand and foot to Rome if they did not obe That officer ſhewed no more regard to his order The whole army ſurrounding their Generals, who defence they avowedly took upon themſelves, ga every body confidence and courage to deſpiſe the co mands and menaces of ſo violent and unreaſonable Conſul.

Claudius, not being able to bear this oppoſition a the raillery of the ſoldiers (for they added inſult to d obedience) returned to Aquileja in the ſame ſhip th brought him. From thence he wrote to his Colleg to make the troops intended for Iſtria repair to Aqu leja, in order that when he ſhould arrive at Rom and have made the uſual vows in the Capitol, nothi ſhould keep him in the city, and that he might imm diately quit it with all the formalities of his comman His Collegue executed the whole punctually, and o dered the troops in queſtion to repair immediately Aquileja. Claudius followed his letters as ſoon poſſible, and no ſooner arrived at Rome, than havi aſſembled the People to inform them of what had p ſed between him and the Proconſuls Manlius and J nius, he immediately performed the ceremony of t Capitol; and on the third day, in the uſual robe a attended by his Lictors, he returned into his provin with as much expedition as he had before.

Liv. xli. 11. Junius and Manlius had already for ſome days a tacked the city of Neſartium, in which the princip Iſtrians, with their King Epulo, had ſhut themſelv up. But as ſoon as Claudius arrived with two n legions, he diſmiſſed them and the old troops; a continuing the ſiege of that place, he endeavour to make himſelf maſter of it by the help of works a machines. For this purpoſe, having by a work

ſever

Several days turned the current of the river, which running along the walls, prevented his attacks, and supplied the besieged with water, of which they were in want, he no less terrified than surprized the Barbarians, who saw themselves deprived of a support absolutely necessary to them. But by the extremity to which he had reduced them, he could not induce them to ask peace. Rather than surrender, those frantic People resolved to kill their wives and children, and to exhibit to the besiegers a sight, which shewed them of what they were capable; after having cut their throats before their eyes, they threw their dead bodies from their walls into their camp. Whilst these Barbarians were employed in these horrid executions, and the cries of their women and children made no impression on their cruel hearts, the Romans scaled the walls and entered the place. As soon as the King judged from the cries of those who fled, that the place was in the enemy's power, to avoid falling alive into the victor's hands, he killed himself with his sword. All the rest were either killed or taken. The Consul also took and demolished two other cities. He found more plunder in them, than he expected from so poor a nation, and gave it entirely to the soldiers. He sold five thousand prisoners by auction, and caused the authors of the war to be whipt and beheaded. Istria, by the death of its King and the ruin of the three cities, re-attained its former tranquility, and all its States gave hostages to the Romans, and submitted to their sway. Thanksgivings were decreed at Rome for these successes.

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177.

Liv. xli. 11.

Expeditions in LIGURIA.

Two years before what we have just related, Liguria had been given as a province to the two Consuls Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius. The first having overcome the enemy, made them quit their hills to settle in the plains, and left troops upon the mountains to secure

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179. Liv. xl. 53.

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179. ſecure thoſe poſts. His collegue Manlius did nothin conſiderable. Gauls of the other ſide of the Alp having at this time entered Italy to the number three thouſand, without committing any hoſtilities, aſke land of the Conſul and Senate where they might ſett and live in peace under the protection of, and in de pendance upon the Roman People. The Senate o dered the Gauls to quit Italy, and the Conſul Q. Fu vius to find out thoſe who had adviſed this ſwarm paſs the Alps, and to puniſh them.

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177. Liv. xli. 12, 13. The next year paſſed without acting againſt the L gurians. But in the year 575 Claudius had no ſoon ſubjected the Iſtrians, than he received orders from th Senate to march his legions into Liguria. He gav the enemy battle, killed them fifteen thouſand me and took above ſeven hundred priſoners, with fifty-on enſigns. On his return to Rome he triumphed ove Iſtria and Liguria.

Ibid. 14, & 16. The Ligurians did not long continue quiet. Clau dius received new orders to march againſt them, an defeated them a ſecond time. They retired to the mountains.

Ibid. 18. The Conſul Pætilius attacked them there. H was killed in battle. The enemy did not diſcover i and were again defeated with the loſs of five thouſan men.

A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173. Liv. xliii. 7. Three years after the Conſul M. Popillius foug the Ligurians near Caryſtos, in the territory of th Statiellates, where their troops had aſſembled on th arrival of the Romans. At firſt they kept within th walls of that city: but perceiving that the Conſ was preparing to beſiege them, they drew up in ba tle before the gates. This was what Popillius wante The combat continued three hours, and was ver bloody. The Ligurians left ten thouſand men upo the field, and the victorious Romans loſt above thre thouſand. After this defeat the Ligurians ſurrendere at diſcretion, in hopes that the Conſul would not tre them more rigorouſly than the preceding General had done. But he took from them all their arms, un doubtedl

doubtedly forbade them to make new ones, demoliſhed their city, ſold them and their effects by auction, and wrote an account to the Senate of all that had paſſed in his province. A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173.

When the Prætor A. Atilius, in the Conſul's abſence, had read the letter in the Senate, there was not a ſingle Senator who did not think the Conſul's conduct vile and infamous. They ſaid, "that the Statelliates, the only people of Liguria, who had not borne arms againſt the Commonwealth, who, even on this laſt occaſion, had not been the aggreſſors, and had only defended themſelves againſt the Conſul who attacked them, undoubtedly deſerved to be treated with ſome moderation: that notwithſtanding, after they had ſubmitted and abandoned themſelves to the faith of the Roman People, he had exerciſed all the cruelties imaginable againſt them: that by ſelling ſo many thouſand innocent perſons for ſlaves, who implored the juſtice of the Roman People, he had ſet a pernicious example, which in the conſequence would only occaſion, that they ſhould have no enemy who would not rather chuſe to fight to the laſt extremity, than ſubmit." Liv. xlii. 8, 9.

It was therefore decreed, "That the Conſul Popillius ſhould reinſtate the Ligurians in their liberty, by returning their money to thoſe who had bought them: that he ſhould take care to reſtore ſuch of their effects as could be found: that they ſhould be permitted to make themſelves arms; and laſtly, that the Conſul ſhould quit the province as ſoon as he ſhould have re-eſtabliſhed the Ligurians in their former condition." The Senate's maxim was, * that what renders a victory glorious, is to ſubdue thoſe who oppoſe in arms, and not to treat thoſe cruelly who ſubmit.

The Conſul was not in haſte to execute orders ſo mortifying for him. He immediately put his legions

* Claram victoriam vincendo pugnantes, non ſæviendo in afflictos, fieri. This Virgil obſerves in the fine verſe every body remembers. Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173. into winter-quarters at Piſæ, and returned to Rome full of rage and indignation. Having aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Bellona, he made bitter complaints upon the decree which had been paſſed againſt him, to which nothing was wanting, ſaid he, but his being delivered up to the conquered people: he demanded that it might be annulled; and that the Prætor, who had propoſed and paſſed it, might be fined. He inſiſted much upon public thankſgivings, which he pretended to be due to the Gods for the good ſucceſs of his arms. He received no other anſwer but reproaches as warm as he deſerved, and returned to his army without obtaining any thing he had demanded.

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

Liv. xlii. 10. The beginning of this year the diſputes of the preceding were revived. The Senators were for having the affair of the Ligurians brought again upon the carpet, and that the decree of the Senate in their favour might be renewed; and this was moved by the Conſul Ælius. On the other ſide Popillius interceded Ibid. 21. for his brother with his collegue and the Senate, declaring that he would oppoſe all that ſhould be reſolved againſt him. He had no difficulty to bring over his collegue: but the Senators were only the more inclined in effect to perſiſt in their opinion. The Conſuls did not ſet out for their provinces, becauſe they would not permit the Senate, who made inſtance to that purpoſe, to deliberate upon the affair of M. Popillius; and the Senate on their ſide were for deciding it previouſly to all others.

In the mean time M. Popillius made himſelf ſtill more odious than before, by writing to the Senate that in quality of Proconſul he had given the Ligurians Statelliates battle a ſecond time, in which he had killed them ten thouſand men. So unjuſt a war had induced all the other States of Liguria to reſume their arms

arms. The Senate then roſe up with great warmth not only againſt the abſent Popillius, who, contrary to juſtice and the law of nations, had declared war upon a ſubjected people, and made a nation, that remained at peace, revolt, but alſo againſt the Conſuls, who neglected to repair to their province. A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173.

Two Tribunes of the People, animated by this unanimous conſent of the Senate, declared they would fine the Conſuls, if they did not go and take upon them the command of the armies; and at the ſame time they cauſed the law they intended to propoſe concerning the Ligurians, who had ſurrendered upon the faith of the Conſul Popillius, to be read in the Senate. By this law it was decreed, that if there were any of the Ligurians Statelliates, whom Popillius had ſold ſince they had ſurrendered to him, and were not reſtored to liberty before the approaching Calends (the firſt day) of Auguſt, the Senate, aſſembled upon oath, ſhould appoint a commiſſioner, to inform againſt him who ſhould be found guilty of having unjuſtly reduced them into ſlavery, and to make him ſuffer the puniſhment due to his injuſtice. This law was propoſed in effect with the authority of the Senate. The People paſſed it with joy; and in conſequence the Prætor C. Licinius demanded of the Senators, that they would direct the informations it decreed, to be made; and they gave that commiſſion to the Prætor himſelf. Liv. xliii. 21.

The Conſuls at length ſet out for their province, where they took upon them the command of the army, which M. Popillius reſigned to them. But that General did not dare yet to return to Rome, to avoid being obliged, odious as he actually was to the Senate, and ſtill more to the People, to anſwer for his conduct before a Prætor, who had propoſed the law in the Senate for bringing him to a trial. To this deſertion of the accuſed, the Tribunes oppoſed the menaces of another law, importing, that if he did not return to the city before the Ides (the thirteenth)

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172. Liv. xlii. 22.

of November, the Prætor C. Licinius ſhould paſs ſentence upon him for contumacy.

It was then neceſſary to obey. Accordingly he returned to Rome. As ſoon as he appeared in the Senate, the general diſcontent of that Body revived by his preſence, drew upon him a thouſand warm reproaches followed with a decree, by which it was ordained, that ſuch of the Ligurians, who had not been enemies of the Commonwealth ſince the Conſulſhip of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius, ſhould be reinſtated in their liberty by the Prætors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius, and that the Conſul C. Popillius, the accuſed's brother, ſhould ſettle them on the other ſide of the Po. This regulation reſtored the liberty of many thouſands, who were made to paſs the Po, in order to cultivate lands which were aſſigned them.

M. Popillius, in virtue of the law paſſed by the Tribunes in favour of the Ligurians, was obliged to appear and take his trial before the Prætor, and to defend himſelf at two hearings. His affair not being determined, it was brought on a third time. But the Prætor then, having been influenced by his conſideration for the abſent Conſul C. Popillius, and the interceſſion of the whole family of thoſe two brothers, put off the ſentence to the Ides (the fifteenth) of March, the day on which the new magiſtrates were to enter upon office, and he was to quit his to reſume a private condition. Thereby, not being any longer in authority, he left the affair undecided. And this was the artificial evaſion employed to elude the law, and procure impunity for Popillius.

But is it therefore allowable for a judge to elude the authority of laws in this manner, and to ſcreen a perſon ſo criminal as this from their juſt rigour? Not to mention the inſolent contempt of ſo venerable a body as the Roman Senate, can we with cool blood behold the misfortune of an infinite number of freemen, condemned without reaſon to a cruel ſlavery, and which is much more horrid, the murder of twenty thouſand innocent perſons, in two battles fought by

this Conſul, contrary to the Senate's prohibition? And in ſuch a caſe, * ſhall recommendation, friendſhip, and credit take place of the views of public good? Is it not ſometimes as great a prevarication to acquit a criminal, as to condemn an innocent perſon; ſince it is opening a door to licence, to leave guilt unpuniſhed? Does a magiſtrate, in the exerciſe of his function, believe himſelf at liberty to act as he ſhall think fit? What then becomes of that admirable principle ſo ſtrongly inculcated by a Pagan: That the † State, in appointing a judge, does not give up its power abſolutely to his diſcretion, but confides it to him as a depoſite for which he is accountable? That he ought not to conſult his own inclination, but the inviolable rule of his duty in the exerciſe of his office? That, though he ſhould even have neither aſſociates nor witneſſes, he ought not to think himſelf as alone, but to ſee around him the laws, religion, equity, and fidelity, as ſo many coadjutors, who ſit in judgment with him, and will judge himſelf; and eſpecially hear and regard the ſecret voice of conſcience, which can never be totally ſuppreſſed? Licinius on this occaſion violates all theſe rules. Livy's expreſſion, which diſtinguiſhes his conduct as only fallacious addreſs, ſeems to me far from being ſufficiently ſtrong. *Ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci eluſa eſt.*

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

AFFAIRS *of* SARDINIA *and* CORSICA.

What paſſed in theſe iſlands is of little conſequence. Two States of Sardinia diſturbed its tranquillity. The Conſul Ti. Sempronius marched his troops againſt

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177. Liv. xli. 6—12.

* Ita bonum publicum, ut in pleriſque negotiis ſolet, privata gratia devictum. SALLUST. in bell. Jugurth.

† Eſt ſapientis Judicis cogitare, tantum ſibi à populo Romano eſſe permiſſum, quantum commiſſum & creditum ſit, & non ſolum ſibi poteſtatem datam, verùm etiam fidem habitam eſſe meminiſſe—— Tum verò illud eſt hominis magni atque ſapientis, cùm illam, judicandi cauſa, tabellam ſumpſerit, non ſe putare eſſe ſolum, ſed habere in conſilio legem, religionem, æquitatem fidem——maximique æſtimare conſcientiam mentis ſuæ, quam ab diis immortalibus accepimus, quæ à nobis divelli non poteſt. CIC. in orat. pro Cluent. n. 159.

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177. Liv. xli. 17. them, and defeated them in a battle, in which they lost twelve thousand troops. He fought them several times after, and killed them above fifteen thousand men in different actions. They submitted to the Romans, and gave them hostages. In this manner the peace of the island was restored.

Ibid. xlii. 7—21. The Prætor Cicereius defeated the Corsicans in a battle, in which they had seven thousand men killed and more than seventeen hundred taken prisoners. Peace, which they earnestly sollicited was granted them and these islanders were made to pay two hundred thousand pounds in weight of wax, which are about 156,250 pounds of our weight. Cicereius had the honour of a triumph for this victory.

AFFAIRS *that happened at* ROME.

A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178.

M. Junius Brutus.
A. Manlius Vulso.

Epit. l. xli. A vestal, who had suffered the eternal fire of Vesta to go out, was whipt according to custom.

Upon the closing of the Census by the Censors M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four.

A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177.

C. Claudius Pulcher.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Liv. xli. 8. The Latine allies brought their complaints before the Senate upon an abuse which was become common amongst them. The law permitted those who had families and left any child in their country, to go and settle at Rome, and to cause themselves to be registered upon the list of the citizens. Many, in eluding the law by different frauds, abandoned the country without leaving any children there to represent them. The Latines remonstrated, that if the abuse continued, in few years their cities and country would

would be uninhabited, and they ſhould not be capable of ſupplying the Commonwealth with the uſual number of ſoldiers. The Samnites and Peligni alſo repreſented, that four thouſand families of their States were gone to ſettle at Fregellæ, and that notwithſtanding, the ſame number of troops were required of them. The Senate deemed the complaints of their allies reaſonable, and to redreſs the grievance, cauſed the old law paſſed upon that head to be ſtrictly obſerved. A. R. 575. Ant. C. 177.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II. A. R. 577. Ant. C. 175.

In the election of Prætor for the following year, a thing happened worthy of remark. Five Prætors had already been choſen. The ſixth vacancy was diſputed, on one ſide by Lucius, or, according to Valerius Maximus, by Cn. Cornelius Scipio, ſon of the great Scipio Africanus; and on the other by C. Cicereius, who had been ſecretary to the ſame Scipio. Could it be believed that the People would heſitate a ſingle moment to give the preference to Scipio's ſon? However the latter, by his bad conduct, had ſo much effaced the impreſſion which the remembrance of his father had made upon people's minds, that all the Centuries declared for Cicereius. But he was ſo generous as not to ſuffer ſuch an affront to be done to his maſter's ſon, and quitting the habit of candidate, he left him without competitor, and even ſupported him with his credit. The office was given to Scipio, but Cicereius had all the honour of it. Val. Max. iv. 11. & iii. 5.

The glory of fathers is of no great weight to children, when their own merit falls ſhort of it, and only ſerves to make their defects more conſpicuous, and even, in effect, more contemptible. This the Scipio in queſtion experienced, who was the ſame taken priſoner in the war with Antiochus, and afterwards ſent back by that Prince to his father. He degenerated ſo much from the virtues of his father and anceſtors, that his relations, according to Valerius Maximus, were ob-

A. R. 577. Ant. C. 177. obliged to uſe their intereſt to have him prohibited ex erciſing the functions of Prætor, and took from hi the ring on which his father's head was engraved, tha he wore on his finger, as diſhonouring the name an memory of that great man by his conduct.

Scipio had another ſon, by whom the ſecond Scipi Africanus was adopted. Cato, in the book which C cero compoſed upon old age, ſpeaks highly in his fa vour. He ſays, that but * for the weakneſs of hi conſtitution, which was extreme, he was capable o having been the other light of Rome, and that to hi father's greatneſs of ſoul he added erudition and a taſt for polite learning. Accordingly, Cicero ſays in ano ther book, † that ſome of his extant ſpeeches, and a hiſtory wrote in Greek in a very agreeable ſtile, ſhe that if the force of his body had anſwered that of hi mind, he might have been ranked in the number of th moſt eloquent orators.

A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Liv. xli. 21. There was a very great plague this year at Rome which carried off abundance of citizens, and even o the moſt illuſtrious. Recourſe, according to the reli gious cuſtom in all times obſerved at Rome, was ha to the Gods. Vows were made, and a great numbe of victims ſacrificed to them.

Liv. ibid. 27. The Cenſorſhip of Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Po tumius Albinus was remarkable for the ſeverit which they exerciſed againſt nine Senators, whom they ſtruck out of the liſt of that body. The Scipio of whom we have juſt ſpoke, was of that numbe

* Quàm fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit! "H "ſpeaks to the ſecond Scipio Africanus)" quàm tenui aut poti nulla valetudine! Quod ni ita fuiſſet, alterum ille extitiſſet lumen c vitatis. Ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberio acceſſerat. De SENECT. 35.

† Si corpore valuiſſet, in primis habitus eſſet diſertus. Indicar cùm oratiunculæ, tum hiſtoria quædam Græca, ſcripta dulciſſim BRUT. 77.

This

This puniſhment did not make him loſe the office of Prætor. But it was not proper, that a man publickly diſhonoured with a note of infamy, ſhould be employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and it was for this reaſon that his relations prevailed to have him prohibited the exerciſe of that office. Many of the Knights were alſo degraded, and ſtruck out of the liſt. A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174.

The ſame Cenſors alſo rendered themſelves very famous by a great number of public works which they undertook and compleated. Amongſt others, * Livy obſerves, that they were the firſt who cauſed the ſtreets of Rome to be paved with flints, put pebbles and gravel under the ſtones laid upon the great ways without Rome, and made cauſeways for the convenience of perſons on foot.

What Livy deſcribes here in few words, and thoſe ſufficiently obſcure, may, in my opinion, be explained by what I have related in a former volume of this hiſtory, ſpeaking of the Ædileſhip, which I have extracted word for word from father Montfaucon. The paſſage may be conſulted.

The end of this year was remarkable for a new and important law relating to the women, and which occaſioned much noiſe and ſtir in the city. Hitherto they had inherited all kinds of eſtates in the ſame manner as the men. From thence it often happened, that the fortunes of the moſt illuſtrious houſes were transferred into ſtrange families, which did the Commonwealth great prejudice, whoſe intereſt it is that conſiderable eſtates ſhould be perpetuated in great families, to enable the heads of them to ſupport the dignity of their births, and the expences attending great employments with ſplendor. Beſides this reaſon, there was room to apprehend, that as the fortunes of private perſons increaſed continually in proportion with the power of the State, if the ladies ſhould come Cic. in Ver. I. 107. & de Sen. 14. Dio. l. lvi.

* Cenſores vias ſternendas ſilice in urbe, glarea extra urbem ſubternendas, marginandaſque, primi omnium locaverunt. Liv.

A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174. to poſſeſs conſiderable riches, as the ſex is naturally inclined to ſhew and ornaments, their wealth might induce them to give into luxury and expence, and to deviate from the antient purity of manners, by departing from the antient ſimplicity of life. To obviate theſe inconveniences, Q. Voconius Saxa, Tribune of the People, propoſed a law, "by which it was prohibited for any one inrolled upon the liſt of the Roman citizens, ſince the Cenſorſhip of Aul. Poſtumius and Q. Fulvius, to appoint any woman heireſs, and that any woman ſhould inherit an eſtate above the value of an hundred thouſand ſeſterces," (about ſix hundred and fifty pounds.) He added another article, which did not regard the women in particular. The firſt, which excluded them in general from inheriting the eſtates of Roman citizens, admitted great difficulties. Cato, who always declared againſt the ladies, and was then ſixty-five years old, ſpoke againſt them now in favour of the law with great ſtrength of voice and vivacity of action, and occaſioned its being paſſed.

Liv. xlii. 3. The Cenſor Q. Fulvius cauſed a temple to be built at Rome to the goddeſs Fortune, ſirnamed *Equeſtris*, to accompliſh a vow, which he had made in Spain before a battle with the Celtiberians. As he was ambitious that it ſhould be the moſt ſuperb and magnificent ſtructure of the city, he thought that marble tiles would not a little contribute to embelliſh it. With this deſign he went to Brutium, and cauſed half the tiles which covered the temple of Juno Lacinia to be taken away. That quantity ſeemed ſufficient for the work he was building. He had veſſels ready to carry away theſe materials to Rome; and the allies, out of reſpect for his dignity as Cenſor, did not dare to oppoſe this ſacrilege. Flaccus, on his return to Rome, cauſed the tiles to be unladen, and ordered them to be carried to the temple of Fortune. Though he did not ſay from whence he had taken them, it was ſoon known at Rome. The Senate murmured highly at it, and all demanded, that the affair ſhould be brought up

upon the carpet. The Cenſor's preſence was deſired. A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174. As ſoon as he appeared, they began to riſe up againſt him with more vehemence than before. Each Senator, in particular, and all in general, made him the moſt cutting reproaches. "That not contented with failing in reverence for the moſt revered divinity in all that country, whom even Pyrrhus and Hannibal had always reſpected, he had uncovered her temple, and had almoſt ruined it. That he had taken off its roof, and had expoſed it to all the injuries of the weather. That a Cenſor, whoſe office it was to watch over the manners of the citizens, and one of whoſe principal functions was to take care of temples, ran from city to city to ruin the temples of the Gods, and to rob them of their fineſt ornaments. That ſuch a violence exerciſed upon profane and private buildings, would ſeem vile to all the world: but in reſpect to the temples of the Gods, it was an abominable ſacrilege, and the conſequences were to be feared for the whole Roman People. Could he imagine that one temple could be adorned by the ruins of another? As if the Gods were not every where the ſame, and one was to be violated to honour another."

Before they proceeded to voting, the whole Senate had evidently expreſſed their ſentiments. Accordingly it was unanimouſly determined, that the tiles ſhould be carried back to the temple from which they had been taken, and that the wrath of Juno ſhould be appeaſed by ſacrifices. This was punctually executed. But the perſons who had been appointed to carry back the tiles, declared to the Senate, that they had been left below in the avenue, becauſe there was no workman to be found there who had ſkill enough to replace them.

The Cenſors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Poſtumius Albinus cloſed the Luſtrum. The latter performed the ceremony. The number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand and fifteen: which was leſs than the Cenſus before, becauſe the Conſul L. Poſtumius had decreed in the full aſſembly, Liv. xlii. 10.

that

A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174. that all the allies of the Latine States ſhould cau themſelves to be enrolled in their own country, an prohibited their being included in the regiſters mad at Rome, conformably to the edict of the Conſul C Claudius.

Liv. xlii. 10. A great wind from the ſea carried ſo prodigious cloud of graſshoppers into Apulia, that all the land that country was covered with them. C. Sicinius, o of the Prætors elect, was ſent into Apulia to deſtr that peſt ſo fatal to the productions of the earth. Wi a great number of the country people whom he dre together to deſtroy thoſe animals, he found it very di ficult, and employed much time in delivering the cou try from them.

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

xli. Liv. The Ambaſſadors of the Carthaginians, who we then at Rome had great diſputes in the Senate wi Guluſſa, the ſon of Maſiniſſa. The firſt complain "that beſides the territory on account of which t Senate had already ſent commiſſioners into Africa, examine upon the ſpot to whom it appertained, Ma niſſa, two years ſince, had again poſſeſſed himſelf above ſeventy cities and forts in the dependance of t Carthaginians by force of arms. That ſuch uſurp tions were eaſy to a Prince, who had no regard to ju tice and equity. That the Carthaginians however co tinued ſilent and without acting, having their han tied, to uſe the expreſſion, by the clauſes of the treat by which they were prohibited to paſs their frontie with an armed force. That they indeed might unde take to drive that Numidian Prince out of the lan he had ſeized, without the imputation of having ma war out of their own territory; but that they were r ſtrained by another clauſe not equivocal, which e preſly prohibited them from making war upon the a lies of the Roman People. That accordingly th would have ſtill been patient, if that had been po ſib

ible. But that not being able any longer to bear the A.R. 580. Ant. C. 172.
pride, avidity, and cruelty of Maſiniſſa, they were come to implore the Romans to grant them one of theſe three things: either to vouchſafe to hear both parties equitably, to which they were equally allied; or to ſuffer the Carthaginians to oppoſe juſt and legal arms to the violence employed to cruſh them; or laſtly, if favour had more influence with them than reaſon and juſtice, to declare once for all exactly, to what a degree they thought fit to gratify Maſiniſſa with the poſſeſſions of others. That the Senate ſhould at leaſt be moderate in their liberality, and adhere to what it ordained: whereas the Numidian King obſerved no other rule in his uſurpations than that dictated by his avidity and ambition. That if they obtained any of theſe three points, and had, ſince the peace granted them by Scipio, committed any fault that had drawn upon them the indignation of the Roman People, let themſelves decree the puniſhment they deſerved. That they choſe rather to be ſlaves under maſters, that would at leaſt afford them ſecurity, than to retain a liberty continually ſubject to the unjuſt inſultions of Maſiniſſa. That laſtly, it was more for their advantage to periſh once for all, than to languiſh out a miſerable life, always expoſed to the cruelties of the moſt violent of tyrants." After having ſpoken thus, they proſtrated themſelves upon the earth with tears in their eyes, and by their dejection and ſorrow excited as much indignation againſt the King, as compaſſion for themſelves.

Guluſſa was afterwards aſked what he had to an- Liv. xlii. 24.
ſwer to the objections of the Carthaginians, unleſs he choſe previouſly to acquaint the Senate with the reaſons for his coming to Rome. That young Prince replied, "That it was not eaſy for him to anſwer in reſpect to affairs, concerning which his father had given him neither inſtructions, nor power; and that though he ſhould have thought fit to charge him with his orders, it would have been difficult for him to reply, not knowing what brought the Carthaginians to Rome,

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172. Rome, and not being even aſſured that they intende to come thither. That his father had ſent him to re queſt the Senate not to give credit to the accuſation of a people, who were his enemies, as well as thoſe o the Romans, and who only hated him for his conſtan and inviolable fidelity and attachment to the intereſts o the Roman People.

After the Senators had heard the diſcourſes on bot ſides, and deliberated upon the demands of the Ca thaginians, they anſwered, "That their intention wa that Guluſſa ſhould return immediately into Numidi to tell his father to ſend Ambaſſadors directly Rome, who might anſwer the complaints made again him to the Senate by thoſe of Carthage. That out regard to him they ſhould, as they had hitherto, every thing that ſhould appear reaſonable: but th they ſhould grant nothing to favour contrary to ju tice. That they deſired that both ſides might ke poſſeſſion of what appertained to them in the count they diſputed, and confine themſelves within the a tient limits without forming new ones. That the R man People, after having overcome the Carthaginia had not reſtored them their cities and countries w deſign to ſeize unjuſtly in time of peace, what th had not taken from them, as they might have done right of war." Theſe are fine words, but we ſhall fi them to no effect.

The Senate diſmiſſed the Numidian Prince, a the Carthaginian Ambaſſadors with the uſual preſen after having treated them with all the marks of am and good-will that friends and allies could expect.

Liv. xlii. 38. The Cenſor Fulvius Flaccus, who had taken aw the tiles from the temple of Juno, died a very mi able death. Of two ſons which he had, he receiv advice that the one was dead, and the other taken of a very dangerous diſeaſe. He ſunk under the gr and terror, which this ſad news gave him. His dom ticks found him dead in his chamber, where he h ſtrangled himſelf. It was the common opinion that had been diſtracted after his Cenſorſhip, and his de

was conſidered as an effect of the wrath of Juno, and a punishment for the ſacrilege he had committed for plundering her temple.

P. Licinius Crassus. A.R. 581.
C. Cassius Longinus. Ant. C. 171.

Under theſe Conſuls a deputation ſent by a people of a new kind came from Spain to Rome. More than four thouſand men, who ſaid they were the ſons of Roman ſoldiers and the women of that country, demanded, that ſome city might be aſſigned them, where they might ſettle. The Senate ordered them to go to the Prætor Canuleius, and give in their names, and empowered that magiſtrate to grant liberty to ſuch of them as he ſhould think fit, and to cauſe them to go to Carteia upon the coaſt of the ocean. The inhabitants of that city were permitted to remain in it, upon condition that they would form a colony there in conjunction with theſe new comers, and divide the lands with them that ſhould be allotted for their ſubſiſtance. The privileges of Latium was given this colony, which was called "the colony of the freedmen." Liv. xlii. 3.

Almoſt at the ſame time arrived from Africa Guſſa ſon of King Maſiniſſa, and Ambaſſadors from the Carthaginians. The Numidian Prince having been firſt introduced to the Senate, mentioned the aids, which his father had ſupplied for the war of Macedonia, and offered, by his order, again to ſupply the Roman People, out of gratitude for their favours, with all ſuch as they ſhould require. For the reſt, he exhorted the Senators not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized by the artifices of the Carthaginians. That they had reſolved to fit out a conſiderable fleet, under pretence of aiding the Romans with it againſt the Macedonians. But when they ſhould have once put it into a condition to act, it would be in their power to chuſe their enemies and their allies." Liv. ibid.

After theſe preliminaries, he no doubt proceeded to the matter in diſpute between Maſiniſſa and the

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Carthaginians. A chaſm here in Livy prevents ou knowing what paſſed on both ſides, and what was de termined by the Senate. It only appears, that thi conteſt continued undecided during many years, ti being again ſet on foot, it terminated in a blood war, that, having began between the Carthaginian and Maſiniſſa, inſenſibly engaged the Romans in th quarrel, which did not end but with the ruin of Ca thage.

To compleat collecting the looſe and detached fac of our hiſtory, before I enter upon relating the war wit Perſeus, I am going to enumerate ſeveral circumſtance which will ſhew how much Rome began to degenera from herſelf, when riches and the luxury of Greece an Aſia were introduced there.

In the former times, the Roman magiſtrates ſen into the provinces had acted with abundance of equit and moderation, and it very ſeldom happened th they abuſed their authority. But for ſome year things had greatly changed, and complaints we brought to the Senate from all ſides againſt the cruelt injuſtice, and malverſations of the magiſtrates.

A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173. Liv. xlii. 1. L. Poſtumius, who was Conſul in the 579th year Rome, received orders from the Senate to go in Campania, to put a ſtop to the uſurpation of Partic lars, who poſſeſſing lands bordering upon thoſe of th Commonwealth, aggrandized themſelves continual at the expence of the State, and continually extend their bounds. This magiſtrate was incenſed again the people of Prænеſte, for not having received a honours from the body of the city, or from any pa ticular, when he came there in a private capaci ſome time before, to offer a ſacrifice in the temple Fortune. To revenge this pretended injury, he wro to their principal magiſtrate before he ſet out fro Rome, and ordered him to come and meet him, provide an houſe for him in the city, where he mig lodge during his whole ſtay there, and to keep hor and other carriage-beaſts in readineſs for his uſe at h departure. This was the firſt Roman magiſtrate, th

put the allies to expence; and to ſpare them this ſort of charge and ſervice, the Commonwealth ſupplied its Generals with mules, tents, and all the other untenſils of which they had occaſion in the field. On their marches, they lodged at the houſes of private perſons, with whom they had entered into the ties of hoſpitality, and to whom they rendered the ſame offices in their turn at Rome. If it were neceſſary to diſpatch Deputies ſuddenly upon any public affair, the cities on their route were obliged to furniſh them with an horſe; and this was the only expence the allies were to be at. The reſentment of Poſtumius, which was perhaps juſt, ſays Livy, but little becoming a magiſtrate, with the too modeſt and timorous ſilence of the Prænestini, was an example, that not being condemned, gave the Generals a kind of right to impoſe burthens upon the allies, which every day became more heavy. A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173.

Spain felt the evils occaſioned by this impunity, but by a different kind of abuſe. The Deputies of that province laid their complaints before the Senate, and proſtrate upon the earth implored it, that having the honour to be the allies of the Roman People, it would not ſuffer them to be treated with more cruelty than even enemies. Amongſt other grievances one related to corn. The States of the provinces were obliged to ſupply the Magiſtrates gratis with a certain quantity of corn for their own uſe, and that of their houſhold; and alſo to furniſh a certain quantity as prescribed for the armies of the Roman People, for which they received money. The avarice of the Prætors, in the two impoſitions of corn, found a double occaſion to oppreſs and plunder the allies, but in a quite different manner. Inſtead of receiving the corn for their uſe in kind, they received it in money, ſetting the value upon it themſelves, which they rated very high: this corn was called *frumentum æſtimatum*. On the contrary, for the other ſpecies of grain, called *frumentum emptum*, they ſet a very low price on that, and cauſed Liv. xliii. 2.

A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173. the whole quantity to be delivered to the Roman People.

The Senate received the complaints of the Spaniards very favourably, appointed commiſſioners to enquire into them, and gave the complainants liberty to chooſe advocates to plead their cauſe out of the most illuſtrious of the Roman citizens. The moſt conſiderable both for their birth and merit voluntarily took upon them ſo laudable an office. One of the accuſed after a long examination, repeated more than once was acquitted; two others, who were conſcious of being too criminal to hope the ſame fate, condemned themſelves to voluntary baniſhment.

Livy tells us, that the Spaniards could have accuſed others: but their mouths were ſtopt, becauſe they were powerful citizens; and the paſt was forgot. The Senate, to prevent the like diſorders for the future, decreed, on granting the Spaniards their requeſt, that the magiſtrates ſhould receive the corn due to them for their domeſtick uſe in kind; or if they choſe rather to have its value in money, it ſhould be rated according to the current price in the markets; and that, in reſpect to corn bought for the public, it ſhould alſo be paid for according to the current value.

The Senate received complaints from all ſides against the Generals and Magiſtrates ſent into the provinces. Caſſius and Licinius had been Conſuls in the 581 year of Rome.

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Liv. xliii. 3. Cincibilus, King of a Gauliſh nation beyond the Alps, which is no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed by Livy, ſent his brother to Rome at the head of an embaſſy to accuſe Caſſius of having plundered ſome people on the Alps, the allies of that Prince, of having carried away a great number of them, and of having reduced them into ſlavery. On another ſide, the Iſtrians and other neighbouring nations repreſented, that the ſame Conſul Caſſius had put their whole country to fire and ſword, and plundering every thing in his way, without their being able to gueſs his reaſon for treating the

them as enemies. The Senate replied to both, that they had not foreſeen theſe hoſtilities; and that, if they had been committed, they diſapproved them. That it was not juſt to condemn a perſon of Conſular dignity without hearing him: but that if, at his return from Macedonia, where he then ſerved as legionary Tribune, they could convict him perſonally of the unjuſt actions laid to his charge, the Senate would not fail to give them ſatisfaction. They even ſent Ambaſſadors to the Gauliſh King and the other States, to let them know their diſpoſition to do them juſtice. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

Licinius, Caſſius's collegue, as if he had been ſent, not to make war upon Perſeus, but the Greeks in alliance with the Roman People, diſtreſſed the inhabitants of Bœotia, where he wintered, and in particular thoſe of Coronea, in every manner. The latter complained of this to the Senate, who decreed that all who had been ſold for ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty. Epit. l. 43.

It is eaſy to conceive, that the Prætors were not more regular in their conduct than their Conſuls, whoſe examples authorized them, and ſeemed to ſecure them impunity. The Prætor Lucretius, who commanded the fleet during the Conſulſhip of Licinius, had made the allies feel the ſad effects of his cruelty and avarice. The Tribunes of the People inceſſantly declaimed againſt him with abundance of vehemence in all the aſſemblies. His friends demanded a delay, alledging that he was abſent for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. But at that time people were very ignorant of what paſſed even in the neighbourhood of Rome, that the very man, whom his defenders ſaid to be in Greece, was actually at an eſtate he had near Antium, and employing part of the money he had brought from Greece, in bringing the water of Loracina to that city: a work which coſt an hundred and thirty thouſand aſſes, (about two or three hundred pounds.) He alſo adorned the temple of Æſculapius with the paintings that were a part of the ſpoils. Liv. xliii. 4.

A.R. 581. Ant. C. 171. The city of Chalcis ſent deputies againſt him t Rome. Their firſt hearing ſhewed the exceſſive in juries that city had ſuffered. Mictio, the principa deputy, (who was an antient and faithful ally of th Romans) and had the gout ſo as not to be able t walk, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the Senate in chair: a ſtrong proof of an indiſpenſible neceſſity, notwithſtanding his condition he could not prevail t be diſpenſed with from this voyage, whither he did n ſuppoſe his preſence abſolutely requiſite. He bega by ſaying, that of all the parts of his body his diſea left him only his tongue at liberty to deplore the cal mities of his country. "He then repeated the ſe vices, both antient and recent, his State had done th Generals and armies of the Romans, and in the w which was actually carrying on againſt Perſeus. H afterwards proceeded to the exceſſes of avarice an cruelty exerciſed by the Prætor Lucretius againſt th inhabitants of Chalcis; and laſtly to thoſe they th ſuffered from L. Hortenſius, who had ſucceeded hin adding, that after all, were they to be treated wi greater inhumanity, they were determined to ſuff every thing, rather than join the King of Macedon That as to Lucretius and Hortenſius, it would ha been much more for the advantage of the people Chalcis to have ſhut their gates againſt them, than have received them into their city. That the inhab ants of the cities who had done ſo, had preſerv their liberties and eſtates: whereas Lucretius, wi horrid ſacrilege, had plundered their temples, a had cauſed all the ornaments of them to be carried Antium. That after having deprived the allies of t Roman People of their property, he had made ſlav of their perſons; and that if any thing had eſcaped avarice, Hortenſius, by treading in his ſteps, had e tirely taken it from them. That in the winter well as ſummer, he filled their houſes with ſoldi and ſeamen; ſo that thoſe unhappy citizens had t grief to ſee continually in the midſt of themſelv th

their wives, and children, people void of ſhame, humanity, and faith." A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

The Senate thought it incumbent on them to ſend for Lucretius, in order that he might hear all that was advanced againſt him, and object to it if he could. The reproaches made to his face, were ſtill more ſtrong than all that had been ſaid in his abſence, and he had two accuſers much more powerful and formidable to oppoſe in the perſons of two Tribunes of the People, who, not contented with inveighing againſt him in the full Senate, exclaimed againſt him before the People, and after having loaded him with reproaches, ſummoned him in form to appear at the ſovereign tribunal of the People, to anſwer their accuſations. As to the deputies of Chalcis, the Prætor Mænius was ordered to tell them, "That the Senate knew they had advanced nothing but the truth, in ſpeaking of the ſervices they had done the Roman People in the preſent and former wars, and that they retained all the gratitude they ought for them. As to the injuries they had received from C. Lucretius, and at preſent from L. Hortenſius, they could not ſuppoſe that the Senate approved them, if they reflected in the leaſt that the Roman People had declared war againſt Perſeus, and before againſt Philip his father, to deliver the Greeks from the tyranny of thoſe Princes, and undoubtedly not with deſign to draw upon them thoſe oppreſſions from the Romans themſelves. That the Senate would write to L. Hortenſius, to ſignify that they diſapproved his conduct, he was accuſed of in reſpect to the people of Chalcis; to order him to find out the free perſons who had been made ſlaves, and to reſtore their liberty as ſoon as poſſible; and to prohibit him from quartering any ſoldier or officer of the fleet upon them, except Captains of veſſels." Such was the ſubſtance of the letters wrote by the Senate to Hortenſius. The uſual preſents were made to the deputies, and carriages and other conveniences were ſupplied Mictio, in order to accommodate him to Brindiſi.

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. When the day for the appearance of C. Lucreti arrived, the Tribunes accuſed him before the Peopl and condemned him in a fine of a million of aſſe (about two thouſand five hundred pounds.) All t Tribes unanimouſly ſentenced him to pay that ſum.

What a difference is there between the magiſtrate whoſe injuſtice, rapine, and oppreſſions we have ju related, and the great men, whoſe wiſdom, equit and diſintereſtedneſs did ſo much honour to the R man People, and contributed more to their conque than the force of their arms, and the valour of th troops! We have ſeen the two Scipios, who periſh in Spain, as much and more lamented by the nativ than by the Romans themſelves. Their ſucceſſ who was the ſon of the one, and the nephew of t other, was conſidered by the ſame people, as a m come from heaven to conſtitute the happineſs of ma kind. The incampments of armies, winter-quarte and the reſidence of Generals in the cities, ſeem ſo far from being a burthen to the allies, that t longer they ſtayed with them, the happier they thoug themſelves: with ſo much moderation, benevolen * and humanity did the Romans then behave! To veral Generals, and eſpecially the great Scipio, mig be applied what Cicero ſays of Pompey: that † und him the allies were not only exempted from any e pence on the account of the ſoldiers, but that it w not allowed even when they deſired it. For, ad the ſame orator, our anceſtors were of opinion, th the winter-quarters paſſed under the roofs of the alli ſhould be a retreat againſt the inclemencies of the ſe ſon, and not an occaſion of avarice.

* Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præſentem vident, tanta temper tia, tanta manſuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatiſſimi eſſe vi antur, apud quos ille diutiſſimè commoratur. Cic. de Leg. M n. 13.

† Non modò, ut ſumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affert ſed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non a ritiæ, perfugium majores noſtri in ſociorum atque amicorum te eſſe voluerunt. Ibid. 39.

Su

Such were the maxims in the happy times of the Commonwealth: but they have began to loſe ground very much during ſome years; and in the ſequel we ſhall ſee them entirely diſappear. And indeed * the different examples of malverſation which we have enumerated, ſhew, that commanders were ſent with authority into the provinces, whoſe entrance into the countries and cities of the allies, ſcarce differed from an irruption of enemies, and was attended with no leſs depredations. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

It is remarkable, that this change of manners and government, theſe oppreſſions of States ſcarce heard of hitherto, and which begin for ſome time to become very common, this unlimited licence of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of the Gods and men; are all, as we have already obſerved, of the ſame date with the introduction of luxury, and are undoubtedly the effects of it. Theſe † diſorders increaſe gradually, and at firſt inſenſibly. Regulations were oppoſed to them; and ſome examples, though faintly, made from time to time. The evil however gains ground, and infects the whole People. The face of the State then changes, and the government, from juſt and wiſe as it was, becomes tyrannical and inſupportable. This is what the ſequel of our hiſtory will evince.

* Ejuſmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio mittimus, ut—— eorum adventus in urbes ſociorum non multùm ab hoſtili impugnatione differant. Ibid. 13.

† Hæc primò paulatim creſcere, interdum vindicari. Poſt, ubi contagio, quaſi peſtilentia, invaſit, civitas immutata, imperium, ex iuſtiſſimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum. SALLUST. Bell. Catil.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY, &c.

REVISED since the Death of Mr. ROLLIN,

By Mr. CREVIER.

Mr. CREVIER's

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

EIGHTH VOLUME of the First Edition.

TWO Volumes of the Roman History have already appeared since the death of Mr. Rollin. However This, of which I am the Editor, is the first that can properly be called Posthumous. The Sixth and Seventh were printed, whilst the Author was alive, and were prevented from appearing only for Mr. D'Anville's maps, whose regard for the accuracy of his works makes him with reason take the necessary time for compleating them in such a manner, as may deserve the opinion of the Public.

The eighth volume * is not in the same case with those that preceded it. Mr. Rollin put the first draught of it, according to his custom, into my hands, on setting out for the country in July 1741, after his first illness: and he never saw it from that time. Accordingly he did not give this, nor many large parts, which he had prepared for the ninth volume, the last hand. The revisal, in which he was very attentive, is wanting to this part of his work. And instead of my offering my observations to him as heretofore, always with submission to his better judgment, I was obliged to take upon me to decide in respect to the additions and alterations, which seemed necessary.

* Including Books xxv, xxvi, xxvii.

It

It was not without great repugnance that I took this liberty, though I did not assume it of myself, and in doing so only obeyed his orders. The profound veneration, which I always had for him from my earliest youth, would have induced me to respect every syllable of his manuscript. But every one who composes, perfectly knows the difference between the first draught from an author's pen, and the same work made fit for the press. It was therefore necessary, that a timidity, however well-founded, should give place to the good of the work, and the service of the publick, which Mr. Rollin directed me to prefer to every other consideration; and I conceived, that his own maxims and example would condemn me, if out of an excess of respect for his memory, I should leave these last fruits of his labour in a condition he would not have left them himself; and if I spared my weak endeavours to bring them as near as possible to the degree of perfection they would have had, if he had lived.

I have at least taken care to adapt myself as much as possible to his view, and upon every doubt that arose, to consult the idea which I had of his taste and manner of thinking: and I have made no addition nor alteration, which I am not assured my Master himself would have approved upon my representation.

After all, my part in this volume is very inconsiderable: the whole matter, and every thing essential is the same Author's. I therefore venture to assure the publick, that they will still find Mr. Rollin here; that is, not only the easiness, elegance, and elevation of his stile, but his generous and exalted sentiments, his zeal for every thing that regards the good of human society, his love of virtue, his reverence for the Divine Providence; in a word, a profane subject in a manner sanctified by the spirit of Religion, with which it every where abounds.

How gladly should I expatiate in the praise of this great man, whom it was my good fortune to have for my master, benefactor, and father! But I have some

ſomething to preſent the Reader, which is much better than any thing that could come from my own hand. M. de Boze, who paid Mr. Rollin the tribute of praiſe, cuſtomary in the Academy of Belles Lettres, with all the amity of a brother-fellow, all the frankneſs of a worthy man, and all the ability of an excellent painter, has been pleaſed to put ſo valuable a piece into my hands, in order to its being printed in the front of this volume. A circumſtance happy for me, and which no doubt will be highly agreeable to the publick, has forced him to anticipate the time, when this Elogium was to appear in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. Reſpect for Mr. Rollin, and the prejudice ſo well founded in favour of every thing Mr. de Boze treats, had made ſome perſons deſign to commit one of thoſe unavoidable piracies upon him, which only the moſt excellent orators are apt to experience. His diſcourſe was taken down as he pronounced it in the Aſſembly itſelf, and has been printed in the twelfth volume of a collection intitled, *Amuſemens du Cœur & de l'Eſprit*, with interpolations, miſtaken facts, and defects of ſtile, that ſtrangely diſfigure it. And it is to this I now have the conſolation of giving, and the publick the ſatisfaction of reading, the Elogium of Mr. Rollin made by the illuſtrious Secretary of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Mr. de Boze has confined himſelf to what ſuited the audience, before which he ſpoke, and conſidered the perſon, whoſe praiſe was his ſubject, only in reſpect to his genius, talents, and literature. And indeed to deſcribe the heart of Mr. Rollin is ſuperfluous, after the picture of it in his works. He has there drawn himſelf with a ſimplicity and force, which no other hand can equal. Every body knows, that the ſentiments of a noble ſoul, expreſſed in every ſtroke of his pen, are what have acquired him moſt admirers both in France and amongſt Strangers, and that the man in him charms more than the Writer. I ſhall therefore not undertake to applaud here his beneficent diſpoſition,

ſition, his candor, his generoſity, his charitable acts and his tender and ſincere piety. Let me only obſerve for the honour of Religion, and the confuſion of thoſe who conſider devotion as the attribute of little minds that in him piety was as ſimple as learned; and that he perfectly verified the celebrated ſaying, that Religion is admired in great minds for the Little things and in common minds for the Great things, it makes them do.

How happy ſhould I be, could I attain the two characters of this admirable man's ſpirit; and, as I am appointed by his orders, and in a manner by thoſe of Providence, to continue his work, if I could preſerve at leaſt a ſhadow of his talents, and eſpecially of the ſentiments of Religion, which were the ſoul of them! I can at leaſt ſolemnly aver, that in the career upon which I am entering, I ſhall never loſe ſight of ſo excellent a model; and that I propoſe to myſelf as near as poſſible to purſue his taſte and plan that is, to render the Hiſtory uſeful with reſpect to morals, and always to make it ſubſervient to virtue and the glory of Religion.

May it pleaſe Heaven, that I may acquit myſelf worthily of this deſign, and, after the example of my ever dear and venerable Maſter, in labouring for the improvement of Youth, that I may labour alſo for my own ſanctification.

ELO

ELOGIUM
OF
Mr. ROLLIN,

By Mr. de Boze, perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Inſcriptions, and Belles Lettres.

Read in the publick Aſſembly of that Academy, Nov. 14, 1741.

CHARLES ROLLIN, ſecond ſon of Peter Rollin, a Maſter-cutler of Paris, was born there on the 30th of January 1661, and was intended, as well as his elder brother, for his father's buſineſs, who had made both take up their freedoms in their earlieſt youth.

A Benedictine, of the order called Whitemantles, whom he had often heard ſay, or ſerved at, maſs, becauſe their church was in his neighbourhood, was the firſt who obſerved in him a great capacity for letters. He knew his mother, who in her way was a woman of merit: he ſpoke to her, and told her that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make him a Student. Her own opinion alſo ſuggeſted ſomething of the ſame kind to her; but reaſons ſtronger in appearance always oppoſed it. She was become a widow, without any reſource on the ſide of fortune but carrying on her huſband's trade. Her children were the only ſupport ſhe had, and ſhe was not in a condition to be at expences to give any of them a different education.

The good Monk, far from deſiſting, continued his inſtances; and the principal obſtacle having been removed by obtaining a ſcholarſhip in the College of the XVIII, the fate of young Rollin was decided in conſe-

conſequence, and from thenceforth he appeared in quite different light, even in the eyes of his mother.

She began by perceiving more wit and delicacy i his manner of addreſs and obedience. She ſoon aft was ſenſible of the progreſs he made, which was talke of every where, and not without a kind of aſtoniſh ment: and what undoubtedly was no leſs grateful t her, was to ſee the parents of his fellow-ſtudents o the moſt diſtinguiſhed birth and rank, ſend or com themſelves to deſire, that ſhe would permit her ſon t paſs holidays with them, and be the companion o their pleaſures as well as of their ſtudies.

At the head of theſe illuſtrious parents was th Miniſter Mr. le Peletier, whoſe two eldeſt ſons ha found a formidable competitor in this new-come Their father, who perfectly knew the advantages o emulation, was ſollicitous to increaſe it. When th young ſcholar was Imperator, which frequently hap pened, he ſent him the ſame preſent as he did to h ſons, and the latter loved him though their rival they carried him home with them in their coach; the ſet him down at his mother's when he had buſine there, and waited for him: and one day obſervin that he took the firſt place without ceremony, ſhe wa going to reprimand him ſharply for want of goo manners: but the Præceptor humbly anſwered, th Mr. Peletier had given orders, that they ſhould a ways place themſelves in the coach according to the rank in the claſs.

This brief account of Mr. Rollin's progreſs in h ſtudies will ſuffice, and we the more willingly ſu preſs other particulars of it, as with ſome little diff rences, ſuch details are but too often introduced in the Hiſtorical Elogies of the members of the Ac demy it is deprived of by death. But we cannot di pence with relating however, that when he ſtudie Rhetorick in the College of Pleſſis under the cel brated Mr. Herſan, who was ſtudious to excite th ardor of his pupils by honourable Epithets, that Pr feſſor ſaid publickly, that he did not know by wh

ter

term to diſtinguiſh young Rollin ſufficiently, and that he was ſometimes tempted to denominate him DIVINE. He referred almoſt all thoſe who aſked him for compoſitions in verſe or proſe to his diſciple: "Apply "to him," ſaid he; "he will do it much better "than I."

Some time after, a Miniſter, to whom nothing could be refuſed, Mr. Louvois, engaged M. Herſan to quit the College of Pleſſis, to be with the Abbot de Louvois his ſon, of whoſe education he took great care, and who gave great hopes of his proficiency. Mr. Rollin was then only in his twenty third year, and ſo early was conſidered as worthy to ſucceed Mr. Herſan. He was the only one of a different opinion, and it was not without doing violence to him, that it was reſolved he ſhould be ſecond profeſſor, as Mr. Herſan had been before he was advanced to the chair of Profeſſor of Rhetorick, which he alſo had ſome years after him: and what compleated the entire conformity between them, was that Mr. Herſan who had the ſurvivorſhip of a chair of eloquence in the College Royal, reſigned that alſo with the King's permiſſion in favour of Mr. Rollin.

The neceſſity of compoſing tragedies for the diſtribution of prizes at the end of every year, was the only thing that gave Mr. Rollin ſome difficulty. However ſenſible he was in other reſpects to the beauties of the antient dramatick poets, he was convinced, that ſuch repreſentations did not ſuit Colleges, where they only made the maſters and ſcholars loſe precious time: and it was remembered on this occaſion, that Mr. le Pelletier having been deſirous, that ſome ſhould be placed at his houſe by his ſons and the young perſons he had aſſociated with them in their ſtudies, Mr. Rollin was the only one, who could never be prevailed upon to act any part. A certain fund of ingenuous modeſty, that attended him in every part of his character, prevented him from taking upon him only for an inſtant any ſtrange perſonage.

Excepting almoſt only this circumſtance, no pro
feſſor exerciſed his functions in a more ſhining man
ner. He often made Latin orations, in which he ce
lebrated the events of the times; as the firſt victorie
of the Dauphin, the taking of Philipſburgh, and th
following campaigns. But the Greek language a
ways ſeemed to him to deſerve the preference.
had began to be neglected in the Schools of the Un
verſity: he revived the ſtudy, and was the true r
ſtorer of it. He very much regretted, that the cu
tom of diſputing in Greek had been diſcontinue
Mr. Boivin jun. had ſet the laſt example of it: an
not having ſufficient authority to re-eſtabliſh it,
introduced another ſtill more uſeful, that of public
Exerciſes upon the antient Greek and Latin Autho
He choſe the youngeſt ſons of Mr. le Pelletier to
the firſt of theſe exerciſes; and the applauſes they
ceived, excited an emulation in the other Colleg
which ſtill ſubſiſts. Mr. Rollin uſually augment
the luſtre of them by pieces of poetry, which he a
dreſſed, ſometimes to thoſe who performed theſe e
erciſes, ſometimes to their parents; and many
theſe pieces are printed. Mr. le Pelletier carefu
preſerved the original of that, which Mr. Rollin
ſcribed to him upon the exerciſe of his ſons.
compoſed three upon thoſe of the Abbot de Louvoi
and the third is remarkable for explaining clearly a
with inimitable graces the print of the famous The
which the Marqueſs of Louvois his father made h
dedicate to the King on his return from taking Mo
With theſe talents were united an indefatigable z
and ſuch a diſcernment of different geniuſſes, that
inſtantly ſaw what they were capable of, and the
thod to be uſed in their inſtruction. His capacity
checking impetuoſity, and exalting courage, in ſpar
delicacy, and ſubduing indolence, enabled him
form abundance of learned men and excellent Pro
ſors, and to give the Clergy, Bench, and even p
feſſion of arms, perſons of great merit. The F
mier Preſident M. Portail uſed ſometimes to tell h

by way of jeſt, that he had made him labour too hard: and Mr. Rollin ſeriouſly replied; "It becomes you indeed to complain of that, Sir! It is that application to buſineſs, which diſtinguiſhed you in the office of Attorney General, and raiſed you to that of Premier Preſident: you are indebted to me for your fortune."

After having been eight or ten years ſucceſſively Profeſſor in the College of Pleſſis; Mr. Rollin quitted it, to devote himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of Hiſtory, retaining of his publick functions only the chair of eloquence in the Royal College, which he held however only with the title of Survivorſhip, without any advantage: but he had an eſtate of about 6 or 700 livres a year (about 35l. ſterling) and believed himſelf extremely rich.

The Univerſity, that perceived their loſs in the retreat of Mr. Rollin, ſoon recalled him. He was choſen Rector or Principal at the end of 1694, and was continued ſo two years, which was then a great diſtinction. In this quality he twice pronounced the panegyrick upon the King in the ſchools of the Sorbonne, which the city had lately founded. Never were Audiences more numerous and polite. Theſe two orations were conſidered as maſter-pieces; and eſpecially the laſt, the ſubject of which was the eſtabliſhment of the Invalids. And however, as if that ſubject had not ſufficed the fertility of Mr. Rollin's genius, the ſame day he cauſed an ode upon the other ornaments of Paris to be diſtributed in the aſſembly. The deſcription of its gates alone as triumphal arches formed in this poem a new panegyrick ſtill more worthy of the Hero.

What we find in the Memoirs of Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the article of precedencies, is to be dated at this time. He ſays there, "that at a publick diſputation in Civil Law, the Principal Charles Rollin would never ſuffer the Archbiſhop of Sens (Fortin de la Hoguette) "to take place of him." It is not neceſſary to add, that at all other times, and on

every other occaſion, he would never have diſputed place with any one.

The end of Mr. Rollin's Rectorſhip did not entirely reſtore his liberty. The Cardinal de Noailles engaged him to take upon him the direction of his nephews ſtudies, who were at the College of Laon, and he applied himſelf to this with pleaſure, when Mr. Vittement, to whom the education of the children of France was given, earneſtly deſired to reſign his Coadjutorſhip in the office of Principal of the College of Beauvais to Mr. Rollin. The latter made great difficulty to accept of it; and it appears from ſome of the printed letters of the Abbé Duguet, that it was he who determined him to do ſo.

The College of Beauvais, now ſo flouriſhing, was then a kind of deſart, in which there were very few ſcholars, and no diſcipline: and what ſeemed to make it impoſſible ever to re-eſtabliſh order and application in it, was its being united with another college of the ſame nature. We ſhall not ſay in what manner Mr. Rollin ſucceeded in placing it in honour, and to people it almoſt beyond what it could contain. We may imagine juſtly, that all the talents were neceſſary which himſelf requires in a good Principal, in his Treatiſe upon Study. It is common enough for great maſters to preſcribe the true duties of an office, only by repeating without thinking of it, the manner in which themſelves have diſcharged them.

And accordingly nothing equalled the confidence people had in him. A rich man of the country, who knew him only by reputation, brought his ſon to him to be admitted to board as a ſcholar in the college of Beauvais, not believing That would admit of any difficulty. Mr. Rollin excuſed himſelf from receiving him, becauſe there was not an inch of room to ſpare; and to convince him of that, he carried him through all the apartments. The father in deſpair did not expreſs himſelf by vain exclamations. "I am come," ſaid he, "expreſsly to Paris; I ſhall ſet out to-mo-" "row; I ſhall ſend you my ſon with a bed. I ha-" "no-

« none but him: you may lodge him in the court-« yard, or in the cellar if you pleaſe: but he ſhall be « in your college, and from this moment I ſhall give « myſelf no farther pain about it." He did as he ſaid. Mr. Rollin was reduced to admit the young man, and to lodge him in his own cloſet, till he could provide an uſual place for him.

In 1712, he quitted the office of Principal of Beauvais to reſume the firſt project of his ſtudies more at leiſure. He began by working upon Quintilian, upon whom he ſet a great value, and of whom he ſaw with pain too little uſe made. He retrenched all from him, that he judged ſuperfluous for forming orators, or improving the manners: he explained his method and views in an elegant Preface: he added Summaries ſufficiently copious before the chapters: he accompanied the text with brief but curious notes; and the edition appeared in two volumes in 12mo. the beginning of 1715.

The Univerſity, to which he was alſo ſo dear and ſo uſeful, in 1719 appointed him to ſpeak a ſolemn oration, by way of thanks, for the Free Inſtruction which the King had lately inſtituted. The ſubject was great, and the ſublimity and pomp of expreſſions not unequal to it: he ſpoke in it as a conſummate Maſter of the order, choice, and taſte of ſtudies; and what he ſaid, made it ardently deſired, that he would one day give the world a compleat treatiſe upon that ſubject.

The univerſity alſo judging, that their antient ſtatutes ſtood in need of ſome alterations in that reſpect, and that no one was more capable of drawing them up than Mr. Rollin, elected him Principal again in 1720. But particular circumſtances ſhortened this ſecond Principalſhip ſo much, that the ſtatutes were no longer thought of, and he had time to compoſe his treatiſe upon the manner of ſtudying and teaching the Belles Lettres. He divided it into four volumes, the firſt two of which he publiſhed in 1726, and the two laſt in 1728.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of that work, he undertook another of much greater extent, and which however was but a neceſſary ſequel of the former: this was the Antient Hiſtory of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Perſians, Macedonians and Grecians. He was at firſt in hopes of bringing it within the compaſs of ſix or ſeven volumes; but it led him on inſenſibly to the thirteenth.

They all appeared between the year 1730 and 1738; and during the publication of the two laſt volumes Mr. Rollin alſo publiſhed the firſt volume of the Roman Hiſtory, of which five have already appeared, and the ſixth and ſeventh are printed off, and wait only for the maps to be inſerted in them. The eighth, and part of the ninth, are done, and come down as low as after the war with the Cimbri, which preceded the battle of Actium, where Mr. Rollin's deſign ended, only about ſeventy years. His illuſtrious pupils, whom he began to call his maſters, cannot leave his work imperfect in any reſpect.

The publick will perhaps demand alſo of them the Latin orations of Mr. Rollin, becauſe none of them are printed; and probably there is not one of them that does not deſerve it. If it were incumbent upon us to point out, in the order of time, all thoſe which are come to our knowledge, or of which the remembrance has been more happily preſerved, there is one amongſt the reſt which we ſhould not have forgot: this is that, which he pronounced in 1701, two years after his entrance into the College of Beauvais, upon the acceſſion of Philip V. to the Crown of Spain. A little more care has been taken of his poems. They were inſerted in 1727 in a ſelect miſcellany; and beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, there are a great number of equal ſpirit and beauty. If we were to decide the preference to any of them, his Latin tranſlation of Mr. Boileau's ode upon the taking of Namur would not want voices.

There are alſo many Epigrams, which have almost all of them their ſingularity. For inſtance, it would

be difficult to find any thing, that ſeems ſo well to prove the quality of PROPHETS, commonly enough aſcribed to poets, than that which he ſent in 1695, the firſt year of his Principalſhip, to the grandſon of Mr. Le Peletier, who was only in his ſixth year. He ſent him on Candlemaſs day, in the name of the Univerſity, ſuch a wax-candle as it is the cuſtom to preſent the Premier Preſidents; and told him in writing, that he ſhould accuſtom himſelf to receiving that honour, that he ſhould eſpecially take care to make himſelf worthy of it, becauſe that high office was a place which Themis herſelf aſſuredly allotted him, after ſhe ſhould have conferred it upon his Father.

Te manet hæc ſedes: ſummum Themis ipſa Tribunal
Vera cano, Patri deſtinat, inde tibi.

Both were then very far from it; however, the father was Premier Preſident twelve years after, and the ſon is ſo now. In another Epigram Mr. Rollin makes a moſt ingenious alluſion to his firſt buſineſs. He ſends a knife for a new-year's gift to one of his friends, and tells him, that if this preſent ſeems to come rather from Vulcan than the Muſes, he ought not to wonder at it; becauſe it was from the cave of the Cyclops that he firſt ſet out towards Parnaſſus.

Two other pieces of Mr. Rollin have been printed ſeparately: *Hendecaſyllabæ*, addreſſed in 1691 to Father Jouvency, upon his having lately publiſhed at Paris, on the taking of Montmelian, in the name of one of his ſcholars, the ſame copy of verſes, which he had publiſhed before at Caen in his own name on the taking of Maeſtrich in 1673. The ſecond is *Santolius Pœnitens*, that made a great noiſe when it appeared; the French tranſlation of which, aſcribed to Mr. Racine, was afterwards found to have been done by Mr. Boivin junior. Santeuil's Epitaph engraved in the Cloiſter of Saint Victor, is alſo Mr. Rollin's: and it is certain, that if his modeſty had permitted him to eſteem his Latin works as much as they deſerved, that collection would very agreeably have concluded the new

edition of his treatiſe upon ſtudies and of his Antient Hiſtory.

We have ſaid nothing of the ſucceſs his works have had, becauſe their fame is ſtill the ſubject every where, as well in foreign countries as in France. The Duke of Cumberland and the Princeſſes his ſiſters had always the firſt copies from the preſs; they being deſirous to read them as ſoon as poſſible, and who could give the beſt account of them, The Prince ſaid, "I "know not how it is in Mr. Rollin; reflections every "where elſe ſeem tedious, and I turn them over with "neglect; they charm me in his book, and I do not "loſe a ſingle word of them."

The Queen their mother, a little before her death intended to correſpond with him by letters, and had cauſed the moſt obliging things in the world to be ſaid to him on that head. The letters of the Prince Royal, now King of Pruſſia, highly graced this tribute of eſteem. But when he had the goodneſs to notify his acceſſion to the throne to him, among other learned men of the firſt rank, Mr. Rollin obſerved to him, that for the future he ſhould have due regard to his high occupations; and that having no longer any counſels to take but of his own glory, he would no longer have the honour to write to him.

The example of Princes is of great force. A poet famous for his works, and ſtill more by his diſgrace, the celebrated Rouſſeau, was alſo deſirous of a correſpondence with Mr. Rollin. He wrote him ſeveral letters: and inſcribed Epiſtles in verſe to him. Mr. Rollin did not think he ought to decline a commerce in which he was in hopes of introducing reflexions of Chriſtianity and Piety with ſucceſs. Happy beginnings emboldened him to ſend the poet part of the Abbé Duguet's works, and the poet in return ſent him his poems of the Amſterdam Edition, but without the ſupplement, at which he was afraid the ſe vere morality of Mr. Rollin might take offence. At length he came himſelf to Paris as much as poſſible *incognito*. He there ſaw Mr. Rollin almoſt every day

and would not ſet out on his return without reading his will to him. In it he had diſowned in the ſtrongeſt terms thoſe immoral couplets, which were the firſt occaſion of his misfortunes, and perſiſted in aſcribing them to the perſon he had at firſt charged with being their author. Mr. Rollin took him up ſhort in this place: he urged with warmth, that the evidence of his own conſcience ſufficed to acquit him to himſelf; but that having no equivalent proof for charging any perſon whatſoever by name, he would at leaſt render himſelf guilty in effect of a raſh judgment, and perhaps of an horrid calumny. The poet had nothing to reply; and Mr. Rollin was extremely pleaſed with having made him ſtrike out that article.

The King had nominated him a Fellow of this Academy on its re-eſtabliſhment in 1701, and as he had not had time to render the College of Beauvais famous, that was little frequented before him, he did not foreſee, that when it ſhould be ſo, he would find himſelf engroſſed there by ſo many different cares, that he could no longer diſcharge the functions of a Member of the Academy at pleaſure. As ſoon as he perceived this, he demanded to be ſuperannuated; which was granted him with all the diſtinction he deſerved; and he was, however, no leſs a lover of our exerciſes. He came hither as often as poſſible, to the publick aſſemblies eſpecially; not only, ſaid he, becauſe more things were read in it, from which he might reap advantage, but alſo becauſe it was a more expreſs homage on his ſide. When he undertook his Antient Hiſtory, he related the plan of it to the Academy; he aſked its permiſſion to make a free uſe of all that might be for his purpoſe in our printed memoirs, and to have recourſe to thoſe not yet in the preſs. At the ſame time he aſked the Chancellor to appoint him a Cenſor of the academy, and that member happened to be one of his former pupils. And laſtly, it was not till after we had received a copy of each volume of his work, that the publick knew it was finiſhed: and when he could not preſent it in perſon, he cauſed

the

the greateſt excuſes to be made. The fifth Volume of his Roman Hiſtory, which has lately appeared, was brought me in that manner for the Academy only three or four days before his death.

So many volumes publiſhed ſo ſoon after each other fully demonſtrated with what facility Mr. Rollin compoſed. Nobody doubted it: it was well known, that he was by nature extremely laborious, and that his zeal for the public good was the ſtrongeſt of motives with him. But during a very long time he had wrote only in Latin, which ſeemed ſo much his natural language, that it was almoſt doubted whether he had any other; and he was above ſixty years old when he began to write in French. The elegance and purity of his ſtile were therefore new and unexpected objects: he ſeemed to have acquired them in an inſtant only from the deſire of being more uſeful. The Academie Francoiſe itſelf has frequently teſtified this. But he thought ſo modeſtly of himſelf, that he always wondered he had ever become an author; and far from having taken any premium for his works of which the prodigious vent would have made the fortune of any other perſon, his ſole concern was, on giving them the Bookſeller, how he ſhould make him amends, if they had not a ſufficient run.

This manner of thinking extended to every thing that had any relation to him. Neat about his perſon, more from habit and reaſon than from the leaſt pains, he had the ſame furniture at his death, that he had cauſed to be made when he entered the college of Pleſſis as Profeſſor in 1683; and when retired into the remoteſt part of Paris, he lived in ſo ſmall an houſe, that moſt of the ſtrangers, whom his reputation drew thither, would willingly have wrote on his door, as on that of Eraſmus, "Behold a little houſe, "that contains a great man." His piety was warm, tender and ſincere: all that it becomes us to ſay of it, is, that nothing ſeemed little to him in Religion, and nothing great out of it.

He died the 14th of September 1741, at the age of fourſcore years, ſeven months, and ſome days.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE TWENTY-FIFTH.

THIS book contains the hiſtory of Perſeus King of Macedonia, from the 573d year of Rome, in which he aſcended the throne, to the 585th, when he was led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.

SECT. I.

Deſign formed by Philip to tranſplant the Baſtarnæ into the country of the Dardanians, bordering upon Macedonia. Ambaſſadors from Perſeus to the Romans. The latter confirm the treaty made with Philip his father. Good beginning, and virtuous qualities of Perſeus. Ambaſſadors from the Dardanians to Rome concerning the Baſtarnæ. Ambaſſadors from Perſeus to Carthage. Report of the Roman Ambaſſadors at their return from Macedonia. Eumenes comes to Rome to exhort the Senate to the war with Perſeus. That Prince's Ambaſſadors ill received. That Prince ſuborns murtherers to kill Eumenes. The Senate, after having declared the crimes of Perſeus, prepare for the war, and cauſe it to be declared againſt him by Ambaſſadors. Gentius becomes ſuſpected by the Romans. Diſpoſition of the kingdoms and free ſtates, in reſpect to the Romans and Perſeus in the war of Macedonia. War declared in form againſt

againſt Perſeus. The levies are made with extraord nary application. Diſpute concerning the Centurion Speech of an old Centurion to the People. Perſeus Ambaſſadors referred to the Conſul, who is ſoon to r pair to Macedonia. Ambaſſadors from the Romans their allies. Interview of Perſeus and the Roman Am baſſadors. Truce granted Perſeus, in order to his ſend ing new Ambaſſadors to Rome. Commotions in Bœoti Almoſt the whole province declares for the Roman Succours ſupplied by the Achaian league. The Rho dians fit out a conſiderable fleet to join the Roman Embaſſies of Perſeus to Rhodes. Stratagem of the D puties cenſured by the antient Senators. The Ambaſſa dors of Perſeus receive orders to quit Rome and Italy.

IN the laſt ſection I ſtopt at the death of Philip whom his ſon Perſeus ſucceeded in the kingdom o Macedonia. I afterwards, under different heads, unite all the various events, that occurred, during the ſpac of eleven years, with the reign of Perſeus, without an relation to it, to avoid being obliged frequently to in terrupt the chain of our hiſtory, and for the ſake of re lating it all together in its order, which will render i more clear and agreeable.

A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179.

Q. FULVIUS.
L. MANLIUS.

Liv. xl. 57. Oroſ. iv. 20.

Philip's death happened very opportunely for de ferring the war menaced by the Romans, and fo giving them time to prepare for it. That Prince had formed a ſtrange deſign, and had began to put it in execution: this was to bring from the country of the Baſtarnæ, a nation either of the Gauls or Germans by origin, tranſplanted from near the mouths of the Boriſthenes, a conſiderable number of troops both o infantry and cavalry. After they had paſſed the Da nube, he was to ſettle them in the country of the Dar danians, whom he determined entirely to extirpate because as they were very near neighbours to Macedo nia,

nia, they did not fail to make irruptions into it, whenever favourable occaſions offered. The Baſtarnæ, leaving their wives and children in this new ſettlement, were to go to Italy to inrich themſelves with the great ſpoils they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the ſucceſs might be, Philip expected great advantages from it. If it ſhould happen, that the Baſtarnæ were overcome by the Romans, he ſhould eaſily conſole himſelf for their defeat, by being delivered by their means from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Dardanians: and if their irruption into Italy ſucceeded, whilſt the Romans were employed in repelling theſe new enemies, he ſhould have time to recover all he had loſt in Greece. The Baſtarnæ had already began their march, and were conſiderably advanced in it, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and various accidents, which befel them, ſuſpended the execution of their deſign: and many of them entirely abandoned it, and returned home into their country. A. R. 573. Ant. C. 179.

Perſeus, with the view of eſtabliſhing himſelf better upon the throne, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the Senate ſhould acknowledge him King. He only ſought to gain time. Liv. xl. 58.

M. Junius Brutus.
A. Manlius Vulso. A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178.

It was under theſe Conſuls that Perſeus's Ambaſſadors arrived at Rome. The Romans did not affect that Prince. They diſtruſted him, and did not doubt but upon the firſt favourable occaſion, and when he was ſufficiently ſtrong, that he would proceed to the rupture, for which his father had made preparations during ſo many years, though he had induſtriouſly concealed his deſign. However, to avoid the reproach of having ſought occaſion of a

A. R. 574. Ant. C. 178. breach during peace, they granted him all he de manded.

Perſeus believing his power firmly eſtabliſhed b the renewal of the treaty, applied himſelf ſolely conciliating friends amongſt the Greeks. With th view, he recalled into Macedonia all thoſe who ha quitted it, either to avoid paying their debts, or ha been baniſhed by ſentence of the judges. He cauſe the edicts to this effect to be fixed up in the ſever cities of Greece, by which they were promiſed n only impunity, but the reſtitution of their eſtate with the profits of them from the time each had wit drawn. He alſo remitted to all thoſe who were act ally in his dominions all that they were indebted the revenue, and he ſet all ſuch at liberty as were co fined in the priſons for affairs of State. By this indu gence, he gained the confidence of infinite numbe acquired the affection of all the Greeks, and fill them with the moſt grateful hopes. Beſides whic his whole conduct, and all his attributes, ſeemed denote him a Prince worthy of reigning. His ſtatu was advantageous, his phyſiognomy noble and e gaging; and as he was in the vigour of life, he w capable of ſuſtaining both the fatigues of war, and t weight of application and government. With this he did not abandon himſelf to thoſe exceſſes debauchery and licentiouſneſs, by which his fath had ſo often diſhonoured himſelf. By theſe good a pearances in the beginning of his reign, this Prin gave hopes, to which it were to be wiſhed the end of had anſwered.

A. R. 576. Ant. C. 176.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALUS.

Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.

Polyb. Legat. 62.

Part of the Baſtarnæ, of whom we have ſpoken b fore, had purſued their route, and were actually war with the Dardanians. The latter ſent Ambaſſ dors to Rome, to inform the Senate, "That th province was over-run by ſwarms of Barbarians of g gantic

gantick ſtature and extraordinary valour, with whom Perſeus had made a treaty of alliance. That they apprehended that Prince more than the Baſtarnæ. That they were come to implore the aid of the Commonwealth againſt ſuch enemies." The Senate ſent Deputies into the country, with A. Poſtumius at the head of them, to enquire into the foundation of theſe complaints. A. R. 576. Ant. C. 176.

P. Mucius.
M. Æmilius Lepidus II. A. R. 577. Ant. C. 175.

Theſe Deputies having found the affair, as the Dardanians had related it, made their report accordingly to the Senate. Perſeus excuſed himſelf by his Ambaſſadors, and affirmed, that it was not he, who had called in thoſe Barbarians, and that he had not had any ſhare in their enterprize. The Senate, without entering any farther into the matter, contented themſelves with ordering him to be told, that he ſhould take care inviolably to obſerve the conditions of the treaty made with the Romans. The Baſtarnæ, after having had ſome firſt advantages, were at length obliged, at leaſt the greateſt part of them, to return into their own country. It is ſaid, that having found the Danube froze over, in their attempt to paſs it, the ice gave way, and almoſt all of them were ſwallowed up by the river. This fact, which has no other authority but that of Oroſius, perhaps requires a better. Oroſ. iv. 20.

Sp. Postumius Albinus.
Q. Mucius Scævola. A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174.

The Ambaſſadors ſent by the Romans into Africa, after having conferred with King Maſiniſſa, and gone from his Court to Carthage, returned to Rome. They had been much better informed by that Prince of what paſſed at Carthage, than by the Carthaginians themſelves. However, notwithſtanding all the diſguiſe with Liv. xli. 22.

A. R. 578. Ant. C. 174. with which they had been treated, they had diſcovered with certainty, that Ambaſſadors from Perſeus had been there, and that the Senate of Carthage had given them audience in the night in the temple of Æſculapius. Maſiniſſa had beſides aſſured them, that the Carthaginians, on their part had ſent ſome to Macedonia, and the Carthaginians but faintly denied it. It was judged proper to ſend Deputies into Macedonia, to have a watchful eye over the King's conduct.

A. R. 579. Ant. C. 173.

L. Postumius Albinus.
M. Popilius Lænas.

Liv. xlii. 2. Theſe Ambaſſadors on their return reported, that they could not have acceſs to the King, who had always kept at a diſtance, under falſe pretexts either of indiſpoſition or abſence. That for the reſt it plainly appeared to them, that every thing was preparing for war, and that it ought to be expected every day. Accordingly, diſpoſitions were made for it at Rome, which began by religious ceremonies, that amongſt the Romans, always preceded declarations of war; that is, by expiation of prodigies, and different ſacrifices offered to the Gods.

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

C. Popilius Lænas.
P. Ælius Ligur.

Liv. xlii. 12, 13. Under theſe Conſuls, who were both Plebeians, Eumenes King of Pergamus came to Rome. He was received with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. He declared, "that beſides his deſire to come to Rome to pay his homage to the Gods and men, to whom he owed a powerful and glorious eſtabliſhment that left him nothing to wiſh, he had expreſsly undertaken this voyage to apprize the Senate, to be upon their guard againſt the enterprizes of Perſeus. That that Prince had inherited his father Philip's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown; and that he neglected no preparations for a war, which was in a manner deſcended to him by right of inheritance. The

That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, ſupplied him with numerous troops in very good condition: that he had a rich and powerful kingdom: that himſelf was in the flower of life, full of ardor for military expeditions, to which he had been enured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had been much exerciſed ſince by various expeditions againſt his neighbours. That he was highly conſidered in the cities of Greece and Aſia, without its being eaſy to ſay by what kind of deſert he had acquired ſuch credit, except it was by his enmity for the Romans. That the moſt powerful Kings ſought his alliance. That he had eſpouſed the daughter of Seleucus, and given Pruſias his ſiſter in marriage. That he had known how to attach the Bœotians, a very warlike people, whom his father could never bring over to his intereſt; and that but for the oppoſition of ſome individuals well affected to the Romans, he would actually have re-eſtabliſhed commerce with the Achaian league. That it was to Perſeus, and not the Romans, that the Etolians had applied for aid. That, ſupported by ſuch powerful allies, he was beſides making ſuch preparations for war, as enabled him to diſpenſe with foreign aſſiſtance. That he had thirty thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, with proviſions for ten years. That beſides the immenſe revenues that he annually received from the mines, he had enough in his coffers to pay ten thouſand foreign troops for the like number of years, without including the national forces. That he had laid up in his magazines ſufficient arms for three ſuch armies as he had actually on foot; and that though Macedonia ſhould not be in a condition to ſupply him with troops, he had Thrace at his devotion, which was an inexhauſtible nurſery of men." Polybius added, "That he advanced nothing on this occaſion upon mere conjecture, but from his certain knowledge of facts from exact informations. For the laſt, ſaid he in concluding, after having acquitted myſelf of a duty, in which I was bound by my regard and gratitude for the Roman People, and having, if I may

A.R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172. I may be allowed to uſe the expreſſion, diſcharge my conſcience; it only remains for me to pray the Gods to inſpire you with ſuch thoughts and deſigns as ſuit the glory of your empire, and the ſafety of your friends and allies, whoſe fate is attached to yours."

The Senators were much affected with this di courſe. For the reſt, what had paſſed in the Senat was not known, except that King Eumenes had ſpok in it, and nothing tranſpired abroad; ſuch inviolab ſecrecy was obſerved by that wiſe body, which co ſiſted of no leſs than three hundred perſons. It w not till after the war was terminated, that the diſcour of that Prince, and the anſwer given him, were d vulged. A great, extraordinary, and almoſt incr dible example of diſcretion and wiſdom.

Some days after audience was given the Ambaſ dors of Perſeus. They found the Senate highly pr judiced againſt their maſter, and they ſcarce vouc ſafed to hear them. Harpalus, the chief of the e baſſy, gave ſtill greater offence by the haughtineſs his diſcourſe. He ſaid, "that Perſeus deſired to believed upon his own word, when he declared he h neither ſaid or done any thing that could give ca to conſider him as an enemy. That for the reſt, he perceived, that pretexts for a war were ſoug againſt him, he ſhould know how to defend himſ with courage. That the fortune of arms is alwa hazardous, and the event of war uncertain."

The cities of Greece and Aſia, in pain for the fects which theſe embaſſies might produce at Ro had alſo ſent Deputies thither under different p texts; the Rhodians eſpecially, who apprehend that Eumenes might have given them a place in accuſations againſt Perſeus; and they were not m taken. In an audience granted them, they inveigh violently againſt Eumenes, reproaching him with h ing made Lycia take arms againſt them, and that had made himſelf more inſupportable to Aſia th Antiochus himſelf. This diſcourſe pleaſed the A

tic

ticks, who ſecretly favoured Perſeus; but was greatly diſliked by the Senate, and had no other effect, than to render the Rhodians ſuſpected, and to augment their conſideration for Eumenes by this kind of conſpiracy which his attachment for the Romans drew upon him. They diſmiſſed him with the higheſt honours and great preſents. A.R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

Harpalus having returned to Macedonia with all poſſible diligence, reported to Perſeus, that he had left the Romans in a diſpoſition not long to delay making war upon him. The King was not in pain upon that head, believing himſelf in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to ſuſtain it with ſucceſs. But he was moſt incenſed againſt Eumenes, whom he ſuſpected to have given Rome information of all his moſt ſecret meaſures; and it was againſt him, that he began to act, not by the method of arms, but by that of the vileſt treachery. He ordered Evander of Crete, the General of his auxiliary troops, and three Macedonians, whom he had before employed on the like occaſions, to aſſaſſinate that Prince. Perſeus had been apprized that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi. The aſſaſſins ſeeing him in a very narrow defile in the midſt of mountains, rolled down two great ſtones upon him from the eminence where they had placed themſelves, and poured a great many ſmaller upon him, like hail, with which they intended to deſtroy him, after which they withdrew, leaving him for dead. When the King, who was long without motion, and almoſt without life, was a little come to himſelf, his officers carried him bathed in his blood to Corinth, and from thence to the iſland of Ægina, where no pains were ſpared to cure his wounds: and when he was ſo well as to bear the ſea, he returned to Pergamus. A woman, at whoſe houſe the aſſaſſins had lodged at Delphi, was carried to Rome, and diſcovered the whole villany to the Senate. They were informed at the ſame time of a no leſs odious deſign formed by Perſeus: this was to poiſon the Roman Liv. xlii. 15.

A.R. 580. Ant. C. 172. Generals and Ambaſſadors, who lodged together a Brinduſium in the houſe of the principal citizen o that place named L. Rammius. The King of Mace donia had endeavoured to engage this Rammius t do him ſo criminal a ſervice. But Rammius abhor ring ſo black a deſign, informed the Romans of it.

Liv. xlii. 25. The Senate, after being informed of ſuch horri facts, deliberated no longer, whether it was neceſſar to declare war againſt a Prince, who employed poiſo and aſſaſſination to rid himſelf of his enemies. Th reſt of this year was paſſed in making the neceſſar preparations for the ſucceſs of this important ente prize. They began by ſending Ambaſſadors to Pe ſeus with the complaints of the Commonwealth, an to demand ſatisfaction of him. Seeing that they coul not obtain audience during many days, they ſet ou to return for Rome. The King cauſed them to b recalled. They repreſented to him, that by the treat concluded with Philip his father, and ſince renewe with himſelf, it was ſtipulated in expreſs terms, th he ſhould neither make war out of his kingdom, no attack the allies of the Roman People. They afte wards enumerated all his contraventions to this treat and demanded that he ſhould reſtore to the allies a he had taken from them by force. The King replie only with paſſion and reproaches, complaining of th avidity and pride of the Romans, who treated King with inſupportable haughtineſs, and believed they ha a right to give them the law like ſlaves. The Am baſſadors inſiſting upon a poſitive anſwer, he referre them to the next day, when he would deliver it i writing. It was, " That the treaty concluded wi his father did not regard him. That if he had a cepted it, it was not becauſe he approved it, but b cauſe he could not do otherwiſe, not being well eſt bliſhed upon his throne. That if the Romans woul conſider of a new treaty, and propoſe reaſonable co ditions, he would deliberate upon what he ſhould do The King, after having delivered them this writing retired abruptly. The Ambaſſadors declared to him th

that the Roman People renounced his alliance and amity. He returned full of wrath, and in a menacing tone told them, they had to quit his kingdom within three days. On their return to Rome, they gave an account of all that had paſſed in their embaſſy; and added, they had obſerved in all the cities of Macedonia through which they paſſed, that great preparations were making for war. A. R. 580. Ant. C. 172.

The report of the Deputies from Iſſa, who came at that time to the Senate, gave reaſon to fear alſo, that Gentius, King of the Illyrians, would declare againſt Rome. For, after having complained, that that Prince had ravaged their lands, they added, "That he lived in a ſtrict union with the King of Macedonia: that they were both preparing to make war with the Romans; and that the Illyrians, who were come to Rome with the ſeeming quality of Ambaſſadors, were in reality only ſpies ſent by Gentius, to obſerve what paſſed there." The Illyrians were ſent for: and as their anſwer confirmed this ſuſpicion, they were diſmiſſed, and the Senate appointed Deputies to go and complain in their name of the grievances, with which the allies charged Gentius. Liv. xlii. 26, 27.

At the ſame time it was reſolved to begin the war in earneſt with Perſeus: and till greater forces could be aſſembled and ſet out under the command of a Conſul, the Prætor Cn. Sicinius was ſent into Macedonia with ſome ſea and land troops, ſufficient to keep the King in alarm, and to open the enterprize.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

All the Kings and States both of Europe and Aſia had their eyes turned upon the two potent nations, that were upon the point of entering into a war. Liv. xlii. 29, 30.

Eumenes was actuated by an ancient hatred for Perſeus, and ſtill more by the atrocious attempt lately committed againſt his perſon in his journey to Delphi.

A. R. 581, Ant. C. 171. Pruſias, King of Bithynia, had reſolved to remain neuter, and to wait the event. He flattered himſelf that the Romans would not inſiſt upon his taking arms in their favour againſt his wife's brother; and he was in hopes, if Perſeus were victorious, that that Prince would eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be ſwayed by the intreaties of his ſiſter.

Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, beſides having promiſed the Romans aid, inviolably adhered, both in war and peace, to the ſide eſpouſed by Eumenes, after he had contracted affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus conceived thoughts of poſſeſſing himſelf of Egypt, relying upon the weakneſs of the minor King, and the indolence and cowardice of his guardians. He imagined, that he had found a plauſible pretext for making war upon that Prince, by diſputing Cœlo-Syria with him, and flattered himſelf, that the Romans, employed in the war of Macedonia, would not be any obſtacle to his ambitious deſigns. In the mean time he had offered the Senate, by his Ambaſſadors, all his forces for the ſervice of the Commonwealth; and he had repeated the ſame promiſe to the Ambaſſadors Rome had ſent to him.

Ptolomy, through the weakneſs of his age, was not in a condition to diſpoſe of himſelf. His guardians prepared for the war with Antiochus, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Cœlo-Syria, and promiſed the Romans every thing for the war of Macedonia.

Maſiniſſa aided the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants; and intended to ſend his ſon Maſſagenes to this war. His plan and political views, according to the different events, which this war might have, were as follows. Maſiniſſa was deſirous to ruin the power of the Carthaginians. If the Romans were victorious, his deſign was to remain in the ſtate he then was without going further, becauſe the Romans would never ſuffer him to reduce the Carthaginians to extremities. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, through policy, prevented him from extending

his conqueſts, and which then ſupported Carthage, ſhould be worſted, he aſſured himſelf of the conqueſt of all Africa. A. R. 581. Ant. C 171.

Gentius, King of Illyricum, had only rendered himſelf more ſuſpected by the Romans, without knowing however which ſide to take; and it ſeemed as if this would be the occaſion, rather than a fixed plan and concerted deſign, to determine him to eſpouſe either the one or the other.

And laſtly, Cotys of Thrace, King of the Odryſæ, had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the diſpoſitions of the Kings in reſpect to the war between Perſeus and the Romans.

As to what regards the Free States and cities, the multitude almoſt every where, who uſually take the worſt ſide, inclined to that of the King and the Macedonians. The opinions of the principal citizens of thoſe States and cities were in a manner divided into three claſſes.

Some ſo ſervilely gave into the Roman ſide, that they loſt all credit and authority with their fellow citizens, in effect of ſo blind a devotion and ſo avowed a partiality: and of theſe, few were ſwayed by the juſtice of the Roman government; the major part regarded only their own intereſt; convinced that they ſhould be conſidered, and have credit in their cities only in proportion to the ſervices they ſhould render the Romans.

The ſecond claſs was of thoſe, who were abſolutely devoted to the King: ſome, becauſe their debts and the bad ſtate of their affairs made them deſire change, not believing it poſſible to ſubſiſt without ſome revolution; others, becauſe their natural vanity, and fondneſs for noiſe and oſtentation, determined them to ſide with the multitude, who had openly declared in favour of Perſeus.

A third claſs, and this was the moſt prudent and judicious, if it had been abſolutely neceſſary to take either ſide, and they had been at liberty to chuſe their maſter, would have preferred the Romans to the

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. King: but they deſired ſtill much rather, if that had been poſſible, that neither of the two powers ſhould much augment their ſtrength by the reduction of the other, and that retaining a kind of equality and balance, they ſhould continue at peace with each other; becauſe in that caſe one of the two taking the weak States under its protection, which the other might be for oppreſſing, would render their condition much more tranquil and ſecure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality, they conſidered, as from a place of ſafety, the battles and dangers of thoſe who had joined either with the one or the other. We ſhall ſee, after the war is terminated, that they were much miſtaken in believing themſelves ſafe by this conduct.

Liv. xlii. 30, 31. The Romans, after having diſcharged, according to their laudable cuſtom, all the duties of religion, offered public prayers and ſacrifices to the Gods, and made vows to them for the ſucceſs of the enterprize for which they had been ſo long preparing, declared war in form againſt Perſeus King of Macedonia, if he did not make immediate ſatisfaction in reſpect to different grievances, which had already been inſiſted upon more than once. The levies were made with more care than ever. The two legions which were to ſerve in Macedonia, conſiſted each of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, whereas the ordinary legions were only of five thouſand two hundred foot: the number of horſe was always the ſame. The Conſul alſo, who was to command in this war, was allowed to incorporate into his army all the veteran Centurions and Soldiers he ſhould think fit to chuſe, to fifty years of age. And laſtly, the People, in conſequence of a decree of the Senate, ordained, that the legionary Tribunes ſhould be choſen this year, not by the ſuffrages of the citizens, according to the uſual cuſtom, but by the Conſuls and Prætors. All theſe precautions were highly advantageous to the legions intended for Macedonia, and ſhewed how important this war was deemed.

The

The Conſuls having drawn lots, Macedonia fell to Licinius, and Caſſius his Collegue remained in Italy. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 171.

What had lately been decreed in reſpect to the Centurions gave occaſion for a conſiderable diſpute. I have obſerved elſewhere, that there were two Centuries, and conſequently two Centurions in each maniple. He who commanded the firſt century of the firſt maniple of the † Triarii, was the moſt conſiderable of all the Centurions, and was admitted to the councils of war with the principal officers. The other Centurions, or Captains, were alſo diſtinguiſhed by the rank of their companies, in the different orders of the legion: and the firſt Captains of the Haſtati and Principes were good poſts. They roſe from an inferior to a ſuperior rank, not only by ſeniority but merit. Liv. xlii. 32—35.

This diſtinction of ranks and poſts of honour, which was beſtowed only on valour and real ſervices, occaſioned an incredible emulation amongſt the troops, that kept every thing in exerciſe and order. A private ſoldier became a Centurion, and riſing afterwards through all the different ranks, was capable of advancing himſelf to the principal poſts. This view, this hope, ſuſtained them in the midſt of the rudeſt fatigues, animated them, prevented them for committing faults or diſguſting the ſervice, and carried them on to the greateſt actions of valour. And this is the manner of forming invincible troops.

Hitherto we have ſeen no example amongſt the Roman officers of piquing themſelves upon always retaining the rank to which they had once been raiſed. On the contrary it is manifeſt, that they rolled between different poſts, ſometimes ſuperior, ſometimes inferior, at the General's diſcretion; every one thinking himſelf honoured in ſerving his country in any rank whatſoever. A niceneſs in this point of honour ſhewed itſelf for the firſt time on the preſent occaſion. Whilſt

† The Haſtati, Principes and Triarii were three bodies of troops of which each legion was compoſed, and which in battle, were drawn up in three lines.

the

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. the Conſul Licinius, whom the Senate had impowered to recal into the ſervice as many of the veteran Centurions and Soldiers, as he ſhould think fit, of the number of thoſe under fifty years of age, was intent upon this choice, twenty-three Centurions, who had been Primipili, refuſed to ſerve, except in the ſame rank they had held in preceding campaigns.

The affair was brought before the Tribunes of the People. M. Popillius, who had been Conſul two years before, taking upon him to ſpeak in favour of the Centurions, repreſented, "that thoſe veteran officers, beſides having ſerved their full term of years (Emeriti) were worn out with age, and the fatigues they had undergone during a great number of years. That, however, they were ready to devote the reſt of their lives to the Commonwealth, provided their condition was not worſe than it had been, nor their rank inferior to that they had held in their laſt ſervice. The Conſul repreſented on his ſide, "That the Centurions had no pretence for making ſuch a demand, and that it was contrary to the right which he had by his office to diſtribute the poſts of honour according to merit; and as a proof of this, he cauſed a decree of the Senate to be read, which ordained, that he ſhould liſt as great a number of the veteran Centurions as he could, and that no one ſhould be exempt from the ſervice, except he was above fifty years of age: a decree, which did not ſay one word of the new pretenſion of the Centurions." He concluded with diſſuading the Tribunes of the People, "not to interrupt the legionary Tribunes in the levies they were to make; and not to oppoſe the Conſul, when he ſhould aſſign each officer the rank and employment in which he ſhould judge him moſt fit to ſerve the Commonwealth."

After the Conſul had ſpoke, Spurius Liguſtinus, one of the Centurions, who had implored the aid of the Tribunes of the People, deſired permiſſion of the Conſul and thoſe Tribunes to ſpeak his ſenſe to the People; which being granted, he ſaid as follows: "Roman

" Romans, I am called Sp. Liguſtinus. I am of the A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.
" Tribe Cruſtumina, of the country of the Sabines.
" My father left me an acre of land, and a ſmall cot-
" tage, where I was born, and brought up; and
" where I now live. As ſoon as I was of age to marry,
" he gave me his brother's daughter for my wife. She
" brought me no portion but liberty, chaſtity, and a
" fecundity that would ſuit the greateſt houſes. We
" have ſix ſons, and two daughters, both married. Of
" my ſix ſons four have taken the robe of manhood,
" (*toga virilis*) and the two others ſtill wear the * Præ-
" texta. I began to bear arms in the Conſulſhip of
" P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius. I ſerved two years
" as a private ſoldier, in the army ſent into Macedo-
" nia againſt King Philip. The third year, T. Quin-
" tius Flamininus, to reward me for my courage,
" made me captain of the century in the laſt maniple
" of the Haſtati. I afterwards ſerved as a Voluntier
" in Spain under the Conſul M. Porcius Cato; and
" that General, who is ſo good a judge of merit,
" deemed me worthy of being placed at the head of
" the firſt maniple of the Haſtati. I again became a
" private Voluntier in the army ſent againſt Antiochus
" and the Ætolians: and it was in this war, that
" Manius Acilius made me firſt Centurion of the firſt
" maniple of the Principes. I have ſince made ſe-
" veral campaigns, and in no great number of years
" I have been four times Primipilus, and I have been
" rewarded four and thirty times by the Generals. I
" have received ſix † Civic crowns. I have ſerved
" two and twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years
" old. Though I had not ſerved out my term of
" years in the field, though my age did not give me
" my diſcharge, being capable of ſubſtituting four of
" my ſons in my ſtead, I ſhould well deſerve to be
" exempted from the neceſſity of ſerving. But in all

* Prætexta. A robe bordered with purple, which children wore to the age of ſeventeen, when they took the Toga virilis.

† Theſe were crowns of oak-leaves, given for ſaving a citizen's life in battle.

" that

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. "that I have ſaid, I have no view but to ſhew the juſtice of my cauſe. For the reſt, as long as thoſe who make the levies, ſhall judge me in a condition to bear arms, I ſhall not refuſe the ſervice. The legionary Tribunes ſhall place me in what rank they think fit; that is their part: mine is ſo to act, that no one may be ranked above me for courage, as I ſtill retain that, and do not fear to call for witneſſes of it on this occaſion, as well the Generals, under whom I have ſerved, as all my fellow ſoldiers. As to you, Centurions, who are in the ſame cauſe with myſelf, though you as well as I have implored the aid of the Tribunes of the People, as however during your youth you never oppoſed the authority of the Magiſtrates and Senate, I ſhould think that it were conſiſtent at your years to ſhew yourſelves obedient to the Senate and Conſuls, and to think any poſt honourable, that will enable you to render the Commonwealth ſervice."

When Liguſtinus had done ſpeaking, the Conſul, after having given him the higheſt praiſes before the People, quitted the Aſſembly, and carried him into the Senate. Publick thanks were there given him in the name of that auguſt Body, and the legionary Tribunes, as a mark and reward of his valour and zeal, appointed him Primipilus, that is to ſay, the poſt of firſt Centurion in the firſt legion. The reſt of the Centurions, following his example, deſiſted from their appeal, and made no farther difficulty to obey.

Nothing gives us a more juſt idea of the Roman genius than facts of this kind. What a fund of good ſenſe, equity, and even greatneſs of mind, appear in this ſoldier? He ſpeaks of his poverty without ſhame, and of his glorious ſervices without vanity. He is not tenacious improperly of a falſe point of honour. He modeſtly aſſerts his rights, and gives them up. He teaches all ages not to diſpute againſt their country, and to make their private intereſts give place to the publick good; and he is ſo happy as to bring over all thoſe into his ſentiments, who were in the ſame caſe with

with himſelf, and had joined him. Of what force is example! One well-diſpoſed and wiſe perſon is ſometimes all that is wanting, to bring over many to the ſide of reaſon. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

About the time of which we are ſpeaking, arrived Ambaſſadors from Perſeus, who ſaid, that their maſter was much aſtoniſhed that troops had been ſent to Macedonia; and that he was ready to give the Senate all the ſatisfaction which could be required of him. As it was known, that Perſeus only ſought to gain time, they were anſwered, that the Conſul Licinius would ſoon arrive with his army in Macedonia; and that if the King deſired peace in earneſt, he might make his propoſals to him: but that he ſhould not think of ſending any new Ambaſſadors into Italy, where they would be received no more: and for themſelves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days. Liv. xlix. 36.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of their enterprize. They ſent Ambaſſadors into all parts of Greece, to animate and ſtrengthen ſuch of their allies as had conſtantly adhered to them, to determine ſuch as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate thoſe who appeared ill-affected. Ibid. 37, 38.

Whilſt two of theſe Ambaſſadors, Marcius and Atilius were at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, Envoys arrived there from Perſeus, who had orders to addreſs themſelves particularly to Marcius, to put him in mind of the ancient union and friendſhip, that had ſubſiſted between that Roman's father and King Philip, and to aſk an interview between him and their maſter. Marcius anſwered, that he had indeed often heard his father ſpeak of the friendſhip and hoſpitality between him and King Philip, and he named a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They repaired thither ſome days after. The King had a great train, and was ſurrounded with a crowd of his Lords and guards. The Ambaſſadors were as well attended, many of the citizens, and of the deputies from other States, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to follow them, and the rather as they were glad of an occaſion to carry Liv. xlii. 39, 42.

A.R. 581. Ant. C. 171. carry home what they might ſee and hear. Beſides which, people were curious to be preſent at this interview between a great King, and Ambaſſadors from the moſt powerful People of the earth.

After ſome difficulties, which aroſe concerning the ceremonial, and which were ſoon removed in favour of the Romans, they proceeded to confer. The reception was very obliging on both ſides. They did not treat each other as enemies, but rather as friends united by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Marcius, who ſpoke firſt, "began by excuſing himſelf for the unhappy neceſſity he was under of reproaching a Prince for whom he had an high regard. He afterwards enumerated at large the ſubjects of complaint which the Roman People formed againſt him, and the different violations of treaties committed by Perſeus. He dwelt ſtrongly upon the attempt upon the life of Eumenes; and concluded with declaring, that he ſhould be very glad if the King could ſupply him with good reaſons for his conduct, and enable him to plead his cauſe, and entirely juſtify him before the Senate."

Perſeus, after having ſlightly touched upon the affair of Eumenes, which he was ſurprized any one ſhould preſume to impute to him without any proofs, rather than to the many other enemies of that Prince, entered as to the reſt into a long detail, and replied as well as he could to all the heads of the accuſation againſt him. "What I can affirm," ſaid he in concluding, "is that I cannot reproach myſelf with having knowingly and with deliberate deſign committed "any wrong againſt the Romans; and if I have done "any thing through inattention, apprized as I have "juſt been of it, it is in my power to amend it. "Certain it is, that I have done nothing to deſerve to "be purſued with ſuch irreconcileable hatred as I am "by you, in ſuppoſing me, as it ſeems, guilty of the "moſt enormous and atrocious crimes, that can neither be expiated nor pardoned. It is with little "foundation, that the clemency and goodneſs of the

"Roman

« Roman People is univerſally cried up, if for ſuch « ſlight ſubjects, which ſcarce deſerve to be repeated, « you take up arms, and make war againſt Kings, « who are your allies." A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

The reſult of the conference was, that Perſeus ſhould ſend new Ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to try all poſſible methods to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a ſnare laid for the King by the Ambaſſador to gain time. At firſt he affected to find great difficulties in reſpect to the truce, which Perſeus demanded for ſending ambaſſadors to Rome, and ſeemed at length to come into it only out of conſideration for the King. He however deſired it, and the intereſt of the Romans made it neceſſary. They had at this time neither troops nor General in a condition to act; whereas on the ſide of Perſeus every thing was ready, and if he had not been blinded by a vain hope of peace, he ought to have ſeized the preſent moment ſo favourable to him, and ſo much againſt the enemy, and have taken the field immediately. Liv. xlii. 43.

After this interview, the Roman Ambaſſador went to Bœotia, where great commotions had been fomented, ſome declaring for Perſeus, others for the Romans, but at length the party of the latter prevailed. The Thebans, and by their example almoſt all the other States of Bœotia, made an alliance with the Roman People, each by their reſpective Deputies, (for the Romans choſe that method) and not by the conſent of the whole body of the nation, according to the antient cuſtom. Thus the Bœotians, for having raſhly eſpouſed the part of Perſeus, after having long formed a Republic, which, on different occaſions, had happily delivered itſelf from the greateſt perils, ſaw themſelves diſunited, and governed by as many Councils as there were cities in the province. For after that time they all remained independent of each other, and no longer formed one league, as before. And this was an effect of the Roman Policy, which divided them to weaken them, knowing it was thereby much more eaſy Liv. xlii. 44, 45. Polyb. Legat. 63.

to

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. to influence and ſubject them, than if they had continued united together.

Liv. xlii. 43, 44. From Bœotia the Deputies went to Peloponneſus. The aſſembly of the Achæan league was ſummoned to Argos. They demanded a thouſand men only to garriſon Chalcis, till the Roman army arrived in Greece; and thoſe thouſand men were ſent thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

Liv. xlii. 42. Polyb. Legat. 64. About the ſame time, Rome again ſent Deputies into the moſt conſiderable iſlands of Aſia, to exhort them to give her a powerful aid in the war with Perſeus. The Rhodians ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. Hegeſilocus, who was then Prytanis, (chief Magiſtrate) had diſpoſed the people, and repreſented, that it was neceſſary to efface by actions, and not merely by words, all the bad impreſſions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to prejudice the Romans in reſpect to their fidelity. Accordingly, on the arrival of the Ambaſſadors, they ſhewed them a fleet of forty gallies entirely equipped, and ready to put to ſea on the firſt order. So agreeable a ſurprize gave the Romans great pleaſure, who returned from thence extremely ſatisfied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a zeal, which had even prevented their demands.

Perſeus, in conſequence of his interview with Marcius, ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he ſuppoſed he had began in that conference. At the ſame time he wrote to different States an account of what had paſſed in the interview, giving things ſuch a turn, as ſeemed to leave the advantage on his ſide. He did more in reſpect to the Rhodians. He diſpatched an embaſſy to them, to exhort them to remain neuter, and to wait the event of affairs as mere ſpectators. "If the Romans, contrary "to treaties, attack me, you will," ſaid he to them, "be mediators between them and me. That office "ſuits no people better than the Rhodians. Defend- "ers, as you are, not only of your own liberty, but "of

Liv. ibid. 46. Polyb. Legat. 65.

" of that of all Greece; the higher you riſe in glory A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.
" and power above all the reſt, the more intereſt you
" have in maintaining the balance. You * well
" know, that to make the Greeks depend upon a ſin-
" gle people, without leaving them any reſource, is
" to reduce them into real ſlavery." The Ambaſſa-
dors were received with politeneſs; but the anſwer
was, " that in caſe of war, which they hoped would
not happen, they deſired the King not to rely upon
the Rhodians, and to demand nothing of them, that
might interfere with the alliance which they had
made with the Romans." The ſame Ambaſſadors
went to Bœotia, where they had little reaſon to be
better ſatisfied, except in reſpect to ſome ſmall cities,
that ſeparated from the Thebans to embrace the King's
party.

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome re- Liv. xlii.
ported their commiſſion to the Senate. What they 47.
dwelt moſt upon, was the ſtratagem and addreſs, with
which they had over-reached Perſeus, in concluding
a truce with him, that made him incapable of begin-
ning the war then, as he might have done, to his ad-
vantage, and gave the Romans time entirely to com-
pleat their preparations, and to take the field. They
did not forget to boaſt their addreſs in diſuniting the
General Aſſembly of the Bœotians, and in laying
thoſe States under the impoſſibility of joining again to
make an alliance with the Macedonians.

The majority of the Senate were well pleaſed with
ſo prudent a conduct, which argued profound policy,
and uncommon dexterity in tranſacting affairs. But
the old Senators, who had been educated in other
principles, and adhered to the maxims of antient
times, ſaid, " that they did not ſee the Roman cha-
racter in ſuch conduct. That their anceſtors, relying
more upon true valour than fraud, uſed to make war
openly, and not by undermining. That ſuch mean

* Cum cæterorum id intereſſe, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, quo plus
inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant: quæ ſerva atque
innoxia fore ſi nullus aliò ſit quam ad Romanos reſpectus.

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. and unworthy artifices ſhould be left to the Carthag nians and Greeks, with whom it was more glorious deceive an enemy, than to conquer him ſword hand. That indeed ſtratagem ſometimes, at the i ſtant it was neceſſary, ſeemed to ſucceed better th valour: but that a victory openly gained in batt wherein the forces on both ſides were tried, and whi the enemy could aſcribe neither to chance nor frau was of a much more permanent duration; becauſe left in the mind a conviction of the ſuperiority of t forces and valour on the ſide of the victor."

Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the antie Fathers, who could not reliſh theſe new maxims policy, the part of the Senate, that preferred t uſeful to the honeſt, had ſufficient credit to cauſe to paſs by a plurality of voices, that Marcius's e baſſy ſhould be approved; and that he ſhould be ſe back into Greece with power to compleat what he h begun, and to do every thing that he ſhould jud neceſſary for the good of the Commonwealth.

Aulus Atilius was alſo ſent into Theſſalia, to ſecu Lariſſa, leſt upon the expiration of the truce Perſe might make himſelf maſter of that important pla which was the capital of the country. At the ſa time Lentulus was ſent to Thebes, to have an e over Bœotia.

Liv. xlii. 48. Though the war with Perſeus was determined Rome, the Senate gave audience to his Ambaſſade They repeated almoſt the ſame reaſons, which th Prince had uſed in the conference with Marcius, a endeavoured to juſtify their maſter, principally in r pect to the black attempt he was accuſed to ha committed upon the perſon of Eumenes; but wi out being able to convince the Senators of his inn cence, the fact being too notorious to be palliat The reſt of their diſcourſe was confined to very hu ble intreaties; but every body was ſo prejudiced reſpect to them, that far from ſuffering themſelves be moved by their ſupplications, they would ſca give them the hearing. They were ordered to q

the city immediately, and all Italy, in the ſpace of thirty days. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

The Conſul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to prepare to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible with his army. The Prætor C. Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, ſet out with forty-five galleys, and in five days arrived from Naples at Cephalenia, where he waited the arrival of the land-forces.

SECT. II.

Departure of the Conſul Licinius. Perſeus holds a council, in which the war is reſolved. He aſſembles his troops, and harangues them. He takes the field, and ſtops in Theſſaly. The Conſul moves thither alſo. Eumenes joins the Conſul. Slight ſkirmiſh. Action of the cavalry, in which Perſeus has the advantage. The Conſul makes his troops paſs the river Peneus in the night, to poſt them in ſafety. Perſeus perceives the errors he has committed. Grief and ſhame of the Romans. Joy and triumph of Perſeus and his army. He ſends to demand peace of the Conſul. Upon his anſwer, he prepares again for the war. Want of prudence in Perſeus. The Greeks applaud the victory of that Prince. Taking of Haliartus. The two armies, after ſome ſlight expeditions, retire into winter-quarters. Epirus declares againſt the Romans. Livy's opinion concerning prodigies. Expedition of Perſeus againſt Illyricum. Sordid avarice of that Prince. The Romans are received into Stratus inſtead of Perſeus. The Conſul Marcius advances towards Macedonia. Succours prepared by the Achæans for the Conſul. Perſeus poſts bodies of troops in the paſſes of the mountains. Marcius marches thro' ways of incredible difficulty. Manner in which the elephants are made to deſcend from the ſteep declivity of the mountains. Polybius tells the Conſul the offers of the Achæans. He ſets out on his return to Achaia. Extreme terror of the King on the approach of the enemy. The Conſul enters Macedonia. Various expeditions.

Return of Polybius into Achaia. Pruſias and the R dians ſend Ambaſſadors to Rome in favour of Perſe The Senate's anſwer to the inſolent diſcourſe of the R dians. Letters of the Conſul Marcius to the Sena Oneſimus a Macedonian Nobleman goes over to Romans.

A.R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Liv. xlii. 49.

THE Conſul Licinius, after having offered vows to the Gods in the Capitol, ſet out fr the city in the uſual robe (Paludamentum.) This remony of the Conſul's departure, ſays Livy, was ways attended with great ſolemnity, and an incre ble concourſe of the people, eſpecially on an imp tant war, and againſt a formidable enemy. Beſi the intereſt, which many individuals might take themſelves in the glory of the Conſul who ſets o the citizens are attracted to this ſight by their cur ſity to ſee the General, to whoſe conduct and coura they confide the fate of the Commonwealth. A tho ſand anxious thoughts occur then to their minds c cerning the ſucceſs of the war, which is always dou ful and uncertain. They repreſent to themſelves defeats, which have happened through the ignora and temerity of Generals; and on the contrary, victories, which have been gained by their valour a good conduct. "What mortals," ſay they, "c "know the fate of the Conſul, who is upon the po "of ſetting out, and whether they ſhall ſee him "turn with his victorious army, and aſcend in umph to the ſame Capitol from whence he depar "after having offered in it his prayers to the Go "or whether the enemy will not have that cauſe "rejoicing?" The antient glory of the Macedonia that of Philip, who had rendered himſelf famous the war he had made with the Romans, highly alted the reputation of Perſeus; and every body ſenſible, that from his aſcending the throne an proaching war had been univerſally expected. of theſe thoughts, the citizens in a throng conduc him out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Muci

who had both been Conſuls, and conſequently had commanded armies, did not think it degraded them to ſerve under him as legionary Tribunes, (that is much the ſame as our Colonels or Brigadiers) and ſet out with the Conſul. Three other illuſtrious young Romans were remarkable amongſt the legionary Tribunes; Publius Lentulus, and two called Manlius Acidinus. Licinius repaired with them to Brunduſium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and having paſſed the ſea with all his troops, he arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

Some few days before, Perſeus, in conſequence of the report of his Ambaſſadors at their return from Rome, who aſſured him that it was in vain to hope for peace, held a great council. Opinions were divided in it. Some believed it neceſſary, either to pay a tribute, if required, or to cede ſome part of his dominions, if the Romans inſiſted upon it; in a word, to ſuffer, for obtaining peace, all that might be ſupportable, rather than expoſe his perſon and kingdom to the danger of entire ruin. That if part of his dominions were left him, time and occaſion might produce favourable conjunctures, which might enable him, not only to recover all he ſhould have loſt, but render him formidable to thoſe who now made Macedonia tremble. Liv. xlii. 50.

The majority were of a very different opinion. They maintained, "that if he ceded ever ſo little, he ſhould reſolve to loſe his whole kingdom. That it was neither money nor tracts of land, that the Roman ambition had in view. That they aſpired at univerſal ſovereignty and dominion. That they knew the greateſt kingdoms and the moſt powerful States were ſubject to many revolutions. That they had ſubverted the power of the Carthaginians, and ſet up over their heads and in their neighbourhood a potent and warlike King. That they had driven Antiochus and his poſterity beyond mount Taurus. That there was no longer any kingdom, but Macedonia, capable of giving the Romans umbrage, becauſe, being ſituated in their

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. neighbourhood, it could, on the firſt blow they might receive, reſume its priſtine vigour, and revive in the Kings the loftineſs and ambition of their predeceſſors. That he had now to conſider, whilſt he had yet time, whether, by ceding different parts of his dominions one after another, he would ſee himſelf at length deprived of his whole power, driven out of the kingdom of his anceſtors, and obliged to aſk the Romans as a favour, permiſſion to confine himſelf in Samothrace or in ſome other iſland, there to paſs the reſt of his days in contempt and miſery, with the grief of ſurviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chuſe, by taking arms for the defence of his fortune and glory, to expoſe himſelf valiantly to all that might pleaſe the Gods to ordain in reſpect to his fate; and in caſe he ſhould be victorious, to have the glory of delivering the Univerſe from the yoke of the Romans. That he might drive them out of Greece, as they had driven Hannibal out of Italy. That it would be the higheſt diſgrace for Perſeus, after having defended his kingdom with valour, againſt a brother who had unjuſtly diſputed it with him, meanly to give it up to ſtrangers, who were for depriving him of it. That laſtly, though peace were preferable to war, and the world agreed, that there was nothing more shameful than to give up Empire without reſiſtance, and nothing more glorious than to have left no means untried for retaining it."

Liv. xlii. 51. This council was held at Pella, in the ancient palace of the Kings of Macedonia. Perſeus, without heſitating declared for the latter opinion, "As you "judge thus," ſaid he, "let us then make war, and "pray the Gods to be propitious to us." At the ſame time he ordered all his Generals to aſſemble their troops at Citium, a city of Macedonia; and he repaired thither ſoon after with all his guards and all the Lords of his court. He there found the army already aſſembled. It conſiſted, including the foreign troops and thoſe of the country, of thirty nine thouſand foot

of which almoſt one half formed the * phalanx, and four thouſand horſe. It † was agreed, ſays Livy, that no Macedonian King had ever had ſo numerous an army on foot, ſince that which Alexander marched into Aſia. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

It was ſix and twenty years, ſince Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as during all that time Macedonia had been in tranquillity, and without any conſiderable war, ſhe had a numerous youth at preſent capable of bearing arms. Perſeus had kept them in exerciſe by ſlight expeditions againſt the neighbouring Thracians, more proper to diſcipline than fatigue them. Beſides which, Philip and Perſeus after him, had long formed the deſign of making war with the Romans. Thus every thing was in readineſs for commencing it with advantage.

Perſeus, before he took the field, thought it neceſſary to harangue his troops. Accordingly he aſcended a tribunal, which had been prepared for him in the middle of the camp, and with his two ſons by his ſide he ſpoke from thence in a manner highly proper to animate his ſoldiers. Liv. xlii. 52. "He began by making a long enumeration of all the unjuſt actions the Romans had committed in reſpect to his father, which would have induced him to have reſolved upon a war with them, if death had not prevented him from putting his deſign in execution. He added, that after the death of Philip, the Romans had amuſed him with fallacious interviews, and a diſſembled truce, under pretence of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the Conſul's army, which was actually upon its march, with that of the Macedonians, according to him much ſuperior to the other both in number and valour. "It "therefore only remains for you, Macedonians," ſaid he in concluding, "to ſhew the ſame courage now "as your anceſtors did, when after having ſubjected

* An exact deſcription of the phalanx may be ſeen in the Antient Hiſtory.

† According to all authors, Alexander's army was not quite ſo numerous as this of Perſeus.

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. "all Europe, they went to Aſia; ſetting no othe "bounds to their conqueſts than thoſe of the univerſe "The queſtion now is, not to carry your arms to th "remoteſt India, but to preſerve poſſeſſion of you "own country Macedonia againſt the Romans. Tha "ambitious people cannot ſuffer any King to be thei "neighbour, nor leave arms in the hands of an "warlike nation. For you may be aſſured, if yo "do not ſuſtain the war with vigour, if you are capabl "of ſubmitting to the will of thoſe proud maſters "you muſt reſolve to deliver up to them your arms "with your King and his kingdom."

At theſe words, the whole army, which had al ready interrupted him ſeveral times, abandoned them ſelves ſtill more ardently to the different emotion that tranſported them, and raiſed cries of rage an indignation, exhorting the King to entertain the be hopes, and eagerly demanding to be led againſt th enemy.

Perſeus afterwards gave audience to the Ambaſſa dors of the cities of Macedonia, who came to offe him money and proviſions for the uſe of the army The King thanked them in the kindeſt manner; bu did not accept their offers, giving for his reaſon, tha he was abundantly ſupplied with all that was neceſſary He aſked only carriages of them for his rams, cata pultas, and other machines of war.

Liv. xli. 53, 54. He afterwards ſet out with all his forces, and march ing towards Eordæa, arrived the next day in Elimea upon the banks of the river Haliacmon; and having paſſed the Cambunian mountains, he ſeized the coun try called Pelagonia or Tripolis. He afterwards be ſieged Cyreties and Myle, which he took by aſſault Not daring to attack Gyrton, which he found too wel defended, he ſeized Elatia and Gonna, cities ſituated at the entrance of the defile which leads to Tempe and laſtly, he halted at Sycurium at the foot of moun Oſſa, reſolving to wait the enemy there.

Ibid. 53. During the ſame time the Conſul Licinius quitted the country of Apollonia, and in order to lead his army into

into Theſſalia, croſſed Epirus, where the ways were at firſt eaſy enough. But when he had entered Athamania, the rough, and almoſt impracticable country did not permit his making long marches, and it was not without great difficulty and much expence of time, that he arrived at Gomphi in Theſſaly. If Perſeus had taken his time to have advanced in order of battle to meet an army newly raiſed, and of which both the men and horſes were next to diſabled by fatigues, the Romans themſelves confeſſed, that they could not have fought him, without expoſing themſelves to an inevitable defeat. When Licinius ſaw, that he had reached Gomphi without any oppoſition from the Macedonians, the joy of having got ſafe through ſo dangerous a paſſage, made him only deſpiſe an enemy who knew ſo little how to take his advantages. Being informed that the Macedonians made incurſions into Theſſaly, and plundered the lands of the allies of the Commonwealth, as he found his troops ſufficiently recovered of their fatigues, he marched them towards Lariſſa, and incamped on the banks of the river Peneus. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

Eumenes at this time arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: the fourth, named Phileteres, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the Conſul with four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. They had left two thouſand foot at Chalcis under Athenæus, to reinforce the garriſon of that important place. Some troops alſo arrived from other allies, but little conſiderable in number, with ſome galleys.

Perſeus in the mean time ſent out ſeveral detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the Conſul quitted his camp to aid the allies of the Commonwealth, he ſhould be able to ſurprize and attack him at advantage. But his hopes were vain: he only took ſome plunder, eſpecially cattle of all kinds, which he diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers.

The

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Liv. xlii. 57. The Conſul and the King both held a council at the ſame time, to determine where they ſhould begin the war. The King, fluſhed with having been ſuffered to ravage the lands of the Pheræans with impunity, was for marching without loſs of time to attack the Romans in their camp. The Romans rightly perceived, that their ſlowneſs and delays would leſſen them in the opinion of the allies, and they reproached themſelves with not having aided thoſe of Pheræ. Whilſt the Conſul with the principal officers, and Eumenes and Attalus, were deliberating in council how to act, news was brought them on a ſudden that Perſeus approached with his whole army. The ſignal for the ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms was immediately given, and an hundred horſe were detached with as many foot-archers to view the enemy. Perſeus about ten in the morning finding himſelf only a ſhort half league from the Roman camp, made his infantry halt, and advanced with his cavalry and light-armed troops. He had ſcarce moved a quarter of a league, when he perceived the Roman detachment, and on his ſide ſent a ſmall body of horſe, ſuſtained by ſome light-armed foot, againſt it. As the number was very near equal, and neither ſide detached new troops to their aid, the ſkirmiſh ended without either party being victorious. Perſeus returned to his camp at Sycurium.

Liv. xlii. 58, 59. The next day at the ſame hour, he again made all his troops advance towards the camp of the Romans. They were followed with carriages laden with veſſels filled with water: for there was none for almoſt four leagues, and the way was very duſty. In effect of which the troops might have ſuffered much by thirſt, when they ſhould have been to engage, which would have greatly incommoded them. The Romans keeping cloſe, and having even made their advanced guards re-enter their works, the King's troops returned to their camp. They did the ſame thing ſeveral days together, in hopes that the Roman Cavalry would be detached to charge their rear, and

that then, facing ſuddenly about, they ſhould bring them to a battle at a conſiderable diſtance from their camp. And as the King's horſe was much ſuperior to that of the Romans, as well as his light-armed troops, they aſſured themſelves of giving a good account of them. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 171.

This firſt deſign not ſucceeding, the King moved to incamp nearer the enemy at the diſtance of little more than a league and an half from them. Having drawn up his infantry, at day-break, in the ſame place, where he had uſually done ſo the preceding days, that is, at a thouſand paces from the enemy, he led on all his cavalry and light-armed troops towards the camp of the Romans. The duſt, which ſeemed more near than uſual, and raiſed by a greater number of troops, gave the alarm there; and the firſt, who brought the news, could ſcarce be believed, when he ſaid the enemy were ſo near; becauſe during ſeveral days together before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, whereas it was now only ſun-riſe. But the repeated cries of many, who declared the ſame thing, leaving no room to doubt it any longer, the camp was in great confuſion. The officers from all ſides repaired to the Conſul's tent, and the ſoldiers ran precipitately to arm. The Conſul's negligence in being ſo ill informed of the motions of an enemy who was ſo near him, and ought to have kept him night and day upon the watch, gives us no great idea of his merit.

Perſeus had drawn up his troops at leſs than five hundred paces from the Conſul's intrenchments. Cotys, King of the Odryſæ in Thrace commanded the left with the Cavalry of his nation: the light-armed troops were diſtributed from ſpace to ſpace along the front. The Macedonian cavalry, mingled with the Cretan, formed the right wing. On the ſides and within the two wings were diſtributed the horſe, which Livy calls Royal (perhaps becauſe they formed part of the King's Houſhold) and ſome auxiliaries of different nations. The King was in the centre with the body

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. body of horſe, that always attended his perſon; and he poſted before him the ſlingers and other troops, that uſed miſſive weapons, who might amount to about four hundred.

The Conſul having drawn up his infantry within his camp, made only his cavalry and light-armed troops quit it, which he drew up before his intrenchments. The right wing, that conſiſted of all the Italian cavalry, was commanded by C. Licinius Craſſus, the Conſul's brother; the left, compoſed of the cavalry of the Greek allies, by M. Valerius Levinus: both were intermingled with their light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was poſted in the centre with a choſen body of horſe, and he had in his front two hundred Gauliſh horſe, and three hundred drawn out of the troops of Eumenes. Four hundred Theſſalian horſe were poſted a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reſerve. King Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, with their troops, occupied the ſpace between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only a battle of the cavalry, which were very near equal in number on both ſides, and might amount on each to about four thouſand men, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the ſlingers and miſſive weapons, who were poſted in the front. But after this prelude the Thracians, like wild beaſts long confined, and in effect only more fierce, fell furiouſly upon the right wing of the Italians, who, all brave and intrepid as they were, could not ſuſtain ſo rude and violent a charge. The light-armed troops, which the Thracians had amongſt them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their ſwords, and ſometimes cut the legs of their horſes, and thruſt them into their ſides. Perſeus attacked the Greeks in perſon, put them into diſorder at the firſt charge, and purſued them vigorouſly. The Theſſalian cavalry, which, ſeparated from the left-wing by no great ſpace, as we have ſaid before, formed a body of reſerve, and which in the beginning of the action, had only been ſpectators of the battle, was of great ſupport to the

the left-wing, when it began to give way. For this cavalry, retiring before the King ſlowly and in good order, after it had joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave thoſe who fled, as well as that Prince, a ſecure retreat in their ranks; and ſeeing that the enemy did not purſue them with the ſame vigour, they even ventered to go farther, and to ſupport and reanimate them. The Macedonians, who had broke in the purſuit, were afraid to hazard a new attack with troops that marched in good order, and with an intrepid aſpect. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

Hippias and Leonatus, who had remained with the infantry of Perſeus, having been apprized of the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the King might not be wanting to ſo favourable an occaſion of compleating the glory of the day by puſhing the enemy with vigour, and attacking them in their works, of their own accord and without orders led on the Macedonian phalanx to join him. And indeed it ſeemed, that the King with ſome little effort might have rendered his victory compleat; and that, in the preſent ardour of his own troops, and the terror they had ſpread amongſt the Romans, the entire defeat of the latter was certain.

Whilſt that Prince, divided between hope and fear, was irreſolute how to act, in ſo critical a conjuncture, Evander of Crete, in whom he repoſed great confidence, having ſeen the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perſeus, "and exhorted him in the ſtrongeſt terms not to abandon himſelf to the blind joy of a ſlight advantage, and not to enter raſhly upon a new action, which was not neceſſary, and in which he would riſque all things. He repreſented to him, that this firſt ſucceſs, if he lay ſtill, would enable him either to conclude peace with honour, or to bring over to his party a greater number of allies, to join with him in the war againſt the Romans." The King was already inclined to this opinion. For which reaſon he made his cavalry retreat from the battle, and ordered his infantry to march back into the camp.

On

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. On the ſide of the Romans, there fell this day two hundred horſe, and more than two thouſand foot; whereas Perſeus did not loſe above twenty horſe, and twice that number of infantry.

Liv. xlii. 60. The victors entered their camp full of joy, and eſpecially the Thracians, who ſinging and in a kind of triumph carried the heads of the enemies they had killed upon the points of their ſpears. The Romans, on the contrary, in the utmoſt affliction kept a mournful ſilence, and ſtruck with terror expected every moment, that the enemy would attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was neceſſary to decamp to the other ſide of the Peneus, in order to cover their troops with that river, till they had recovered from their conſternation. The Conſul would not come into this retreat without pain, which, as it was a manifeſt confeſſion of fear, was entirely ſhameful for himſelf and his army; but, however, overcome by reaſon, and yielding to neceſſity, he made his troops paſs without noiſe in the night, and incamped on the other ſide of the river.

Ibid. Perſeus the next day, advanced to attack the enemy, and to give them battle: but the time was paſſed, and he found their camp abandoned. When he ſaw them intrenched on the other ſide of the river, he perceived the enormous fault he had committed the day before, in not purſuing them vigorouſly immediately after their defeat: but he owned that it was ſtill a greater, in having remained quiet and unactive during the night. For without making the reſt of his army move, if he had only detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy whilſt they were paſſing the river with precipitation, he might without difficulty have defeated part of their army.

Theſe two faults, and particularly the laſt, has ſomething ſo ſtrange in it, that it manifeſtly argues a blindneſs of mind expreſsly ſent by God, who had deſtined Perſeus and his kingdom to deſtruction. Neither the King, nor any of his officers ſo much as think of obſerving the enemy's motions in the night.

Such

Such a ſtupefaction ſeems only to be compared with that of Saul's officers, of whom the Scripture ſpeaks in theſe terms:——"And no man ſaw it, nor knew "it, neither awaked: for they were all aſleep, be- "cauſe a deep ſleep from the Lord was fallen upon "them." A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having placed a river between them and the enemy, were not any longer in the immediate danger of being attacked and put to the rout: but the blow they had juſt received, and the blemiſh they had given the glory of the Roman name, afflicted them extremely. The whole council of war, which the Conſul had called, laid the blame upon the Ætolians. They ſaid, it was they, who had taken the alarm, that the reſt of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the principal perſons of their nation had been ſeen to fly firſt. On the contrary, the Theſſalians were praiſed for their courage, and their leaders rewarded with various marks of honour.

The ſpoils taken from the Romans were conſiderable: above fifteen hundred ſhields, a thouſand cuiraſſes, with a great number of helmets, ſwords and darts of all kinds were brought off. The King gave them as rewards of honour to all the officers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, and having aſſembled the army, "he began by ſaying, that what had lately happened was in reſpect to them an happy preſage, and an aſſured pledge of what they had to expect for the future. He praiſed the troops who had been in the action; extolled in pompous terms the victory gained over the Roman cavalry, in which the principal force of their army conſiſted, and which they had hitherto believed invincible. He promiſed himſelf a ſtill greater over their foot, which had only eſcaped out of their hands by a ſhameful retreat during the night, but that it would be eaſy to force them in their intrenchments where fear kept them ſhut up." Liv. xlii. 61.

The

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. The victorious ſoldiers, who carried the ſpoils of the enemies they had killed upon their ſhoulders, heard this diſcourſe with great pleaſure, and promiſed themſelves every thing from their courage, judging of the future by the paſt. The infantry, on their ſide, eſpecially that which compoſed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable emulation declared that on the firſt occaſion they would equal and even ſurpaſs, the glory of their companions. All, in a word demanded with incredible ardour only to be led on againſt the enemy. The King, after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, marched the next day and incamped near Mopſia, an eminence between Tempe and Lariſſa.

The Romans, without quitting the banks of the Peneus, moved to incamp in a more ſecure poſt, where Miſagenes, the ſon of Maſiniſſa, joined the Conſul with a thouſand horſe, as many foot, and two and twenty elephants.

Perſeus at firſt enjoyed the good ſucceſs of ſo important a battle to the higheſt degree. He conſidered himſelf as ſuperior to a people, who were ſo themſelves in reſpect to all other Princes and nations. It was not a victory gained by ſurprize, and in a manner ſtolen by ſtratagem and addreſs, but carried by open force, by the valour and bravery of his troops, and that before his eyes, and by his own orders. He had ſeen the Roman haughtineſs give way three times in one day before him: firſt by ſhutting themſelves up in their camp; then, when they had ventured out of it by ſhamefully flying; and laſtly, in flying again during the darkneſs of the night, and in finding no ſafety but within their intrenchments, the uſual refuge of fear and cowardice. Such thoughts were highly ſoothing, and capable of dazzling a Prince already but too full of his own merit.

Liv. xlii. 62. Polyb. Legat. 69. But when theſe firſt emotions were a little abated and the intoxicating vapour of a ſudden joy was diſpelled, and made way for reflection, Perſeus being come to himſelf, and conſidering in cold blood all the

the conſequences his victory might have, he began in some meaſure to be terrified at them. All the wiſe courtiers about him, taking advantage of theſe good diſpoſitions, ventured to give him the counſel, of which they made him capable: this was to employ the advantage he had lately gained for obtaining an honourable peace of the Romans. They repreſented to him, "that the ſign of a wiſe Prince, and of one who deſerved ſucceſs, was not to rely upon the preſent favours of fortune, nor to abandon himſelf to the glitter of a dazzling proſperity. That accordingly he would do well to ſend to the Conſul to renew the treaty with him upon the ſame conditions that T. Quintius, when victorious, had impoſed upon his father Philip. That he could not terminate the war more glorioufly for himſelf, than after ſo memorable a battle; nor ever hope a more favourable occaſion of concluding a ſafe and laſting peace, than in a conjuncture when the blow which the Romans had received, would render them more tractable, and better diſpoſed to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithſtanding this blow, the Romans, through an haughtineſs but too natural to them, rejected a juſt and equitable accommodation, they would be manifeſtly in the wrong; and that as much as they would have the juſt wrath of the Gods, who abhor pride, to fear, ſo much would the moderation of Perſeus render both Gods and men favourable to him." A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

The King gave into theſe wiſe remonſtrances; and the counſels which tended to peace found him always diſpoſed to hear them. The majority alſo of his counſel were inclined the ſame way. Accordingly Ambaſſadors were ſent to the Conſul, who aſſembled a numerous council to give them audience. They ſaid, "That they came to aſk peace. That Perſeus would pay the Romans the ſame tribute as Philip had done, and that he would evacuate the cities, territories, and all the places which Philip had evacuated."

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the anſwer it was neceſſary to give. The Roman conſtancy

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. ſtancy appeared on this occaſion with luſtre. It * was then the cuſtom to ſhew all the aſſurance and loftineſs of good fortune in adverſity, and to act with moderation in proſperity. The anſwer was: "That Perſeus muſt not hope for peace, unleſs he left it to the Senate to diſpoſe of his perſon and kingdom as they ſhould think fit."

When this anſwer was brought to the King, thoſe who compoſed his council, were ſtrangely ſtruck with ſo extraordinary, and, according to them, ſo ill-timed a pride; and moſt of them believed, that peace was no longer to be mentioned, and that the Romans would ſoon be obliged to demand that themſelves which they now refuſed. Perſeus was not of the ſame opinion. He ſaw plainly that Rome was only haughty, becauſe ſhe was conſcious of her ſuperiority, and this gave him terrible apprehenſions. He ſent again to the Conſul, and offered a more conſiderable tribute than that impoſed upon Philip. When he ſaw that the Conſul would abate nothing of his demands, having no farther expectations of peace, he returned to his camp at Sycurium, from whence he had ſet out determined to try again the chance of war.

This whole conduct of Perſeus gives reaſon to think that he muſt have undertaken this war very imprudently, and without having compared his own ſtrength and reſources with thoſe of the Romans, in believing himſelf happy after a ſignal victory, and in being capable of aſking peace, and ſubmitting to ſuch grievous conditions, as his father Philip had not complied with till after a bloody defeat. It ſeems clear, that he had ſcarce taken his meaſures judiciouſly, nor well concerted the means of ſucceeding, as after a firſt action, in which the whole advantage is on his ſide, he begins by perceiving all his weakneſs and inferiority, and inclines in ſome ſenſe towards deſpair. Why then was he the firſt to break the peace? Why was

* Ita tum mos erat, in adverſis vultum ſecundæ fortunæ geri, moderari animos in ſecundis. Liv.

the aggreſſor without neceſſity? Why was he ſo haſty, and yet ſtop at the firſt ſtep? Why did he wait to know his weakneſs, till his own victory taught it him? Theſe things do not denote a wiſe and diſcerning Prince. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

The news of the battle of the cavalry having ſpread in Greece, it made known what people thought there, and diſcovered in full light the diſpoſition of the cities. For not only the Partiſans of the Macedonians, but a great number of thoſe, who had received the moſt conſiderable advantages from the Romans, even thoſe, who had experienced the violence and pride of the Kings of Macedonia, evidenced their joy upon this occaſion; moſt of them having no other reaſon but a fantaſtical caprice, though common enough, which even at the ſhews, ſays Livy, where the gladiators combat to pleaſe the multitude, occaſions people to declare warmly for the weaker againſt the ſtronger. Liv. xlii. 63.

At the ſame time the Prætor Lucretius beſieged Haliartus in Bœotia. After a long and vigorous defence, that city was at length taken by ſtorm, plundered, and then entirely demoliſhed. Ibid.

Perſeus in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, incommoded them very much, harraſſing their troops, and cutting off their foragers if they ſtraggled ever ſo little. He one day took a thouſand waggons, moſt of them laden with corn, which the Romans had juſt reaped, with ſix hundred priſoners. He afterwards attacked a ſmall body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he was in hopes of making himſelf maſter with no difficulty: but he found more reſiſtance from it than he expected; and the Conſul coming to their ſupport with his whole army, Perſeus retreated not without ſome loſs. Having left a ſtrong garriſon at Gonna, he led back his troops into Macedonia. The Conſul, after having ſubjected Perrhæbia, returned to Lariſſa. From thence, he diſmiſſed all the allies except the Achæans, diſperſed his troops in Theſſaly, where he left them in winter-quarters, and went to Bœotia at the requeſt of the

A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171. Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa made incurſions.

Perſeus did not remain idle on his ſide: he gained ſome advantages both over the Roman fleet near Oreum a city of Eubæa, and in Thrace againſt the enemies of Cotys his ally.

Polyb. & Diod. apud Valeſ. At the ſame time the nation of the Epirots went over to his party, determined ſo to do particularly by the authority of Cephalus, one of the principal perſons of Epirus, who was however rather forced by neceſſity to throw himſelf into the arms of Perſeus, than induced to it by inclination. For this Cephalus was a wiſe and judicious man, and thought in the ſame manner with the moſt worthy perſons of Greece. He was very ſorry that a rupture ſhould happen between the Romans and Perſeus, wiſely perceiving that Greece would be the prey of the victor. After the war had been declared contrary to his wiſhes, he had reſolved to act as a good and faithful ally to the Romans, and to do all for them that was neceſſary, but without meanneſs, and hurrying into ſlavery.

It was not poſſible for him to purſue ſo well concerted a plan. There was at that time in Epirus one Charopus, grandſon of another of that name, who in former times had rendered the Romans a ſignal ſervice, in ſupplying the Conſul Quintius with the means of forcing the defile, where Philip had intrenched himſelf on the banks of the river Aous. Young Charopus had been ſent to Rome by his grandfather to learn the Roman language and letters. On his return into Epirus, proud of the friendſhip of a great number of Romans, and being beſides of a turbulent malignant diſpoſition, he inceſſantly attacked and harraſſed the principal perſons of the nation, either by declamations and invectives in publick, or ſecret informations, in which mingling a little truth with much falſhood, he gave a bad turn to all their actions, and laboured not unſucceſsfully to render them ſuſpect and odious to the Romans. Cephalus, and those who thought like him, at firſt deſpiſed this factious

your

young man, relying upon the clearneſs of their conduct, and being conſcious to themſelves, that if they had formerly been under engagements with the royal family of Macedonia, it had been without prejudice to the alliance with the Romans, to whom they had retained an inviolable fidelity. But when they ſaw, that the Romans gave ear to the diſcourſes of Charopus, moved in particular by the example of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious Ætolians, who upon looſe and ſlight accuſations had been carried to Rome, they believed it neceſſary for them to prevent the like diſgrace; and not finding any other reſource but in the amity of Perſeus, they were reduced to have recourſe to it, and to make their nation enter into alliance with him. A. R. 581. Ant. C. 171.

We ſhall ſee in the ſequel what misfortune this fatal ſtep drew upon Epirus, the cauſe of which is ſolely to be imputed to the calumnies of Charopus: and in this manner a wretched informer may occaſion the ruin of an whole nation.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.
A. Atilius Serranus. A. R. 582. Ant. C. 170.

The Conſul Hoſtilius, to whom Macedonia had fallen as province by lot, haſtening to join his army in Theſſaly, paſſed through Epirus. He did not know the change which had happened there, becauſe it had not yet been declared openly againſt the Romans. He was very near being ſurprized and ſeized by treachery concerted with the King of Macedonia. Having entered Theſſaly, Perſeus defeated him in a battle, and obliged him to fly. His conduct was neither nor more ſucceſsful during all the reſt of the campaign.

Q. Marcius Philippus, II.
Cn. Servilius Cæpio. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

The Romans were highly intent upon the Macedonian war. The Conſul Q. Marcius was charged with the conduct of it.

A.R. 583. Ant. C. 169. Liv. xliii. 13.

Livy, before he relates the prodigies, according to his cuſtom, makes a reflexion, which ſhews as well a religious as judicious manner of thinking in him, exempt from ſuperſtition, but at the ſame time, without the affectation of free-thinking. "I know, ſays he, that few prodigies are now talked of, and that hiſtorians do not deign to mention them in their writings. This negligence is an effect of the ſame irreligion which at preſent induces many people to affirm, that the Gods do not intermeddle in what paſſes here below, nor inform mankind of what is to happen to them. As for my part, in relating the actions of the Antients, I aſſume alſo the antient taſte; I adopt the ſentiments and maxims of our forefathers; and I ſhould make a kind of ſcruple of conſcience to judge facts unworthy of a place in my annals, for which the wiſeſt perſonages of their times have believed that the Commonwealth and Religion ought to have ſo ſerious an attention."

Liv. ibid.

Perſeus had believed it neceſſary for him to take the advantage of the winter-ſeaſon to make an expedition againſt Illyricum, which was the ſole part from which Macedonia had any irruptions to fear, while the King ſhould be employed againſt the Romans. This enterprize ſucceeded very happily for him, and almoſt without any loſs on his ſide. He began by the ſiege of the city Uſcana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, and took it after a ſufficiently long defence. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of all the fortreſſes of the country, in moſt of which were Roman garriſons, and he took a great number of priſoners.

Ibid. 19, 20. Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

At the ſame time he ſent Ambaſſadors to Gentius one of the Kings of Illyricum, to engage him in an alliance with him. Theſe Ambaſſadors, having paſſed the ſummit of mount Scodrus, croſſed the part of Illyricum, which the Macedonians had purpoſely laid entirely waſte by ruining the whole country, in order to deprive the Dardanians of the means of entering Illyricum or Macedonia; and laſtly, after infinite

pain

pains they arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was then at Liſſa. He gave them audience there, and received them in a very obliging manner. After having heard the propoſals, which they made him from their maſter, he replied, that he was much inclined of himſelf to make an alliance with Perſeus: but that having neither preparations of war, nor money, he was not in a condition to declare againſt the Romans. This was explaining himſelf clearly enough. Perſeus, who was avaricious, did not, or rather would not, ſeem to underſtand his demand. He ſent a ſecond Embaſſy to him, without ſpeaking of money; and received the ſame anſwer from him. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

Polybius obſerves, that this fear of expence in important and deciſive conjunctures as the preſent was, a fear which argues a mean and ſordid ſpirit and ſentiments unworthy of a Prince, made Perſeus loſe many fair occaſions; and that if he would have ſacrificed no conſiderable ſums, he might have engaged ſeveral Republicks and Princes on his ſide. He cannot conceive how a King, for ſaving wealth, which is only eſtimable from the good uſe made of it, can expoſe himſelf and kingdom to deſtruction; and he conſiders this blindneſs as a terrible puniſhment from the Gods.

Perſeus ſome time after what we have juſt related, made part of his troops march towards Stratus, a very ſtrong city of Ætolia above the gulf of Ambracia. He had been made to hope, that it would ſurrender as ſoon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented him, and threw ſuccours into the place. He retired into Macedonia, highly regretting the uſeleſs pains he had taken in fatiguing his troops by a precipitate march in very difficult ways, to ſee the gates of a city ſhut againſt him, into which he expected to have entered without reſiſtance. All that we have juſt related paſſed during winter. Liv. xliii. 21, 22.

Early in the ſpring, the Conſul Marcius ſet out from Rome, advanced towards Macedonia, perſuaded that it was neceſſary to attack Perſeus in the heart of Liv. xliv. 1, 2.

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. his dominions. The Prætor C. Marcius Figulus, who commanded the fleet, uſed no leſs diligence.

Polyb. Legat. 78. Upon the report that the Roman armies were ready to take the field, Archon, the principal magiſtrate of the Achaians, to juſtify his Republick from the ſuſpicions and bad rumours which had been ſpread againſt it, adviſed the Achaians to prepare a decree, by which it ſhould be ordained, that an army ſhould march into Theſſaly, and that they ſhould ſhare in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. The decree being paſſed, orders were given Archon to raiſe troops, and to make all the neceſſary preparations. It was afterwards reſolved, that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Conſul, to inform him of the reſolution which the Republick had taken, and to know from him where and when he judged it proper for the Achaian army to join his. Polybius, our hiſtorian, was choſen with ſome others, for this embaſſy; on their arrival they found the Romans out of Theſſaly, incamped in Perrhæbia between Azora and Doliche, and highly perplexed concerning the way they were to take. He followed them, to wait a favourable occaſion for ſpeaking to the Conſul, and ſhared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Liv. xliv. 2. Perſeus, who did not know what route the Conſul took, had poſted conſiderable bodies of troops in two places, through which it was probable he would attempt to paſs. He incamped the reſt of his army at Dium, ſcouring the neighbouring coaſts in perſon with a ſmall body of horſe, and marching ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on another without much deſign.

Ibid. 3—5. Marcius, after long deliberation, determined to paſs the mountains near a place called in the text of Livy as we now have it, Octolopha. It is not certain whether there is not an error in this name: But it is, that the place in queſtion muſt not be confounded with Octolopha in the country of the Daſſaretians towards the weſtern part of Macedonia; and that our hiſto-

hiſtorian intended to ſpeak of a place ſituated at ſome ſmall diſtance from mount Olympus, Dium, and Phila. However that be, the Conſul had incredible difficulties to ſurmount, in ſuch ſteep and impracticable ways. He had taken the precaution to ſeize an eminence, which favoured his paſſage, and from whence they could ſee the enemy's camp, that was not above a thouſand paces diſtant, and the lands round Dium and Phila; which exceedingly animated the ſoldiers, who had ſuch opulent countries, where they hoped to inrich themſelves before their eyes. Hippias, whom the King had poſted in this paſs to defend it with a body of twelve thouſand men, ſeeing the eminence ſeized by a detachment of the Romans, marched againſt the Conſul, who was advancing with his whole army, harraſſed his troops during two days, and incommoded them extremely by frequent attacks. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

Marcius was very anxious, not being able either to advance with ſafety, or retreat without ſhame, and even without great danger. The only choice he could now make, was to purſue an enterprize with vigour, formed perhaps with too much boldneſs and temerity, but which might ſucceed by a tenacious perſeverance; the only reſource in the like caſe, and often ſucceſsful. It is certain, that if the Conſul had been to act againſt an enemy like the antient Kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were ſhut up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perſeus, inſtead of ſending freſh troops to ſuſtain thoſe of Hippias, to whom he was ſo near, that he heard in his camp the cries they raiſed in fighting; inſtead of going in perſon to attack the enemy, continued his uſeleſs excurſions with his cavalry in the neighbourhood of Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themſelves from the bad ſtep they had taken.

It was not without infinite difficulty they effected this; the horſes that carried the baggage ſinking under their loads on the declivity of the mountain, and falling

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. ing almoſt every ſtep they took. The elephants in particular gave them great trouble. It was neceſſary to find a new means to make them deſcend in theſe extremely ſteep places; and this was as follows. Along the ſteep parts of the mountain they laid two long beams ſuſtained at top by the ground, and at their lower extremities by props driven into the earth, which ſo raiſed up the lower ends, as made the declivity little and eaſy. Theſe beams were laid ſomething more diſtant from each other than the breadth of the body of an elephant. Acroſs theſe two beams, which were parallels, they afterwards laid planks thirty feet long, which formed a kind of bridge, and covered them with earth. At the end of this firſt bridge, but at ſome diſtance a ſecond of the ſame kind was erected; then a third, and ſo on, wherever the declivity was too ſteep for thoſe animals to go down without help. The elephant walked from firm ground upon the bridge, and before he came to the end of it, the props were cut, the bridge fell, and the animal was obliged to ſlide gently down and move forwards till he came to the beginning of another bridge, where finding level footing he advanced on quietly as on the firſt bridge; and the ſame was done as before. We muſt ſuppoſe, which Livy does not ſay, that each bridge was capable of being uſed for all the elephants in the Roman army; and their number could not have been great. The manner in which Hannibal made his elephants paſs the Rhone, has ſome ſimilitude to what the Romans do upon this occaſion: but the trouble was far from being ſo great.

It is not eaſy to expreſs the fatigues, which the Romans had to ſuffer in this paſs, the ſoldiers being often obliged to ſlide alſo along the ground with their arms, becauſe they could not keep upon their legs walking upright. It was agreed on all hands, that with an handful of troops the enemy might have entirely defeated the whole Roman army. At length, after many pains and dangers, it arrived in the plain, and was then ſafe.

As

As the Conſul ſeemed then to have happily completed the moſt difficult part of his enterprize, Polybius took this favourable moment for preſenting to him the decree of the Achaians, and to aſſure him of the reſolution they had taken to come with all their forces, and ſhare with him all the fatigues and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achaians for their good intention in very obliging terms, told them, that they might ſpare themſelves the pains and expence, in which this war would engage them: that in the ſtate wherein he ſaw affairs, he did not believe he had occaſion for the aid of allies. After this diſcourſe, Polybius's Collegues returned into Achaia. A.R. 585. Ant. C. 169. Polyb. Legat. 78.

Polybius only remained in the Roman army, till the Conſul having received advice, that Appius, ſurnamed Centho, had aſked the Achaians for an aid of five thouſand men to act in Epirus, ſent him back to his country, exhorting him not to ſuffer his Commonwealth to ſupply thoſe troops and to engage in expences entirely uſeleſs.

Whilſt the King was bathing, he was informed that the enemy approached. This news threw him into a terrible conſternation. Uncertain how to act, and changing reſolution every moment, he vented cries, and lamented his fate, to ſee himſelf conquered without fighting. He cauſed the two officers, whom he had poſted to guard the paſſes to return, ordered the gilt ſtatues which were at Dium to be carried on board his fleet, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans, that the treaſures he had at Pella ſhould be thrown into the ſea, and that all his galleys at Theſſalonica ſhould be burnt. As to himſelf, he retired to Pydna. Terror and confuſion on the proſpect of ſudden danger unveil the inmoſt heart of a Prince, and ſhew him ſuch as he is. Liv. xliv. 6.

The Roman army owed its ſafety to the imprudent and ſtupid fear of Perſeus, which cauſed the Conſul's temerity, in engaging himſelf in a country, from which he had never got off, if his enemies had been

in

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. in their ſenſes, to be conſidered as a laudable boldneſs. There were two ways for extricating himſelf out of this danger; the one by penetrating through the valleys of Tempe, in order to enter Theſſaly; the other in paſſing by Dium, to enter Macedonia. Now theſe two important poſts were occupied by good bodies of troops, which the King had placed there. If Perſeus therefore had had a little more reſolution, and had only withſtood the terror he was ſeized with on the approach of the Romans, for ten days, the Conſul could neither have retired through Tempe into Theſſaly, nor have had proviſions in the defiles into which he had advanced. For the ways through Tempe have precipices on their ſides ſo very ſteep, that the eye cannot view them without being dazzled. The King's troops guarded this paſs in four different places, the laſt of which was ſo narrow, that ten well-armed men only were capable of defending the entrance of it. Thus the Romans not being able to receive proviſions through the narrow defiles of Tempe, nor to paſs there themſelves, they would have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they had deſcended, which would have been impracticable if the enemy had continued to occupy the eminences. They would then have had no other reſource than to penetrate into Macedonia on the ſide of Dium by paſſing through the enemy; which would not have been leſs difficult, "if the Gods," ſays Livy, "had not deprived Per-"ſeus of counſel and prudence." For, by making a foſſe and intrenchments in the very narrow defile at the foot of mount Olympus, he would abſolutely have ſhut them out of it, and ſtopped them ſhort. But "the King's terror had thrown him into ſuch a blind-"neſs of mind, he neither ſaw nor did any thing that "might ſave him," he left all the entrances into his kingdom open to the enemy, and took refuge with precipitation at Pydna. Livy's expreſſions are very remarkable in this place, and ſhews us what means GOD employs for deſtroying the greateſt empires. *Niſi*

Niſi Dii mentum Regi ademiſſent——Quorum nihil cùm diſpexiſſet cæcata mens ſubito terrore. A.R. 583. Ant. G. 169.

The Conſul, ſeeing that he might hope every thing from the terror and imprudence of the enemies, gave orders to the Prætor Lucretius, who was at Lariſſa, to ſeize the poſts adjacent to Tempe, which Perſeus had abandoned, in order to provide a retreat for his troops in caſe of neceſſity, and ſent Popillius to examine the paſſes near Dium. When he knew that the ways were open and undefended, he advanced, and arriving at Dium the ſecond day, he made his army incamp near a temple of Jupiter, which was not far off, to prevent it from being plundered. When he entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and very well fortified, he was aſtoniſhed in the higheſt degree to find, that the King had abandoned it ſo eaſily. He continued his march, and made himſelf maſter of many places almoſt without any reſiſtance. But, the more he advanced, the leſs proviſions he found, and the famine increaſed in proportion: this reduced him to return to Dium: He was even obliged to quit that city, and to retire to Phila, where the Prætor Lucretius had informed him, that he would find proviſions in abundance. This laſt ſtep much diſguſted the army; and made way for diſcourſes very little in the Conſul's favour. And indeed his departure from Dium inſtructed Perſeus, that he was now to recover that by his courage, which he had loſt by his exceſſive timidity; He accordingly repoſſeſſed himſelf of that city, and ſoon repaired the ravages which the Romans had committed there. Liv. xliv.

Popillius, on his ſide, beſieged and took Heraclea, which was but a quarter of a league from Phila. The Conſul moved, and incamped near that place, as if he had deſigned to drive Perſeus from Dium, and to go on from thence to Pieria. But his real intent being then to take up his winter-quarters, he ſent ſome bodies of troops to ſecure the ways, by which the neceſſary proviſions were brought him from Theſſaly, and to chuſe the places where magazines might be commodiouſly

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. ouſly ſettled, and to erect ſtations for thoſe who guarded the convoys.

Perſeus, having recovered his fright with his reaſon, would have been very glad if his orders for throwing his treaſures at Pella into the ſea, and for burning all his galleys at Theſſalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom the laſt of theſe commiſſions had been given, had delayed the affair, to leave time for the repentance which might ſoon follow this command, as it really happened. Nicias, who had not ſo much precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the ſea. His fault was ſoon remedied by divers, who brought up almoſt all that money from the bottom. For their reward, the King cauſed them all to be put to death ſecretly, as well as Andronicus and Nicias; ſo great was his ſhame for the abject terror to which he had abandoned himſelf, that he could not bear to have any witneſſes or traces of it in being! But ought a ſlight fault in ſome ſenſe, as it at leaſt only affected him who had committed it, to have been covered with a cruelty more than barbarous and tyrannical? Was ſuch a conduct a proper means to that effect? And had he even ſucceeded in ſtifling the complaints of his ſubjects in reſpect to ſo black an action, could he hope alſo to aboliſh the remembrance of it?

Liv. xliv. 10—13. Several expeditions were made on both ſides both by ſea and land, which had not much conſequence and were not very important. The Prætor C. Marcius formed ſome ſieges, which he was obliged to raiſe.

Polyb. Legat. 78. When Polybius returned into Peloponneſus after his embaſſy, the letter of Appius, by which he demanded five thouſand men, had already been received there. Some ſhort time after, the council that aſſembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon this affair highly perplexed Polybius. Not to execute the order he had received from the Conſul Marcius, had been an inexcuſable fault. On the other ſide, it was dangerous to refuſe the troops which might be of ſervice to the Romans, and for which the Achaians had no occaſion.

To

To extricate himſelf out of ſo delicate a dilemma, he had recourſe to a decree of the Roman Senate, which prohibited the having any regard to the letters of Generals, unleſs they were attended with an order of the Senate, which Appius had not annexed to his. He accordingly ſaid, that before ſending any thing to Appius, it was neceſſary to inform the Conſul of his demand, and wait the deciſion he ſhould think fit to make. Polybius hereby ſaved the Achaians an expence, which would have amounted to above an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

In the mean time Ambaſſadors arrived at Rome from Pruſias King of Bithynia, and from the Rhodians, in favour of Perſeus. The diſcourſe of the former had nothing in it but what was modeſt in reſpect to the Romans, but argued little integrity in reſpect to him for whom Pruſias pretended to intereſt himſelf. They declared, "that their maſters had always adhered to the ſide of the Romans, and ſhould never ceaſe to do ſo, as long as the war ſhould continue: but that having promiſed Perſeus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans for obtaining peace, he deſired them, if they could reſolve to lay aſide their reſentment, to let him know, that it was in conſideration of him, in order that he might make a merit of it with the King of Macedonia." The Rhodians talked in a much different ſtile. "After having made a pompous enumeration of the ſervices they had rendered the Roman People, and aſcribed to themſelves moſt of the victories gained with their aid over the enemies of Rome, and particularly over Antiochus, they added: That during the peace between the Macedonians and Romans, they had began to enter into a negotiation with Perſeus, that they had broke up this treaty againſt their will, and without any ſubject of complaint againſt the King, becauſe the Romans had thought fit to engage them in the war. That for three years, which this war had ſubſiſted, they had ſuffered many inconveniencies from it. That their trade by ſea being interrupted, Liv. xliv. 14, 15.

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. rupted, their iſland was greatly ſtraitened by the reduction of the revenues and advantages they derived from it. That not being able to ſuſtain ſuch conſiderable loſſes, they had ſent Ambaſſadors into Macedonia to King Perſeus, to declare to him, that the Rhodians judged it neceſſary that he ſhould make peace with the Romans. That they had alſo ſent others to Rome, to make the ſame declaration. That if the two powers refuſed to comply with ſo reaſonable a propoſal, and to put an end to the war, the Rhodians ſhould conſider what they had to do."

It is eaſy to judge in what a manner a diſcourſe ſo ridiculouſly vain and arrogant was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, that all the anſwer given to it was to cauſe a decree of the Senate to be read in their preſence, by which the Caryans and Lycians were declared free. This was touching them to the quick and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part: for they conſidered thoſe two nations as their ſubjects who had been made ſo by a decree of the Senate after the war with Antiochus. According to others, the Senate replied in few words: "That the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intelligence with Perſeus, had been long known at Rome. That when Rome ſhould have conquered him, which was expected to happen every day, ſhe would in her turn conſider what ſhe had to do, and treat every people according to the conduct they ſhould have obſerved in this war." The uſual preſents were however offered the Ambaſſadors; but they did not accept them.

Liv. xliv. 16. The Conſul Q. Marcius's letter was afterward read, in which he gave an account of the manner in which he had entered Macedonia, after having undergone incredible difficulties in paſſing a very narrow defile. He added, that the Prætor had got proviſions for him for the winter from all the neighbouring countries, and that in particular the * Epirots had ſupplied

* It has been ſaid above, that the Epirots had joined Perſeus. Either there muſt be a fault here in the text, or part of the people of Epirus had continued in the Roman intereſt.

him

him with twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley, which was to be paid for to their Ambaſſadors then at Rome. But that it was neceſſary to ſend him cloaths for the ſoldiers from Italy, and that he had occaſion for two hundred Numidian horſe, if they could be had. That the country where he was ſupplied him with nothing neceſſary to an army. All theſe articles were executed punctually and immediately. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

Audience was afterwards given to a Lord of Macedonia, called Oneſimus. He had always perſuaded the King to continue the peace. And putting him in mind, that his father Philip, to the laſt day of his life, had always cauſed the treaty he had concluded with the Romans to be read to him twice every day, he had exhorted him to do the ſame, if not with the ſame regularity, at leaſt from time to time. Not being able to diſſuade him from the war, he at firſt had withdrawn from his counſels under different pretexts, that he might not be a witneſs of the reſolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length finding that he was become ſuſpected, and tacitly conſidered as a traitor, he took refuge amongſt the Romans, and was of great ſervice to the Conſul. Having related all that has been ſaid to the Senate, he was exceedingly well received, and the Senate gave him an honorable ſettlement at Tarentum, which was a fine houſe in the city, and two hundred acres of land in the country. Liv. xliv. 16.

SECT. III.

General concern at Rome in reſpect to the approaching elec tion of Conſuls. Paulus Æmilius is elected Conſul wit Licinius Craſſus. Wiſe precautions of Paulus Æmiliu Embaſſy from Egypt to Rome. The Commiſſioners re turned from Macedonia, give an account of the armi by ſea and land. The departure of the Generals is ha tened. Number of the forces. Attention in chuſing t Legionary Tribunes. Speech of Paulus Æmilius to t People before his departure. Preparations of Perſe againſt the Romans. Different embaſſies of that Prin to Gentius, the Rhodians, Eumenes, and Antioch Perſeus, through his avarice, deprives himſelf of t powerful aid of the Baſtarnæ. Avarice and perfidy Perſeus in reſpect to Gentius. Rapid conqueſt of Il ricum by the Prætor Anicius. Perſeus incamps adva tageouſly. Paulus Æmilius re-inſtates diſcipline in army. He diſcovers water in a place where it w wanting. News of the victory gained in Illyricum a rives. The Ambaſſadors of the Rhodians arrive in camp. Paulus Æmilius deliberates upon the manner attacking Perſeus. He ſends Scipio Naſica with a gr detachment to ſeize Pythium. He amuſes Perſeus ſlight ſkirmiſhes upon the banks of the Enipius. Sci ſeizes Pythium, and remains in poſſeſſion of the p Perſeus quits the Enipeus, and advances towards Pyd reſolved to venture a battle there. Paulus Æmil wiſely defers engaging. Sulpicius Gallus foretells eclipſe of the Moon to the Romans. Paulus Æmil explains his reaſons for deferring the battle. The ba is at laſt fought. Perſeus is defeated and put to flig

Q. MARCIUS II.
CN. SERVILIUS.

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. Plut. in Æmil. p. 259, 260.

THE time of the aſſemblies for the election Conſuls approaching, every body was in p concerning the perſon upon whom ſo important choice would fall, and nothing elſe was talked of

all converſations. People were not ſatisfied with the Conſuls who for three years paſt had been employed againſt Perſeus, who had but very indifferently ſupported the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories gained over Philip his father; that powerful King of Macedonia, who had been obliged to implore peace: over Antiochus, a Prince whoſe famous exploits had acquired him the ſirname of the Great, who had been driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and laſtly, over a much more formidable enemy than any King upon earth, that is, over Hannibal, compelled ſome years before to quit Italy after a war of above ſixteen years duration, and conquered in his own country almoſt at the very walls of Carthage. They conceived it a kind of diſgrace for Rome, that its Conſuls ſhould be ſo long at blows with King Perſeus, when he kept the field againſt them with only the miſerable remains of his father's defeat. They did not know, that Philip had left Macedonia more powerful at his death, than it had been before his defeat. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

It was evident, eſpecially after the laſt news from Macedonia, that it was no longer a time to give the command of the armies to faction or favour; and that it was neceſſary to employ the utmoſt attention in chuſing a General, who had wiſdom, experience, and valour; in a word, who was capable of conducting a war ſo important as that now on foot.

All the world caſt their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are occaſions when ſingular merit unites all ſuffrages in its favour; and nothing is more ſoothing than ſuch a judgment, founded, not upon birth or credit, but upon the knowledge of the ſervices a perſon has already done; upon the eſteem which the troops have of his capacity, and the preſſing occaſion, which the State has of his wiſdom and valour. Paulus Æmilius was near ſixty years old: but age, without having at all impaired his ſtrength, had only added to his character, maturity of counſel and prudence, ſtill more neceſſary to a General than courage and bravery.

A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169. He had been elected Conſul for the firſt time fourteen years before, and having acquired general eſteem by his good conduct, he had ended his Conſulſhip with a glorious victory, which had gained him the honour of a triumph. As he found himſelf capable of ſerving his country, he had deſired a ſecond Conſulſhip, and had even once ſtood for it with thoſe who aſpired at that office. The People had rejected him: and Paulus Æmilius, having loſt that hope, ſubſtituted the ſweets of repoſe to the ſplendor of employments. As Augur he applied himſelf ſolely to the affairs of religion; and as a father, to the education of his children. He was very reſerved and frugal in every thing that tended only to luxury and pomp, but noble and magnificent in reſpect to expences of honour and duty; in conſequence of which he ſpared nothing to procure them an education worthy of their birth. Grammarians, rhetoricians, philoſophers, ſculptors, painters, maſters expert in breaking and managing horſes; hunters who taught youth the exerciſes of the chace; in a word, he gave his ſons all the aids and maſters that were neceſſary in forming both their minds and bodies. When he was not employed in publick affairs, he would be preſent at their ſtudies and exerciſes, * by theſe aſſiduous cares evincing, that of all the Romans he was the father, who had moſt love and tenderneſs for his children.

It were to be wiſhed that this example were followed by all perſons in high ſtations, who are indeed accountable for their time to the publick, but who are not thereby diſcharged from the cares, which they owe their children by a natural and impreſcriptible right; and the more as labouring for their inſtruction is ſerving the publick.

All the relations and friends of Paulus Æmilius preſſed him to comply with the wiſhes of the People who called upon him to accept the Conſulſhip. As for himſelf, he had no thoughts but of ſhunning the Peo-

* Φιλοτεκνότατος ἁπασῶν γενόμενος.

ple'

ple's ardour, as not caring for command, and chuſing rather to confine himſelf to the quiet life he had led ſome time. However, when he ſaw that the people aſſembled every morning in crowds before his door, that they called upon him to go to the Forum, and exclaimed highly againſt his obſtinate refuſal, he could no longer reſiſt ſuch ſtrong inſtances, and joined thoſe who aſpired at that dignity. This was matter of great joy and a kind of triumph to the Roman People, who conſidered, as a certain omen of victory over the enemy that which they had juſt gained over Paulus Æmilius, in forcing him to accept the Conſulſhip. This honour was conferred upon him with unanimous conſent. C. Licinius Craſſus was given him for a Collegue. The People would not abandon the diſtribution of provinces to the caprice of chance, and decreed the command of the armies in Macedonia to Paulus Æmilius. Licinius commanded in Italy. Livy ſays however, that they did draw lots. But Plutarch's account ſeems more probable, for the lots might have rendered the people's intention and ardour uſeleſs. A. R. 583. Ant. C. 169.

It is ſaid that Paulus Æmilius, on his return home attended by the people who followed him in a body to do him honour, found his daughter Tertia, then an infant, weeping. He kiſſed her and aſked her the reaſon of her tears. Tertia claſping him in her little arms and kiſſing him: "You don't know then, father," ſaid ſhe, "that our Perſeus is dead." She ſpoke of a little dog, which ſhe had brought up, and called Perſeus. Paulus Æmilius, ſtruck with thoſe words ſaid to her: "And in good time, my dear child, I ac-"cept the omen with great pleaſure." The Romans carried their ſuperſtition very high in reſpect to theſe accidental circumſtances.

The manner in which Paulus Æmilius applied himſelf in preparing for the war, with which he was charged, gave room to judge of the ſucceſs to be expected in conſequence. Before he entered upon office, he demanded of the Senate, that commiſſioners ſhould Liv. xliv. 18.

A.R. 583. Ant. C. 169. be ſent into Macedonia to inſpect the armies and fleets, and afterwards to make their report, when they had made an exact enquiry, of what they had learnt, and what augmentation of troops both for land and ſea-ſervice would be neceſſary. They were alſo to inform themſelves, as far as poſſible, to what number the King's troops amounted; where they actually were; as well as thoſe of the Romans: if the latter had their camp in the defiles of the mountains, or had entirely paſſed them, and were in the plain: what allies were aſſuredly to be relied on; who thoſe were whoſe fidelity ſeemed doubtful and wavering; and what States were to be conſidered as declared enemies. For what time the army had proviſions, and from whence they were to be brought either by land-carriage or in veſſels. And laſtly, what had paſſed during the laſt campaign, as well by land as ſea. As an able and experienced General, he was deſirous to enter into this detail, convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was going to enter, could not be formed, nor the operations regulated without the knowledge of all theſe things. Perſons ſkilled in military affairs, know of what value this foreſight and exactneſs are, which cannot be carried too far. The Senate highly approved ſuch wiſe meaſures, and nominated Commiſſioners approved by Paulus Æmilius, who ſet out two days after.

A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS II.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Liv. xliv. 19. Paulus Æmilius and his Collegue entered upon office before the Commiſſioners returned. In that interval the Senate gave audience to the Ambaſſadors of Ptolemy and Cleopatra King and Queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome againſt the unjuſt enterprizes of Antiochus King of Syria. Three Deputies were ſent into Egypt. This affair is related at length in the Antient Hiſtory.

The

The Commiſſioners had uſed great diligence. On their return to Rome, they ſaid: "That Marcius had forced the paſſes of Macedonia, but with greater danger than advantage. That the King was maſter of Pieria, into which the Roman army had entered. That the two camps were very near each other, being only ſeparated by the river Enipeus. That the King avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was not in a condition either to oblige him to fight or to force his lines. That, amongſt other inconveniencies, the winter had proved very ſevere, was very ſharply felt in a mountainous country, and made it utterly impoſſible to act; and that proviſions only for a ſhort time remained. That the Macedonian army was ſaid to amount to thirty thouſand men. That if Appius Claudius had had a ſufficiently conſiderable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Lychmidum in Illyricum, where he was incamped, he would have been able to make a powerful diverſion againſt Perſeus: but that that General and the troops he had with him, were actually in great danger, if a conſiderable reinforcement were not immediately ſent him, or he was not made to quit the poſt he occupied. That after having viſited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet. That they had been informed, that part of the men had died of diſeaſe, and that thoſe who eſcaped, eſpecially the Sicilians, were returned home; and that the fleet was abſolutely in the utmoſt want of ſeamen and ſoldiers: that thoſe who had remained had not received their pay and were in want of cloaths. That Eumenes and his fleet, after having ſhewn themſelves a little, had diſappeared almoſt immediately without any good reaſons that could be given for it; and that it ſeemed as if they neither could, nor ought to rely upon his diſpoſition: but that as to Attalus his brother, his good will was not to be doubted."

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Liv. xliv. 20.

Upon this report of the Commiſſioners, the Senate decreed that the Conſul ſhould ſet out immediately for Macedonia, as well as the Prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another

Liv. xliv. 21.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. another Prætor, who was to ſucceed Appius Claudius in the neighbourhood of Lychnidum in Illyricum. The number of troops, which each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops, which compoſed the army of Paulus Æmilius, amounted to twenty five thouſand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions each of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, which made twelve thouſand ſix hundred men, more than that number of infantry, and double the cavalry of the Latin allies. The reſt of the troops aſſigned him were to reinforce garriſons. Thoſe which compoſed the army of the Prætor Anicius, who was to command in Illyricum, amounted to twenty one thouſand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions, each conſiſting of five thouſand two hundred foot and three hundred horſe; with ten thouſand Latin infantry and eight hundred horſe. The Prætor Octavius, admiral of the fleet, had five thouſand men aſſigned him, who were to ſerve under him.

As it was propoſed to terminate the war with Macedonia this year, all the precautions that could be imagined for the good of the ſervice were taken. The Tribunes of the ſoldiers were the principal officers of the legion, and commanded it alternately. It was ſaid, that none ought to be choſen for this employment, except ſuch as had commanded, and of the forty-eight Tribunes, which were to be appointed for the eight legions, which the Commonwealth had on foot, Paulus Æmilius had the liberty of chuſing ſuch as he pleaſed, to the number of twelve for the two legions which were to ſerve under him.

Rome, it muſt be owned, acted on this occaſion with great wiſdom. She had, as we have ſeen elected with unanimous conſent for Conſul and General, the perſon who of all the Romans was indiſputably the moſt able warrior of his time. She is now for raiſing officers to the poſt of Tribunes, who have the moſt merit, experience, and ability, proved by actual ſervices; advantages, which are not always the effect either

ther of birth or ſeniority, and to which indeed the Romans were far from being much prejudiced. Rome does more, and by a ſingular exception, compatible with Republican Government, ſhe gives Paulus Æmilius full power to chuſe amongſt the Tribunes ſuch as he ſhould approve; well knowing of what importance it is, that a perfect union ſhould ſubſiſt between a General and the officers that ſerve under him; in order that the commands given by the firſt, who is in a manner the ſoul of the whole army, and ought to direct all its motions, be executed with the utmoſt exactneſs: which cannot be, if a perfectly good underſtanding, founded in the love of the publick good, does not prevail amongſt them, which neither intereſt, ambition, nor jealouſy are capable of interrupting. A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

After all theſe regulation had been made, the Conſul Paulus Æmilius went from the Senate to the aſſembly of the People, and made the following ſpeech. Liv. xliv. 22.

"Romans, in charging me with the care of the war "of Macedonia with unanimous conſent, you ſeem "to have conceived an almoſt certain hope, that this "war, which has been ſpun out to a great length, will "be terminated under my auſpices to the glory of the "Roman people. I hope, that I ſhall be ſupported "by the protection of the Gods in ſo great an un-"dertaking, and fulfil your deſires: but this I may "venture to aſſure you, that I ſhall uſe my utmoſt "endeavours not to fruſtrate your expectation.

"The Senate has wiſely regulated every thing neceſ-"ſary for the expedition with which I am charged, "and as it has ordered me to ſet out immediately, if "I leave any thing undone in reſpect to the levy and "departure of the troops allotted for me, I know "that C. Licinius my Collegue, full of zeal for the "publick good, and affection for me, will provide "for it with the ſame ardor and expedition, as if it "was for himſelf.

"I ſhall take care to give you exact accounts of "all that ſhall happen, and you may rely upon the "certainty and truth of the news I ſhall ſend either

"to

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 8. " to the Senate or you. But I deſire as a favour, " that you will neither believe nor give weight by " your credulity to flying reports, and ſuch as have " no certain author. For in the manner in which " things paſs amongſt you, eſpecially ſince this war, " there is no General, let his conſtancy of mind be " what it will, whom the diſcourſes held here would " not ſhake and diſcourage.

" There are people, who in circles and converſa- " tions, and even at table, lead armies, regulate the " motions of the Conſuls, and lay down all the ope- " rations of the campaign. They know better than " the General, who is upon the ſpot, where he ſhould " incamp, and of what poſts he ſhould ſeize: where " it is proper to ſettle magazines: by what way, ei- " ther by ſea or land, proviſions muſt be brought: " when it is neceſſary to give the enemy battle, and " when to lie ſtill. And they not only preſcribe " what is beſt to be done, but if their plan be eve " ſo little departed from, they make it a crime in " the Conſul, and cite him to their tribunal.

" Know, Romans, that this licence taken at Rome " is a great obſtacle to the ſucceſs of your arms and " the publick good. All your Generals have no " the ſteadineſs and conſtancy of Fabius, who choſe " rather to ſee his authority inſulted by the raſhneſs " of an indiſcreet and frantick multitude, than to " ruin the affairs of the Commonwealth, by piquing " himſelf at a wrong time upon bravery to put a ſtop " to popular rumours.

" I am far from believing that Generals have no " occaſion to receive advice. On the contrary, I " think, that whoever deſires to direct every thing by " his ſingle abilities, and without taking counſel, " ſhews more preſumption than wiſdom. What then " may be reaſonably required? Why that none ſhould " take upon themſelves to obtrude their advice upon " your Generals, but thoſe in the firſt place who are " verſed in the art of war, and who have learnt by " experience what it is to command; and ſecondly,

" thoſe

" thoſe who are upon the ſpot, who know the enemy, A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.
" are capable of judging of different conjunctures,
" and who, being in a manner embarked on board
" the ſame veſſel, ſhare the ſame dangers with us.
" If therefore any one conceives himſelf capable of
" aſſiſting me with his counſels in the war with which
" you have charged me, let him not refuſe his ſervices
" to the Commonwealth, but let him go along with me
" into Macedonia: ſhip, horſes, tents, proviſions, in
" a word, he ſhall have every thing at my expence.
" But, if he will not take theſe pains, and prefers
" the quiet life of the city to the dangers and fatigues
" of the camp, let him not take upon him to hold
" the helm, and remain idle in the port. If they
" have ſo great an itch for talking, the city, of itſelf,
" will ſupply them with ſufficient matter: this is
" not within their ſphere. In a word, I would have
" them know, that we ſhall have no regard to any
" counſels, but ſuch as ſhall be given in the camp
" itſelf."

It is not poſſible to conceive, how much this diſ- Plut. in Paul. Æmil.
courſe, in which Paulus Æmilius ſpoke to his maſters with a wiſe and noble loftineſs, requiring of them not to amuſe themſelves, according to their cuſtom, in controuling the actions of their General, drew upon him their eſteem and reſpect. Every citizen in particular applauded himſelf for having had the courage to deſpiſe the flattery of thoſe, who meanly ſollicited voices, in the choice of a Conſul, and for having confided the command of the army to a man full of greatneſs of mind and freedom, who refuſed it: ſo much, ſays Plutarch, did the Roman People, for the ſake of reigning over others, make themſelves ſlaves to virtue and true merit.

For the reſt, the abuſe of which Paulus Æmilius complains in this diſcourſe dictated by reaſon and good ſenſe, ſhews us that men are in all times the ſame. They take a ſecret pleaſure and make it a merit in themſelves to examine, criticiſe, and condemn the conduct of Generals, and they do not perceive, that

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. they act manifeſtly contrary both to good ſenſe and equity. Contrary to good ſenſe: for what can be more abſurd and ridiculous, than to ſee perſons of no knowledge of war, and void of all experience, ſet themſelves up for Cenſors of the moſt able Generals and paſs ſentence upon their actions in the ſtile of maſters. Contrary to equity: for even the moſt expert cannot judge properly of them without being upon the ſpot, the leaſt circumſtance of time, or place, the diſpoſition of the troops, and even ſecret orders which are not known, being capable of abſolutely changing the ordinary rules. But we are not to hope that this fault will ever be corrected, which has its riſe in the curioſity and vanity natural to man; and Generals act wiſely, who, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, deſpiſe theſe city-rumors, and the tattle of idle people, who have generally more leiſure than judgment.

Liv. xliv. 22. Paulus Æmilius, after having performed the duties of religion, ſet out for Macedonia with the Prætor Cn. Octavius, who was to command the fleet. Never was Conſul, in departing for his province, attended by ſo great a multitude of citizens. From that inſtant, the Romans in general conceived a kind of aſſurance, that he would terminate the war of Macedonia, and ſoon return to Rome victorious and triumphant.

Polyb. Legat. 85. Liv. xliv. 23—25. Whilſt preparations of war had been making at Rome, Perſeus on his ſide had not been inactive. The fear of the approaching danger with which he was threatened, having at length taken place of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius King of Illyricum three hundred talents of ſilver (three hundred thouſand crowns) and to purchaſe his alliance at that price.

At the ſame time he ſent Ambaſſadors to Rhodes, convinced that if that iſland, which was then ſo powerful by ſea, ſhould join him, Rome would be highly diſtreſſed. He ſent others alſo to Eumenes and Antiochus, the two greateſt Kings of Aſia, who were highly

highly capable of aiding him. It was wiſe in Perſeus to take theſe meaſures, and to endeavour to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſuch ſupports: but he thought of them too late. He ſhould have began there, and laid the foundation of his enterprize in thoſe alliances. He did not ſeriouſly think of calling in thoſe remote powers, till the danger was too near; which was rather to call in ſpectators and aſſociates in his ruin, than aid and ſupports. The inſtructions, which he gave his Ambaſſadors were very ſolid, and highly capable of convincing, as we ſhall ſoon ſee: but he ſhould have uſed them, three years before, and waited the effect of them, before he had imbarked alone in a war againſt ſo powerful a people, who had ſo many reſources in their misfortunes. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

The Ambaſſadors had the ſame inſtructions for Eumenes and Antiochus. They repreſented to them, "that there was a natural enmity between Monarchies and Commonwealths. That the Roman People attacked the Kings one after the other; and to make the indignity as great as poſſible, employed the forces of the Kings themſelves to ruin each other ſucceſſively. That they had cruſhed his father Philip by the aid of Attalus; that by that of Eumenes, and partly alſo by that of Philip, Antiochus had been ſubdued; and that they had actually armed Eumenes and Pruſias againſt Perſeus himſelf. That when the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be deſtroyed, it would be Aſia's turn next, of which they had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a part, under the ſpecious pretext of reinſtating the cities in their antient liberty; and that Syria would ſoon after have the ſame fate. That they already began to ſet Pruſias above Eumenes by peculiar diſtinctions of honour; and that they had * obliged Antiochus to renounce the fruit of his victories in Egypt. Perſeus exhorted them, either to prevail upon the Romans to leave Macedonia in peace; or, if they per-

* The fact, to which theſe words allude, will be related in the beginning of the next book.

ſevered

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. ſevered in the unjuſt deſign of making war upon hi to conſider them as the common enemies of all King The Ambaſſadors acted openly, and without evaſio with Antiochus.

As to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with t pretext of ranſoming priſoners, and treated only in cret concerning the real cauſe of it. There had alrea been many conferences at different times, and in d ferent places, upon that head, which had made th Prince very much ſuſpected by the Romans. It w not at bottom, becauſe Eumenes deſired, that Perſe might be victorious over the Romans: the enormo power which he would have had in conſequence wou have given him umbrage, and not a little inflam his jealouſy. Neither was he inclined to decla openly, or to declare war, againſt him. But, believi that both parties were equally inclined to peace, Pe ſeus through fear of the misfortunes that might ha pen to him, and the Romans through diſguſt of a w that had already been ſpun out to a very great length his view was to be a mediator of this peace, and t ſell his mediation, or at leaſt his inaction and neutrali dear to Perſeus. The price was already agreed upo which was a thouſand talents (about an hundred an fifty thouſand pounds) not to give the Romans an aid either by ſea or land, and fifteen hundred talen (two hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds) t prevail upon them to give Perſeus peace. The onl diſpute that remained, was about the time of payment Perſeus was for ſtaying till the ſervice was done, an in the mean time to depoſite the money in the iſlan of Samothracia. Eumenes did not think the ſu thereby ſufficiently ſecured to him; becauſe Samo thracia was dependant upon Perſeus, and he inſiſte that part of the money ſhould be immediately pai down. This broke up the treaty, which was neithe for the honour of the one or the other.

Plut. in Paul. Æmil. 260, 261. Perſeus failed alſo in another, which would not have been leſs to his advantage. He had cauſed a body of Gauliſh troops to march to his aid from the other ſide of

of the Danube, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe and as many foot, and he had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each of the horſe, five to each foot ſoldier, and a thouſand to their General. Theſe Gauls were the ſame, of whom we have ſpoken already under the name of the Baſtarnæ, a Gauliſh Colony ſettled upon the banks of the Boryſthenes, now called the Nieper. This nation was not accuſtomed either to till the ground, feed cattle, or to trade; they lived by war, and ſold their ſervice to ſuch States as would employ them. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that the towns and villages, through which they were to paſs, ſhould have proviſions prepared for them in abundance, as corn, wine and cattle. He had ſome preſents for the principal officers, as horſes, furniture, arms, and veſts. To this he added ſome money, which was to be diſtributed amongſt a few. And as to the multitude, he believed that the hopes of ſomething future would ſuffice to attract them. The King ſtopped near the river * Axius, and encamped there with his troops. A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Liv. xliv. 26, 27.

He deputed Antigonus, one of the principal perſons of his court, to the Gauls, who were about five and twenty leagues from thence. Antigonus was ſurprized, when he ſaw men of extraordinary ſtature dexterous in all the exerciſes of the body, expert in the uſe of arms, haughty and bold in expreſſions, and full of menaces and bravadoes. He dwelt much upon the orders his maſter had given for their good reception in all the places through which they ſhould paſs, and the preſents he had prepared for them: he afterwards invited them to advance to a certain place, which he mentioned, and to ſend their principal perſons to the King. The Gauls were not people to be paid with words. Clondicus the Chief and King of theſe ſtrangers, proceeded directly to the point, and aſked whether

* In Mygdonia.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. ther he had brought the money agreed upon. As no poſitive anſwer was given him; "Go," ſaid he, "tell "your Prince, that till he ſends the hoſtages and "money agreed on, the Gauls ſhall not ſtir from "hence." The King on the return of his Deputy aſſembled his council. He foreſaw their opinions; and as he was a much better guardian of his money, than of his kingdom, to cloak his avarice he expatiated very much upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls, adding that it would be dangerous to ſuffer ſo great a multitude of them to enter Macedonia, from whom every thing was to be apprehended, and that five thouſand of their horſe would ſuffice. Every body ſaw, that he was only in fear for his money, but no body ventured to contradict him.

Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them, that his maſter had occaſion for only five thouſand horſe. On thoſe words a general murmur and rage aroſe againſt Perſeus, who had made them come ſo far to inſult them. Clondicus having again aſked Antigonus, whether he brought money for the five thouſand horſe, as the latter ſought evaſions, and did not anſwer to the purpoſe, the Gauls were in the higheſt fury, and were very near falling upon him to cut him in pieces, which he himſelf very much apprehended. However they reſpected the quality of Deputy, and diſmiſſed him without any bad treatment. The Gauls ſet out immediately, reſumed their route to the Danube, and ravaged Thrace, which was on their way.

Perſeus, with ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans no ſmall trouble. He might have made theſe Gauls enter Theſſaly, where they might have plundered the flat country, and taken the ſtrongeſt places. In conſequence, by continuing quiet near the river Enipeus, he would have made it impracticable for the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he ſhut up the entrance by his troops, or of ſubſiſting longer in the country, becauſe they could not, as before, have had

their proviſions from Theſſaly, which would have been entirely laid waſte. Avarice, which was his ruling paſſion, prevented him from uſing ſo great an advantage. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

It alſo prevented him from the benefit he might have had from another alliance, upon which he ought to have ſet a great value. Preſſed by the ſtate of his affairs, and the extreme danger that menaced him, he had at laſt conſented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had aſked above an year for raiſing troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the King of Macedonia, and had began by advancing the Illyrian Prince ten talents (ten thouſand crowns) of the ſum promiſed him. Gentius made his Ambaſſadors ſet out, and with them truſty perſons to bring away the reſt of the money. He alſo ordered them, when every thing ſhould be terminated, to join the Ambaſſadors of Perſeus, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to induce that Republick to make an alliance with them. Pantauchus had repreſented to him, that if the Rhodians came in to it, Rome could not hold out againſt the three powers united. Perſeus received theſe Ambaſſadors with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. After hoſtages had been exchanged on both ſides, and the uſual oaths taken, it only remained to deliver the two hundred and ninety talents. The Ambaſſadors and Agents of the Illyrian Prince repaired to Pella, where the money was told out to them, and put into cheſts; ſealed with the ſeal of the Ambaſſadors in order to its being carried to Illyricum. This ſeemed to make it ſecure enough for Gentius. Perſeus had given ſecret directions to thoſe, who were to carry it, to move ſlowly and by ſhort days journeys, and, when they ſhould arrive on the frontiers of Macedonia, to ſtop there and to wait his orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyricum, preſſed the King very much to declare againſt the Romans by ſome act of hoſtility. Gentius had already received ten talents by way of earneſt, and having been adviſed Liv. xliv. 72. Plut. in Paul. 261.

A R. 584. Ant. C. 168. that the whole ſum was upon the road, he reckoned it already in his coffers. Upon the repeated inſtances of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he impriſoned two Roman Ambaſſadors, which were then at his court, under pretext that they were ſpies.

As ſoon as Perſeus had received the news of this ſtep believing him ſufficiently and irretrievably embroiled with the Romans in effect, he made thoſe who carried the three hundred talents return, congratulating himſelf ſecretly upon the ſucceſs of his perfidy, which had ſaved his money. But he only kept it and laid it up for the enemy, whereas he ought to have uſed it for defending himſelf againſt, and conquering them. He ought to have known that it was the maxim of Philip and Alexander, the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors "That victory ſhould be purchaſed with money, and "money not ſaved at the expence of victory."

The Ambaſſadors of Perſeus and Gentius being arrived at Rhodes, were highly well received. The decree was imparted to them, by which the Republic had reſolved to employ its whole credit, and all its forces to oblige the two parties to make peace, and declare againſt that which ſhould refuſe to enter into an accommodation.

At the beginning of the ſpring, the Roman Generals had repaired to their reſpective provinces: the Conſul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius to Illyricum.

Liv. xliv. 30—32. The ſucceſs of the laſt was as rapid as happy. His was to make war againſt Gentius. He terminated before Rome knew that it was began. It continued only thirty days. As ſoon as he entered Illyricum, the cities ſubmitted to him with the more eaſe, as he treated the conquered with abundance of clemency and juſtice. Gentius ſhut himſelf up in Scodra, his capital: and having made a ſally without ſucceſs, loſt courage, and came to throw himſelf at the feet of Anicius, imploring his mercy, and confeſſing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather phrenzy, in his

ing taken arms againſt the Romans. The Prætor treated him with humanity. His firſt care was to take the two Ambaſſadors out of priſon. He ſent one of them, called Perperna, to Rome with the news of his victory; and ſome few days after, cauſed Gentius, his mother, wife, children, brother, with the principal Lords of the country, to be carried thither. The ſight of ſuch illuſtrious priſoners highly increaſed the people's joy. Publick thankſgivings were made to the Gods, and great crowds of perſons of all ages and ſexes went to the temples. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

Paulus Æmilius did not remain inactive on his ſide. When he approached the enemy, he found Perſeus advantageouſly incamped near the ſea at the foot of mount Olympus, in places that ſeemed inacceſſible. He had the Enipeus before him, which might be forded, but its banks were very high; and on that which was on his ſide, he had raiſed good works with towers from ſpace to ſpace, where he had planted baliſtas, and other machines to diſcharge darts and ſtones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach them. Perſeus had ſo fortified himſelf here, that he believed himſelf in abſolute ſecurity, and was in hopes of waſting, and at length of diſcouraging Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would have in ſubſiſting his troops, and maintaining his ground, in an enemy's country. Plut. in Paul. Æm. Liv. xliv. 32.

He did not know what kind of an adverſary was ſent againſt him. Paulus Æmilius was ſolely intent upon preparing every thing for an action, and continually mediated every kind of expedient for rendering all the enemy's precautions ineffectual. He began by eſtabliſhing a ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline in his army, which had been corrupted by the licentiouſneſs in which it had been ſuffered to live. He reformed many things, as well in reſpect to the manner in which the General's orders were to be diſtributed in the army, as to the ſentinels and guards. The ſoldiers had been accuſtomed to criticize upon their General, to examine into all his actions, to preſcribe him his duty, and to Liv. xliv. 33, 34. Plut.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. lay down what he was, and was not, to do. He ſpoke to them with ſteadineſs and dignity, as he had done at Rome to the citizens. He gave them to underſtand, "that ſuch diſcourſes ill became a ſoldier: that he ought to be intent only upon three things, the care of his body, to render it robuſt and active; of his arms, in order that they might always be clean and in good condition; and to have always proviſions dreſt, that he might be ready to march on the firſt notice. That as to the reſt, he ought to rely upon the goodneſs of the Immortal Gods, and the General's vigilance. That as to him, he ſhould omit nothing that might be neceſſary to give them occaſion to ſhew their courage: that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the ſignal ſhould be given them."

When things are reaſonable in themſelves, and are ſpoke with an air of dignity and authority, they always make impreſſion. It cannot be expreſſed, how much this diſcourſe, though mixed with a kind of reprimand, pleaſed and animated the troops. The old ſoldiers declared, that they had not learnt their duty till that day. A wonderful change was ſoon perceived in the camp. No body was idle in it. The ſoldiers were ſeen ſharpening their ſwords, poliſhing their helmets, cuiraſſes and bucklers; practiſing to move nimbly under arms, brandiſhing their javelins, and handling their naked ſwords; in a word, breaking and inuring themſelves to all the military exerciſes; ſo that it was eaſy to judge, that on the firſt occaſion they ſhould have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

Liv. xliv. 33. Plut. The camp was ſituated very advantageouſly in all reſpects, except the want of water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whoſe preſence of mind extended to every thing, ſeeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered with very branching green trees, judged from the number and quality of them, that there muſt neceſſarily be ſprings in the earth of that mountain, and

and gave orders to open the ground at the bottom, and to dig pits in the ſand. They had not dug far before ſtreams of water appeared from ſeveral ſources, at firſt muddy in ſmall quantity, but ſoon after very clear and abundant. This event, which was merely natural, was conſidered by the ſoldiers, as a ſingular favour of the Gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, which made him ſtill more the object of their affection and reſpect. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

When Perſeus ſaw what paſſed in the Roman camp, the ardor of the ſoldiers, the pains they took, and the exerciſes by which they were preparing for battle, he was not a little anxious, and plainly perceived, that he had no longer to do with a Licinius, an Hoſtilius, or a Marcius, and that every thing was changed in the Roman army with the General. He redoubled his cares and attention on his ſide, animated the ſoldiers, applied himſelf alſo in forming them by different exerciſes, added new intrenchments to the old ones, and ſpared no pains to cover his camp from inſult.

In the mean time arrived the news of the victory gained over the Illyrians, and of the taking of the King with his whole family. This occaſioned incredible joy in the Roman army, and an extreme ardor amongſt the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves in the ſame manner on their ſide. For it is common between two armies, that act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other in valour and glory. Perſeus at firſt endeavoured to ſuppreſs this news: but the care he took to diſguiſe it, ſerved only to make it more publick and certain. The alarm ſpread univerſally amongſt his troops, and made them dread a like fate. Liv. xliv. 34, 35.

It was at this time, that the Rhodian Ambaſſadors came to make the ſame propoſal to Paulus Æmilius, which had excited ſuch great indignation in the Senate at Rome. It is eaſy to judge in what manner it was received in the camp. Some, tranſported with rage, were for having them diſmiſſed with inſult. The Ibid. 35.

A. R. 584. Ant. C 168. Conſul thought his contempt was better expreſſed, by telling them coldly, that he would give them an anſwer in fifteen days.

Liv. xliv. 35. To ſhew the little regard he had for the pacifick mediation of the Rhodians, he aſſembled his council of war, to deliberate upon meaſures for entering upon action. Some were for endeavouring to force the intrenchments of the enemy upon the banks of the Enipeus: they declared that the Macedonians, who had been driven the year before from higher and better fortified places, could not ſuſtain the charge of the Roman Legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, ſhould go to Theſſalonica to ravage the ſea-coaſt, in order to oblige the King, by that diverſion, to withdraw part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave ſome paſs open. It is of great importance for an able and experienced General to be at liberty to act according to the dictates of his own judgment. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He ſaw that the bank of the Enipeus, as well by its natural ſituation, as the fortifications that had been added to it, was inacceſſible. Beſides which, he knew, not to mention the machines planted on all ſides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his in diſcharging javelins and arrows. To undertake forcing ſuch impenetrable lines, had been to expoſe the troops to ſlaughter; and a good General ſpares the blood of his ſoldiers, becauſe he conſiders himſelf as their father, and believes he owes them the ſame care as he does his children.

He therefore lay ſtill during ſome days without making the leaſt motion. In all other times the ſoldiers, full of ardour and impatience, would have murmured: but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquieſce in his conduct. At length, in effect of enquiring and gaining intelligence, he was informed by two Parrhæbian merchants, whoſe prudence and fidelity were known to him, that there was a way which led to Pythium, a place ſituated upon

upon the top of mount Olympus; that this way was not of difficult acceſs, but that it was well guarded: Perſeus had ſent a detachment of five thouſand men thither. Paulus Æmilius conceived, that if this body of troops could be ſurprized by a ſudden and unforeſeen attack, it would perhaps be eaſy to drive them out of that poſt, and to ſeize it. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

The queſtion was to amuſe the enemy, and conceal his deſign. He ſent for the Prætor Octavius, and having opened himſelf to him, he ordered him to go to Heraclea with his fleet, and to take with him proviſion enough for a thouſand men for ten days; in order to make Perſeus believe, that his intent was to ravage the ſea-coaſt. At the ſame time he made Scipio Naſica, the ſon-in-law of Scipio Africanus, ſet out with Fabius Maximus his ſon, then very young; gave them a detachment of five thouſand choſen troops, and made them take their route for the ſea towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, as had been propoſed in the council of war. When they were arrived, Naſica imparted the orders he had received to the principal officers. As ſoon as it was night, they quitted the way towards the ſea, and advanced without halting towards Pythium over the rocks and mountains, conducted by the Parrhæbian guides. They had concerted to arrive there the third day, and to attack the fort towards the end of the night.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuſe the enemy, and to employ him in ſuch a manner by preſent objects, that he might have no thoughts of any thing elſe, the next day early in the morning detached his light-armed troops to attack the Macedonians, who guarded the entrance of the river, the declivity of whoſe banks on each ſide were three hundred paces in depth from the top to the bottom, and the ſtream was above a thouſand broad. It was in this ſpace that the action paſſed in view of the King and the Conſul, who were each with their troops in the front of their camp. The Conſul cauſed the retreat to be ſounded

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. about noon. The loſs was very near equal on both ſides. The next day the battle began again in the ſame manner, and almoſt at the ſame hour: but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only to do with thoſe, with whom they were engaged; but ſuſtained a ſhower of darts and ſtones diſcharged upon them by the enemy from the tops of the towers diſpoſed along the ſhore. The Conſul loſt abundance more men this day, and made his troops retire later. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay ſtill, and ſeemed to intend to attempt another paſſage nearer the ſea. Perſeus did not in the leaſt ſuſpect the danger, that threatened him.

Plut. in Æmil. Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were much fatigued; and he reſted them during the remainder of the night. The Macedonian officers, who guarded the paſs at Pythium, were ſo negligent, that nobody perceived the approach of the Romans. Scipio, according to Polybius, found them aſleep, and had no difficulty to diſlodge them from that poſt. Moſt of them were killed: the reſt eſcaped by flight, and carried terror into the camp.

Plut. ibid. Perſeus ſeized with dread, and apprehending that the Romans, after having opened themſelves that paſſage, would attack him in the rear, immediately decamped for his greater ſecurity. He afterwards held a great council upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take. The queſtion was to know whether he ſhould ſtop before the walls of Pydna, an adjacent and well fortified city, to try the event of a battle, or divide his troops into the places of ſtrength, and expect the enemy there, who could not ſubſiſt long in a country, which he ſhould take care to deſtroy, and which could ſupply neither forage for the horſes, nor proviſions for the men. This laſt method had great inconveniences, and argued a Prince reduced to the laſt extremity, without either reſource or hope; not to mention the hatred, which the ravaging of the lands, commanded and executed by the King in perſon, would

would excite againſt him. Accordingly the principal officers repreſented to him, that his army was much ſuperior to that of the Romans; that the troops were reſolved to do their duty well, being to defend their wives and children; that being himſelf the witneſs of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double vigour, and emulate each other in giving proofs of their valour. Theſe reaſons re-animated the Prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, eſtabliſhed his camp there, prepared to give battle, forgot nothing for his advantage that the ſituation of places would afford, aſſigned each their poſts, and gave all the neceſſary orders, reſolved to attack the Romans as ſoon as they ſhould appear. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius having joined Scipio's detachment, marched againſt the enemy in order of battle, keeping always along the coaſt of the ſea, from whence the Roman fleet ſent him proviſions in ſmall barks. When he came in view of the Macedonians, and had conſidered the good diſpoſition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to conſider upon what he had to do.

The place where Perſeus was incamped was an open level country, very proper for drawing up in battle a body of heavy-armed foot, as the phalanx was. On the right and left were ſmall eminences, which being contiguous to each other, afforded a ſecure retreat to the light-infantry and troops armed with miſſive weapons, and gave them means to conceal their motions, and to ſurround the enemy by attacking them on the flanks.

It was now the hotteſt part of the ſummer, and near noon. The Roman troops had made a long march, in a way full of duſt, and burnt up by the ſun. Their heat and wearineſs were evident; and at this time of the day, it was plain that both muſt increaſe. Paulus Æmilius reſolved therefore, for all theſe conſiderations, not to bring them to blows with an enemy entirely freſh and repoſed.

But

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. But the deſire of fighting was ſo warm in both armies, that the Conſul had no leſs difficulty to elude the ardor of his own ſoldiers, than to repel that of the enemy. As they were not all drawn up in battle yet, he affected to order the Tribunes to repair each to his poſt. He ran through the ranks, exhorting his troops to do their duty well. And at firſt they demanded the ſignal with great eagerneſs. But inſenſibly and in proportion as the ſun grew hotter, the air of their countenances appeared leſs animated, the tone of their voices grew fainter, and ſome of them, already fatigued, even leaned upon their ſhields and javelins. He then openly commanded the Captains of the legions to mark out a camp, and to poſt the baggage. The ſoldiers were rejoiced to find, that their General was not for leading them on to battle, tired and fatigued as they were.

The Conſul had around him his Lieutenants, and the commanders of the foreign troops, amongſt whom was Attalus; who all approved his deſign of fighting, as they ſuppoſed; for they did not yet know his thoughts. When they ſaw he had changed his opinion, they all remained ſilent. Scipio, whoſe courage and boldneſs were much increaſed by his late ſucceſs on mount Olympus, was the only one who ventured to ſpeak, and to make warm inſtances to him. He repreſented, "that the Generals who had preceded him, had given the enemy by their delays occaſion to eſcape out of their hands. That it was to be feared, that Perſeus would fly in the night, and that they ſhould be obliged to purſue him with great pains and danger acroſs the impenetrable defiles of the mountains of Macedonia, as had happened in the paſt years. He therefore adviſed him, whilſt the enemy was in the open field, to attack him directly, and not to loſe ſo fair an occaſion of defeating him."

"Formerly," replied the Conſul to Naſica," "I "had the ſame way of thinking as you have now, and "you will one day think as I do at preſent. I will "give you the reaſons for my conduct at another time;

« time; till when, rely upon the prudence of an old « General." The young officer ſaid no more, well perſuaded that the Conſul had good reaſons for acting as he did. A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

On ſaying this, he commanded, that the troops, who were at the head of the army in the view of the enemy, ſhould draw up in battle, and preſent a front as with deſign to engage. They were diſpoſed, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, in three lines. At the ſame time the pioneers, covered by thoſe troops, were at work in forming a camp. As the workmen were very numerous, the intrenchments were ſoon finiſhed. The Conſul then made his battalions file off gradually, beginning by the rear, which was next the workmen, and drew his whole army off into his intrenchments without confuſion, diſorder, or its being in the enemy's power to prevent it. The King, on his ſide, after having continued in order of battle during that day, made his troops alſo return into their camp, not omitting to obſerve to them, that it was the enemy who had declined fighting.

It * was an inviolable rule with the Romans, whether they were to ſtay but one day or night in a place, to ſhut themſelves up in a camp, and to fortify it well. They thereby avoided all inſult, and prevented all ſurprize. The ſoldiers conſidered this military abode as their city: the intrenchments ſerved them inſtead of walls, and the tents for houſes. In caſe of a battle, if the army was defeated, the camp ſerved it for a retreat and an aſylum; and if it was victorious, it found there a place of reſt.

When the Romans were ſafe within their works, C. Sulpicius Gallus, Tribune of the ſecond legion, who had been Prætor the year before, with the Conſul's permiſſion, aſſembled the ſoldiers, and informed them, Liv. xliv. 37. Plut. in Æmil.

* Majores veſtri caſtra munita portum ad omnes caſus exercitûs ducebant eſſe—Patria eſt militaris hæc ſedes, vallumque pro mœnibus, & tentorium ſuum cuique militi domus ac penates ſunt——Caſtra ſunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. xliv. 39.

« that

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. "that the ſame night there would be an eclipſe of the moon from the ſecond hour of the night to the fourth, in order that they might not be terrified, as at a prodigy, by a phænomenon which happened at certain periodical times, from cauſes merely natural, and for which reaſon, it was eaſy to foreſee and declare it beforehand. That therefore, as they were not ſurprized at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun and moon, becauſe both happened at certain known hours, no more than at the inequalities which they were accuſtomed to ſee in the diſk of the moon, which was ſometimes greater and ſometimes leſs; ſo they ought not to conſider the darkening of that ſtar as a prodigious event, which was occaſioned only by the ſhadow of the earth that hid it from our ſight."

This eclipſe, which happened in the night upon the third or * fourth of Auguſt, cauſed Sulpicius to be conſidered by all the ſoldiers of the Roman army, as a man inſpired by the Gods; and filled the Macedonians with terror; as if it had been a prognoſtick of the ruin of the kingdom and of the whole nation. Nothing was heard in their camp but cries and howling, till the moon recovered its uſual light.

The next day at ſun-riſe, Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious obſerver of all the ceremonies preſcribed in the ſacrifices, or who rather was very ſuperſtitious, applied himſelf in offering oxen to Hercules. He ſacrificed twenty, one after another, without being able to find any favourable ſign in thoſe victims. At laſt, in the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he ſaw one that promiſed him victory, if he only acted upon the defenſive, and did not attack. At the ſame time he made a vow to ſacrifice an hundred oxen to that God, and to celebrate public games in honour of him.

Liv. xliv. 38. Plut. Having finiſhed all theſe ceremonies of religion about nine in the morning, he aſſembled the council

* The reader may conſult Mr. Crevier's note 30 upon book xliv. of Livy.

of

of war. He had heard the complaints which were made of his ſlowneſs in attacking the enemy. He thought fit, in this aſſembly, to give an account of his conduct, eſpecially in reſpect to Scipio, to whom he had promiſed it. "His principal reaſons for not giving battle the night before, were: Firſt, becauſe the enemy's army was much ſuperior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken conſiderably by the great detachment neceſſary for guarding the baggage. In the ſecond place, would it have conſiſted with prudence to have engaged troops quite freſh, with his who were exhauſted by a long and painful march, by the exceſſive weight of their arms, by the ſcorching heat of the ſun, and by the thirſt which gave them great torment?" In the laſt place, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the indiſpenſible neceſſity for a good General not to give battle, before he has a camp well intrenched behind him, which in caſe of accident, may ſerve as a retreat for the army. He concluded his diſcourſe with bidding them prepare for a battle the ſame day. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

We here * ſee the difference between the duty of ſoldiers and ſubordinate officers, and that of a General. The firſt have only to deſire to fight and to act well in battle: but it is the General's part, who ought to foreſee, weigh, and compare every thing, not to reſolve without the moſt mature deliberation. And often, by a wiſe delay of ſome days, or even of ſome hours, he ſaves an army, which an inconſiderate ardour would have expoſed to the danger of periſhing.

Though both ſides had reſolved to give battle, it was however rather a kind of chance that brought them to blows than the order of the Generals, who were not in haſte to engage on either ſide. Some Thracian ſoldiers charged ſome Romans on their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to the aid of thoſe foragers. The Macedonians made Liv. xliv. 40, 41. Plut.

* Diviſa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire: duces providendo, conſultando, cunctatione ſæpius quàm temeritate prodeſſe. TACIT. Hiſt. iii. 20.

ſome

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. ſome troops advance to ſuſtain the Thracians; and the reinforcements ſent to both ſides continually augmenting, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have loſt the paſſage, in which Polybius, and Livy after him, deſcribed the order of this battle. This makes me incapable of giving a juſt idea of it; what Plutarch ſays of it being quite different from the little that remains of it in Livy.

The charge being given, the Macedonian phalanx diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner from the reſt of the King's troops. Paulus Æmilius then advanced to the front, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the front of the phalanx, thruſt the ends of their pikes into the ſhields of his ſoldiers, ſo that the latter, whatever efforts they made, could not reach them with their ſwords; and at the ſame time he ſaw the whole front-line of the enemy had their ſhields joined together with their pikes preſented. This rampart of braſs and foreſt of pikes impenetrable to his legions, filled him with aſtoniſhment and dread. He often ſpoke afterwards of the impreſſion that terrible ſight made upon him, ſo as to give him reaſon to apprehend being defeated. But, not to diſcourage his troops, he concealed his anxiety from them, and aſſuming a gay and ſerene aſpect, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuiraſs, animating them by his words, and ſtill more by his example. The General, above ſixty years old, was ſeen expoſing himſelf to fatigue and danger like a young officer.

The * Peligni, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmoſt efforts, one of their officers took the enſign of his company, and threw it into the midſt of the enemy. The ſoldiers upon that ſprung forwards like men in deſpair to avoid the ſhame of loſing their colours. Unheard

* A people of Italy, who, as allies, furniſhed the Romans with troops.

of

of actions of valour in conſequence paſſed on both ſides with dreadful ſlaughter. The Peligni endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their ſwords, to force them to give way with their ſhields, to pull them out of their order with their hands, and to thruſt them aſide in order to open themſelves an entrance. But the Macedonians keeping cloſe order continually, and holding their pikes in both hands, preſented a rampart of iron, and gave ſuch wounds to thoſe who advanced upon them, as, penetrating their ſhields and armour, laid the boldeſt of the Peligni dead at their feet, who ruſhed on regardleſs of danger, like wild beaſts, ſpitting themſelves on their ſpears, and precipitating upon a death which they ſaw before their eyes. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

The whole front-line being in conſequence put into diſorder, the ſecond began to ſlacken and be diſcouraged. Paulus Æmilius ſaw with extreme grief, that his firſt troops had given way, and that the Romans did not dare to attack the phalanx. It preſented a terrible front covered with long pikes in cloſe order: and there ſeemed no means poſſible either for breaking or opening it. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not permitting the enemy to continue this front of ſhields and pikes every where, Paulus Æmilius obſerved, that the phalanx of the Macedonians was forced to leave openings and ſpaces, and that it remained backwards on one ſide, whilſt it advanced on the other. The Conſul, like an able General that obſerved every thing, and who knew how to improve the occaſion the inſtant it aroſe, dividing his troops into ſmall parties, ordered them to throw themſelves into the void ſpaces in the enemy's line of battle, and to attack them no longer in a body in front, but by detached troops, and at different places all at once.

This order, given ſo opportunely, occaſioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans at firſt threw themſelves into the ſpaces, and thereby made the enemy incapable of uſing their long pikes. They took them

in

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. in flank and rear where they were uncovered. The phalanx was immediately broke, and its whole ſtrength, which conſiſted ſolely in its union, and the effort it made in a body, vaniſhed and was no more. When they came to fight hand to hand, or in ſeperate platoons, the Macedonians with their little ſwords gave but weak ſtrokes upon the ſhields of the Romans, which were ſtrong and ſolid, and covered them almoſt from head to foot: and on the contrary, they oppoſed only ſmall bucklers to the ſwords of the Romans, which were heavy and ſtrong, and handled with ſuch force and impetuoſity, that they never diſcharged a ſtroke, that did not pierce, and break bucklers and armour in pieces, and make the blood appear. The phalanx being thus taken at diſadvantage, reſiſted but weakly, and were at laſt entirely broke and put to the rout.

The King of Macedonia abandoning himſelf to his fear, had rode off full ſpeed from the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretext of ſacrificing to Hercules: as if, ſays Plutarch, Hercules was a God to receive the abject ſacrifices of cowards, and to hear impious vows: for it is not juſt that he, who dares not face an enemy, ſhould gain a victory: whereas that God received the prayers of Paulus Æmilius favourably, becauſe he implored victory ſword in hand, and made himſelf worthy of it by fighting valiantly.

It was in attacking the phalanx, that the greateſt effort was made, and from which the Romans found moſt reſiſtance. And it was there alſo, that Cato's ſon, the ſon-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, after having performed prodigies of valour, unfortunately loſt his ſword, which had ſlipt out of his hand. On this accident, out of his ſenſes and inconſolable, he ran through the ranks, and drawing together a body of bold and determinate young perſons, he fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity, and in a manner deſperate, upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts and an horrible ſlaughter, he puſhed them, and remained maſter

maſter of the ground, when himſelf and his followers ſought for his ſword, which was not found at laſt without great difficulty, under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Tranſported with this good fortune, and raiſing cries of victory, they threw themſelves with new ardour upon ſuch of the enemy as maintained their ground; ſo that at length a body of three thouſand choſen Macedonians who were the flower of the nation for ſtrength and courage, was entirely cut to pieces, without one of them quitting their rank, or ceaſing to fight to their laſt breath. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

After the defeat of this body all the reſt fled, and ſo great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with their bodies. It is ſaid, that on the ſide of the Macedonians above five and twenty thouſand periſhed: the Romans loſt only an hundred men. (This ſeems very improbable; and perhaps there may have been ſome error in the cyphers.) They took eleven or twelve thouſand priſoners.

The cavalry, who had not acted in the battle, ſeeing the defeat of the foot, had retired, and the Romans, in their fury againſt the troops of the phalanx, had no thoughts at that time of purſuing them.

This great battle was decided in ſo ſhort a time, that it began about three in the afternoon, and victory declared for the Romans before four. The reſt of the day was paſſed in purſuing thoſe who fled, which was done ſo far, that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the ſervants of the army ran out to meet their maſters with great cries of joy, and lighted them with torches to their tents, where they had made illuminations, and covered them with * feſtoons of ivy and crowns of lawrel.

But in the midſt of this joy, the General was in extreme affliction. Of the two ſons which he had in Liv. xliv. 44. Plut.

* This was the cuſtom of the Romans. Cæſar obſerves in the third book of the Civil War, that in Pompey's camp he found the tents of Lentulus and ſome others covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. this battle, the youngeſt, who was but ſeventeen years of age, and whom he loved the moſt tenderly, becauſe he even then gave great hopes of his future merit, was miſſing. It was apprehended that he was killed. The camp was in a general alarm, and changed their cries of joy into a mournful ſilence. He was ſought for amongſt the dead with torches, but ineffectually. At laſt, when it was late in the night, and every body deſpaired of finding him, he returned from the purſuit, accompanied only by two of his companions, covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought to have found him amongſt the dead, and did not taſte the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reſerved for other tears and loſſes no leſs ſenſible. The young Roman of whom we are ſpeaking, was the ſecond Scipio, who was afterwards ſirnamed Africanus and Numantinus for having ruined Carthage and Numantia. He had been adopted by the ſon of Scipio Africanus. The Conſul immediately made three couriers of diſtinction ſet out, (Fabius his eldeſt ſon was one of them) to carry the news of this victory.

SECT. IV.

Perſeus flies from Pella to Amphipolis, aud from thence into the iſland of Samothracia. The Conſul marches in purſuit of that Prince. Perſeus's letter to Paulus Æmilius. The Roman fleet anchors at Samothracia. Evander of Crete is accuſed and cited before the judges. The King cauſes him to be killed. He contrives to eſcape and is betrayed by Oroandes. He ſurrenders himſelf to Octavius, who cauſes him to be carried to the Conſul Paulus Æmilius receives him and ſpeaks mildly to him. Diſcourſe of Paulus Æmilius to the young Romans. End of the war and of the kingdom of Macedonia. Fate of that kingdom. News of the victory of Paulus Æmilius brought to Rome. Commiſſioners appointed for Macedonia and Illyricum. Regulations in reſpect to thoſe

new conqueſts. Anicius, after having reduced Epirus, returns into Illyricum. Promulgation of the new regulations concerning Illyricum. Paulus Æmilius viſits the cities of Greece. He returns into Macedonia. He ſettles the affairs of that province in concert with the commiſſioners. Young Scipio exerciſes himſelf in hunting. Paulus Æmilius gives magnificent games at Amphipolis. His noble diſintereſtedneſs. Epirus plundered. Paulus Æmilius arrives at Rome, and after him Anicius and Octavius. The Senate decrees them a triumph. The ſoldiers of Paulus Æmilius, at the inſtigation of Galba, combine to prevent his triumph. Speech of Servilius in favour of Paulus Æmilius. A triumph is granted him with unanimous conſent. He loſes two of his ſons, the one before and the other after his triumph. His ſpeech to the People. Perſeus is kept under a guard with his ſon Alexander. Triumphs of Octavius and Anicius. The ſon of Cotys is ſet at liberty.

PERSEUS, after his defeat, loſt no time. Continuing his flight from Pydna, he arrived in the night at Pella. Alarmed by the almoſt general deſertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himſelf ſafe there, and ſet out the ſame night for Amphipolis, carrying with him the greateſt part of his treaſures. When he arrived there, he ſent Deputies to Paulus Æmilius with a Caduceus, to aſk permiſſion to make propoſals to him. From Amphipolis he went to the iſland of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their ſubmiſſion. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

The Conſul having ſet out from Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy ſituation of which he admired. The King's treaſures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents were then found there, (three hundred thouſand crowns) which Perſeus had cauſed to ſet out for Gentius King of Illyricum, and afterwards to be brought back. Paulus Æmilius being informed that Perſeus was in Liv. xliv. 46. Plut.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, to go from thence to that iſland. He advanced into the Odomantic country, beyond Strymon, and incamped at * Sires.

Liv. xlv. 4. He there received a letter from Perſeus, which was preſented to him by three Deputies of no conſiderable birth and condition. He could not help ſhedding tears on reflecting upon the inconſtancy of human things, of which the preſent ſtate of Perſeus, compared with what it had been juſt before, gave him a very ſenſible example. But, when he ſaw the letter was inſcribed in theſe words, "King Perſeus to the "Conſul Paulus Æmilius, health;" the ſtupidity of that Prince in reſpect to his condition, ſays Livy, ſtifled all ſenſe of compaſſion in him; and, though the ſtile of the letter was humble and ſuppliant, and ill ſuited the royal dignity, he diſmiſſed the Deputies without giving them an anſwer. What haughtineſs had theſe proud Republicans, who in this manner in an inſtant degrade and depoſe an unfortunate King! Perſeus then perceived what title he was from thence forth to forget. He wrote a ſecond letter, in which he only uſed his name without quality. He deſired that Commiſſioners might be ſent to him, with whom he might treat: which was granted. This negotiation was ineffectual, becauſe Perſeus on one ſide would not depart from his title of King, and Paulus Æmilius on the other inſiſted, that he ſhould ſubmit entirely to the diſcretion of the Roman People.

Ibid. 5. During this time, the Prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, had landed at Samothracia. He did not take Perſeus by force from that aſylum out of reſpect for the Gods who preſided there; but he endeavoured by promiſes and threats to induce him to quit the temple and ſurrender himſelf to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (called Atilius) either of his own head, or in concert with the Prætor, took another

* An obſcure and unknown city at the weſtern extremity of Macedonia.

method

method for drawing the King out of his aſylum. Having entered the aſſembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he ſaid to them, "Is it with or "without foundation, that your iſland is ſaid to be "holy, and throughout its whole extent to be ſacred "and inviolable?" Every body having declared the iſland to be ſacred: "Why therefore," continued he, "is an homicide, contaminated with the blood of "King Eumenes, ſuffered to violate ſo auguſt and "ſacred an abode? and whilſt all the ceremonies of "religion are begun, by excluding from them thoſe "whoſe hands are not pure, how can you ſuffer your "temple itſelf to be defiled and profaned by the pre-"ſence of an infamous murtherer?" This accuſation regarded Evander, who, as every body knew, had been the inſtrument in the aſſaſſination of Eumenes. A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

The Samothracians in conſequence declared to the King, that Evander was accuſed of aſſaſſination: that, according to the eſtabliſhed laws of their aſylum, he ſhould juſtify himſelf before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do ſo, that he ſhould provide for his ſecurity, and quit the temple. The King having ſent for Evander, adviſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms not to ſubmit to ſuch a ſentence. He had reaſon to give him this counſel, apprehending that he would declare, it was by his order he had attempted this aſſaſſination. Accordingly he gave him to underſtand, that he had nothing left to chuſe, but to die by his own hands. Evander ſeemed to comply, and declaring that he choſe rather to uſe poiſon than the ſword for that effect, he was ſolely intent upon making his eſcape by flight. The King being apprized of this, and fearing that the Samothracians would turn their wrath againſt him, as having ſaved the criminal from the puniſhment he deſerved, he cauſed him to be killed. This was profaning the aſylum with a new crime: but he corrupted the principal magiſtrate with great preſents of money, who declared in the Aſſembly, that Evander had killed himſelf.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Liv. xlv. 6. Plut. in Æmil.

The Prætor not having been able to perſuade Perſeus to quit his aſylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means of embarking and flying. However, notwithſtanding all his precautions, Perſeus ſecretly gained one Oroandes of Crete, who had a merchant-ſhip, and perſuaded him to take him on board with all his riches: they amounted to two thouſand talents, (that is, to about three hundred thouſand pounds.) But, ſuſpicious as he was, he did not diſpoſſeſs himſelf of every thing, and ſent only part of them, reſerving the reſt to be carried along with him. The Cretan, according to the knaviſh and deceitful character of his nation, embarked in the evening all the gold and ſilver ſent to him, and let Perſeus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and the people abſolutely neceſſary to his ſervice.

The time for the embarkation drawing nigh, Perſeus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, croſſed a garden, and went off through a ruined houſe with his wife and children. The reſt of his treaſure followed him. But what was his grief and deſpair, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was already put to ſea! It was neceſſary that he ſhould return to his aſylum with Philip his eldeſt ſon. He confided his other children to the care of Jon of Theſſalonica, who had been his favorite, and who betrayed him in his adverſity. For he gave them up to Octavius; which was the principal cauſe that induced Perſeus to ſurrender himſelf to thoſe who had his children in their hands.

Liv. xliv. 6, 7. Plut.

As ſoon as Octavius was maſter of the King's perſon, he made him embark, in order to ſend him to the Conſul, to whom he had before given advice of it. Æmilius conſidering this event with reaſon as a ſecond victory, immediately offered a ſacrifice to the Gods; and having aſſembled the council, after having cauſed Octavius's letters to be read in it, he ſent Q. Ælius Tubero, his ſon-in-law, to meet the King, ordering all the reſt to continue with him in his tent, and to wait

wait his coming there. Never did fight draw more people together. Syphax, many years before, had been brought priſoner to the Roman camp. But beſides his not being comparable to Perſeus either in his own perſon, or the dignity of his nation; he was then only an aſſociate in the war of Carthage, as Gentius was in that of Macedonia: whereas Perſeus was the principal in the preſent war, and was not only highly important in his own perſon, but by the remembrance of his father, grandfather, and the many other Kings whom he reckoned either amongſt his anceſtors or predeceſſors, amongſt whom Philip and Alexander, who had ſubjected the univerſe to the Macedonians, made the greateſt figure. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

Perſeus arrived in the camp, in black robes, attended only by his ſon. He could not move forwards for the great crowd that preſſed to ſee him, and ſtopped the way, till the Conſul ſent his Lictors to clear it and open him a paſſage to his tent. Paulus Æmilius roſe up, and ordering every body elſe to continue ſitting, he advanced ſome ſteps to meet him, and offered him his hand. That Prince was for throwing himſelf at the feet of the victor, and for embracing his knees; but the Conſul would not ſuffer it, and raiſing him up, made him ſit down oppoſite to thoſe who formed the aſſembly. Liv. xliv. 7, 8. Plut.

He began by aſking him, "what cauſe of diſcontent had induced him to undertake a war againſt the Roman People, that expoſed himſelf and his kingdom to inevitable ruin." As, inſtead of the anſwer which every body expected, the King kept his eyes upon the ground, and ſhed tears without ſpeaking, Paulus Æmilius continued as follows: "If you had aſcended "the throne in your early youth, I ſhould be leſs ſur- "prized at your having been ignorant of what weight "it was to have the Roman People for your friends "or enemies. But having had part yourſelf in the "war which your father made againſt us, and re- "membring the treaty of peace, with which it was "followed, and of which we have on our ſide ob-

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. "ſerved the conditions with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs; "how could you chuſe rather to be at war than at "peace with a people, whoſe valour in the one and "fidelity in the other you had experienced?" Perſeus making no more anſwer to this reproach, than to the firſt queſtion: "In whatſoever manner," reſumed the Conſul, "theſe things may have happened, either "through error, to which every man is liable, through "chance, or the inevitable decrees of fate, take cou- "rage. The clemency with which the Roman Peo- "ple have acted in reſpect to many Kings and States, "ought to inſpire you, I do not ſay only with ſome "hope, but an almoſt aſſured confidence, that they "will treat you in a manner with which you will "have reaſon to be pleaſed." The conſequence will ſhew what we are to think of this ſoothing promiſe.

Liv. xlv. 7, 8. Plut. He ſpoke this in Greek to Perſeus; then turning towards the Romans, and reſuming the Latin tongue: "You ſee," ſaid he to them, "a great example of "the inconſtancy of human things. It is principally "to you, young warriors, that I direct this diſcourſe. "The uncertainty of what may happen to us from "day to day ought to teach us not to behave with "pride or violence to any one whatſoever in proſpe- "rity, and not to rely too much upon our preſent "good fortune. The proof of true merit and true "courage is, neither to be too elate in good, nor too "much dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, gave Tubero the care of the King's perſon. He made him ſup with him that day, and gave orders that he ſhould be treated with all the honours his preſent ſtate would admit. He afterwards diſtributed his troops into winter-quarters, the greateſt part to Amphipolis, and the reſt into the neighbouring cities.

Liv. xlv. 9. Thus terminated the war between the Romans and Perſeus, after having continued four years: and thus ended a kingdom, which had rendered itſelf ſo famous both in Europe and Aſia. Perſeus had reigned eleven years.

years. He was reckoned the * thirty-ninth King from Caranus, who was the firſt that had reigned in Macedonia. So important a conqueſt coſt Paulus Æmilius but fifteen days. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Liv. xlv. 9.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obſcure till the time of Philip the ſon of Amyntas. Under that Prince, and by his great exploits, it made conſiderable acquiſitions, however not beyond the bounds of Europe: it took in part of Thrace and Illyricum, and acquired a kind of dominion over Greece. The ſame kingdom afterwards extended into Aſia; and during the thirteen years of Alexander's reign, it ſubjected all the provinces, that formed the vaſt empire of the Perſians, and extended itſelf on one ſide as far as Arabia, and on the other to India, which were then conſidered as the extremities of the world. This empire, the greateſt of the earth, being divided or rather torn into different kingdoms after Alexander's death by his ſucceſſors, who each uſurped their part of it, ſubſiſted in Macedonia during ſomething more than an hundred and fifty years, till it was entirely ſubverted by the arms of the Romans. And thus ended the ſo much boaſted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the univerſe, or, more properly ſpeaking, the example of the moſt vain and frantic ambition that ever was.

Paulus Æmilius, immediately after the battle, in which Perſeus had been defeated, had ſent Deputies to Rome to carry thither the news of his victory. Long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilſt games were celebrating in the Circus, a rumour had ſpread, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that Perſeus had been defeated. This news occaſioned an univerſal clapping of hands with cries of victory throughout the Circus. But, when the magiſtrates, upon ſtrict enquiry, had found that this report had neither author nor founda-

* Livy, as we have him, ſays the twentieth. But there undoubtedly muſt be a fault in the cypher. The chronicle of Euſebius ſays the thirty-ninth.

tion,

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. tion, this falſe and ſhort-lived joy ceaſed, and left behind it only a tacit hope, that it was the preſage of a victory either already gained, or which ſoon would be ſo.

The arrival of the Deputies ſome days after made Rome eaſy. They brought advice, that Perſeus had been entirely defeated, that he was flying, and that he could not eſcape the victor. The people's joy then, which had been ſuſpended hitherto, now broke out immoderately. The Deputies read a circumſtantial account of the battle, firſt in the Senate, and afterwards in the Aſſembly of the People. Publick thankſgivings and ſacrifices were decreed, and all the temples were immediately filled with perſons of all ages and ſexes, who went thither to thank the Gods for the glorious victory which they had vouchſafed to grant the Commonwealth. Some time after news was brought of Perſeus's being taken; which raiſed the publick joy to the higheſt pitch. New thankſgivings and ſacrifices were decreed.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Not to interrupt what relates to Macedonia, and Paulus Æmilius, I omit ſome facts to which I ſhall return.

Liv. xlv. 17, 18. After the election of the new Conſuls at Rome, the command of the armies in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and in Illyricum to Lucius Anicius: ten commiſſioners were then appointed to regulate the affairs of Macedonia, and five for thoſe of Illyricum; the whole to be tranſacted in concert with the Generals. Though the perſons choſen for this commiſſion were ſuch, whoſe prudence might be ſafely relied upon, it was believed, that the importance of the affair required, that it ſhould be maturely diſcuſſed in the Senate, in order that the plan might be laid down for the Generals, and that they might have no more to do than to put the laſt hand to it.

It was previouſly to all other things decreed, "that the Macedonians and Illyrians ſhould remain free, in order to make known to all nations, that the end of the Roman arms was not to enſlave free people, but to deliver them from ſlavery; ſo that ſome might always retain their liberty under the protection of the Roman name; and others, under the government of Kings, might be treated by them with greater moderation and equity, out of conſideration for the Romans: or that, if war ſhould ever ariſe between ſuch Kings and the Roman People, the nations might know, that the event of thoſe wars would be victory to the Romans, and liberty to them." A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

"The Senate alſo aboliſhed the duties upon the mines, and revenues of certain countries: becauſe thoſe taxes could only be levied by the miniſtration of tax-farmers, commonly called Publicans; and wherever thoſe farmers were ſettled, one thing of two neceſſarily happened. If they were commanded to treat the people with lenity, thoſe taxes were reduced almoſt to nothing: if they were permitted to uſe rigor and ſeverities, that was either to licence or command the oppreſſion and ruin of the people. The Macedonians themſelves might have been impowered to levy them: but it was judged, that the handling of the publick money always inriching thoſe who had it, it would be an occaſion of envy and diſcord between them, and continual matter of ſedition. Therefore the beſt method ſeemed abſolutely and for ever to ſuppreſs them.

They decreed that there ſhould be no general council of the whole nation in Macedonia, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould make the liberty the Senate gave them, degenerate into a pernicious licentiouſneſs, which liberty could not be ſalutary, but whilſt uſed with moderation. Macedonia ſhould therefore be divided into four regions, of which each ſhould have its particular council, and ſhould pay half the taxes, uſually paid the Kings, to the Romans." And indeed, this partition of a State into four parts very much

A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167. much weakened its power, and ſeems a conſequence, but on this occaſion wiſe and equitable, of that great principle of government, "Divide and reign," *Divide & impera.*

Liv. xlv. 26. Thoſe appointed for Illyricum ſet out firſt, and repaired thither immediately. The Proprætor Anicius had entered Epirus with part of his army. That country, as we have related above, had embraced the party of Perſeus: and it was now to be ſubjected to the Romans. The city of Phanotum ſurrendered firſt to the Romans, and moſt of the reſt did the ſame. That of Paſſaron at firſt refuſed to open its gates. Two of the principal citizens of that place, who in concert with Cephalus had made the whole nation take arms againſt the Romans, rightly perceiving, that they had no pardon to hope, in order to bury themſelves in the ruins of their country, perſuaded the inhabitants to make head againſt Anicius, exhorting them to prefer death to ſlavery. Nobody dared to open their mouth againſt two men, whoſe power was abſolute. Theodotus, a young citizen of illuſtrious birth and rank, had the courage to ſpeak in oppoſition to them, not fearing them ſo much as the Romans. "What phrenzy has ſeized you," ſaid he to his countrymen, "and induces you to involve ſo "many innocent perſons in the puniſhment of two "criminals? I have often heard of private perſons, "who have died generouſly for their country; theſe "two are the only men to this day, who have be-"lieved, that their country ought to periſh for them, "and with them. Let us rather open our gates to "the Romans, and ſubmit to a power, to whom the "whole univerſe is ſubjected." The two authors of the revolt ſeeing that the multitude followed this young citizen, attacked the neareſt poſt of the enemy, and preſenting themſelves to their ſwords, found the death they ſought. The city immediately ſurrendered to the Romans. Cephalus in that of Tecmon acted almoſt in the ſame manner, and had the ſame fate with thoſe I have juſt mentioned: after which the Romans met

met with no farther reſiſtance. Anicius having reduced Epirus, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the moſt commodious places, returned into Illyricum. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

He there found the commiſſioners of Rome at Scodra, the capital of the country, who communicated to him the Senate's orders. After Anicius had conſulted them, he called an aſſembly of the Illyrians, and having aſcended his tribunal, he declared, that the Senate and People of Rome granted the Illyrians liberty, and that the garriſons ſhould evacuate all the cities and citadels of the country as ſoon as poſſible. As to ſome countries, which before and after the war had declared for the Romans, to their liberty was added an exemption from all taxes: the reſt were diſcharged from half they before paid to King Gentius. Illyricum was divided into three regions or parts, each of which had its peculiar publick council and magiſtrates. After having eſtabliſhed this form of government there, he returned to his winter-quarters at Paſſaron in Epirus. Liv. xlv. 26.

Before the commiſſioners for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leiſure, reſolved, during the autumn, to viſit the moſt famous cities of Greece, and to ſee with his own eyes things of which all the world talked without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he ſet out with a very ſmall train, accompanied by his ſon young Scipio, and Athenæus brother of King Eumenes. Liv. xlv. 27, 28. Plut. in Æmil.

He croſſed Theſſalia to go to Delphi, the moſt famous oracle of the univerſe. The multitude and riches of the preſents, ſtatues, vaſes, tripods, with which this temple was filled, ſurprized him extremely. He there offered a ſacrifice to Apollo. On ſeeing a great ſquare pillar of white ſtone, on which a golden ſtatue of Perſeus was to be placed, he ordered his own to be ſet upon it, ſaying, "That the vanquiſhed "ought to give place to the victors."

At

A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167. At Lebadea he ſaw the temple of Jupiter, ſirnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cave, into which thoſe deſcended who conſulted that oracle. He offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter and to the goddeſs Hercynna. She was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis, he had the curioſity to ſee the Euripus, and all that is ſaid of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, which are much more frequent here than any where elſe, and entirely irregular.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port in former times ſet out the famous fleet of Agamemnon. He viſited the temple of Diana, upon whoſe altar that King of Kings ſacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain an happy voyage from that goddeſs.

After having paſſed through Oropus into Attica, where the prophet Amphilochus was honoured as a God, he repaired to Athens, a city famous for its antient grandeur, which preſented to his view abundance of objects capable of exciting and gratifying his curioſity, the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the port Piræus to the city, the arſenals, the monuments of great Captains; and laſtly, the ſtatues of Gods and heroes, in which the workmanſhip far excelled the riches and variety of the materials. He did not forget to offer a ſacrifice to Minerva, the tutelar goddeſs of the citadel.

Whilſt Paulus Æmilius was in this city, he aſked the Athenians for an excellent philoſopher to compleat the education of his children, and a ſkilful painter to deſign the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately caſt their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philoſophy and painting. We ſee here what attention the great men of antiquity had to the education of their children. The ſons of that Roman General had taken the robe of manhood, as the youngeſt, afterwards known by the name of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, was then ſeventeen years old. He notwithſtanding thinks of placing a philoſopher with them,

them, capable of forming both their minds for the ſciences, and their hearts for moral virtue, which of all ſtudies is the moſt important, and however the moſt neglected. Paulus Æmilius, after having found in the perſon of Metrodorus the treaſure he ſought, quitted Athens well ſatisfied. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and Iſthmus afforded him a curious ſight: The citadel of prodigious height, and abounding with waters ſupplied by an infinite number of ſprings; the Iſthmus, which by a very narrow tract of land ſeparated two adjacent ſeas, the one on the weſt, and the other on the eaſt.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illuſtrious cities, were the next on his way; then Epidaurus, leſs opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æſculapius, where there then was an infinite number of rich preſents, offered by diſeaſed perſons in gratitude for cures they imagined they had received from that God.

Sparta was not diſtinguiſhed by the magnificence of its buildings, but the wiſdom of its laws, cuſtoms, and diſcipline.

Having paſſed through Megalopolis, he arrived at Olympia. He there ſaw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he caſt his eyes upon the ſtatue of Jupiter, (which was the maſterpiece of Phidias) he was as highly ſtruck with it, ſays Livy, as if he had ſeen that God himſelf: *Jovem veluti præſentem intuens, motus animo eſt*, and he cried out, "this * Ju-"piter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer." Accordingly full of veneration, as if he had been in the Capitol, he offered a more ſolemn ſacrifice here than any where elſe.

When he had thus made the tour of Greece, without inquiring what each place had thought in reſpect to Perſeus, to avoid leaving the allies under any anxi-

* To have ſo well expreſſed the idea of Homer, is highly for the praiſe of Phidias; but to have ſo well conceived all the majeſty of the God, is much more for Homer's.

ety,

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. ety, he returned to Demetrias. He had met a body of Ætolians on his way, who came to inform him of an horrid violence committed upon the principal perſons of their nation. He ordered them to meet him at Amphipolis. Being informed, that the ten commiſſioners had already paſſed the ſea, he quitted all his other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much ſurprized to meet Perſeus there, whom his guards ſuffered to go from place to place with great liberty; for which he afterwards warmly reproached Sulpicius to whoſe care he had confided the keeping of that important priſoner. He then put him into the hands of Poſtumius, as well as his ſon Philip, with orders to guard him better. As to his daughter and ſecond ſon, he cauſed them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered all the care to be taken of them that ſuited their birth and condition.

Liv. xliv. 29, 30. Plut. When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten of the principal citizens to attend him at Amphipolis, with all the publick regiſters whereſoever depoſited, and all the King's money, he placed himſelf on his tribunal in the midſt of the ten commiſſioners. And though the multitude of the Macedonians around them, had been accuſtomed to the ſplendor of their Kings, the Lictor, who kept off the crowd, the Herald who cited perſons before the magiſtrate, and the Officers with their rods and axes, all objects new to their eyes and ears, and capable of intimidating not only conquered enemies, but even allies of the Commonwealth, ſtruck them with ſurprize and terror. Paulus Æmilius having cauſed ſilence to be made, repeated in Latin what the Senate, and himſelf with the ten commiſſioners had regulated in reſpect to Macedonia: and the Prætor Octavius who was preſent explained the whole to the aſſembly in the Greek tongue.

The principal articles were: "That the Macedonians ſhould be free, ſhould retain their cities, lands, and laws, and create new magiſtrates every year. That

That they ſhould pay the Romans half the taxes they had paid their Kings: (Plutarch makes this moiety amount to an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thouſand crowns.) That Macedonia ſhould from thenceforth be divided into four regions, or cantons, each of which ſhould have its own council, wherein all affairs ſhould be finally determined. The capital cities, where the aſſemblies of each canton were to be held, were for the firſt Amphipolis, for the ſecond Theſſalonica, for the third Pella, and for the fourth Pelagonia. It was in theſe four cities, the people of each government had orders to aſſemble by their deputies, carry in their taxes, and elect their magiſtrates. None were allowed to contract marriages, or buy lands or houſes, out of their own diſtrict. They were prohibited to work in the mines either of gold or ſilver; only thoſe of braſs and iron were abandoned to their induſtry; and thoſe who employed themſelves in them were taxed only half what they uſually paid the King. They were alſo prohibited to uſe foreign ſalt, and either to cut themſelves, or ſuffer others to cut, wood proper for building ſhips. The diſtricts, bordering upon barbarous nations, (as all were except the third) were permitted to keep ſtanding troops upon their frontiers." A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

Theſe regulations, which were promulged in full aſſembly, made different impreſſions upon the hearers. The article of liberty and that of the diminution of taxes, gave the Macedonians, who little expected them, extreme pleaſure. But they conſidered the partition of Macedonia into different regions, which were no longer to have any commerce with each other, as tearing a body in pieces by ſeparating its members, which only live and ſubſiſt by their mutual aid and ſupport each other.

The Proconſul afterwards gave the Ætolians the audience he had promiſed them. I ſhall ſpeak of it elſewhere. After an interval which was paſſed in other affairs, a ſecond general aſſembly of the Macedonians was held, to ſet the new government on foot. Liv. xlv. 31.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. At this time he cauſed the names of the principal perſons of Macedonia, whom it had been reſolved to remove to Italy, with ſuch of their children, as were above fifteen years old, to be publickly read. This order, which at firſt ſeemed rigorous and cruel, was afterwards acknowledged to be neceſſary to the liberty of the people. * For none were named in this liſt except the great Lords, Generals of armies, Captains of ſhips, with all who had exerciſed offices, or been employed in embaſſies, in a word, all the officers, conſiderable or not, who had been accuſtomed to make their court ſervilely to the King, and to command others with pride and inſolence. In this number were included the very rich and powerful perſons of themſelves; and others, who being much inferior to them in birth and fortune, affected to equal, and even exceed, them in luxury and expence: both living almoſt like Kings as to their tables and equipages. Such kind of men would not eaſily have been reduced to lead a quite different life, in which liberty makes all the citizens equal, and every body without diſtinction is alike ſubject to the laws. All theſe had orders to quit Macedonia, and go to Italy upon pain of death.

The regulations made by Paulus Æmilius for Macedonia, were ſo wiſe, and ſo judiciouſly concerted, that they ſeemed intended not for enemies conquered by force of arms, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reaſon to be ſatisfied; and uſe, which alone proves what may have been weak and defective in laws, during a long ſeries of years, found nothing to correct in theſe inſtituted by this wiſe magiſtrate.

Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 161. Whilſt Paulus Æmilius was employed in theſe important cares, Scipio his ſon, whom age did not yet

* Nominati ſunt enim Regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, præfecti navium, aut præſidiorum; ſervire Regi humiliter, aliis ſuperbè imperare aſſueti: prædivites alii, alii quos fortunâ non equarent, his ſumptibus pares: Regius omnibus victus veſtituſque: nulli civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis æquæ patiens. Liv.

per-

permit to ſhare in them, amuſed himſelf in the exer- A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167.
ciſe of hunting, of which he was very fond. Macedonia ſupplied him abundantly with what was neceſſary to gratify his inclination; becauſe hunting, which was the uſual diverſion of its Kings, having been ſuſpended for ſome years on account of the war, game of all kinds abounded very much: Paulus Æmilius, intent upon procuring his ſon innocent pleaſures, to divert him from ſuch as reaſon forbade, gave him entire liberty to take that of hunting during the whole time that the Roman troops remained in the country, after the victory he had gained over Perſeus. The young Roman employed his leiſure in this exerciſe ſo ſuitable to his age, and he had no leſs ſucceſs in this innocent war, which he declared againſt the beaſts of Macedonia, than his father had had in that he had made againſt the inhabitants of the country.

Paulus Æmilius himſelf made games and ſhews ſuc- Plut. in Æmil. 270.
ceed his ſerious occupations, for which he had been Liv. xlv. 32.
long preparing, and to which he had taken care to invite all the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities of Aſia and Greece. He made magnificent ſacrifices to the Gods, and gave ſuperb feaſts, finding in abundance wherewith to ſupply ſuch great expences in the King's treaſures, but only in himſelf the good order and fine taſte that prevailed in them. For, having ſo many thouſands of people to receive, he ſhewed ſo juſt a diſcernment and ſo exact a knowledge of what was due to them all, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit, and there was not one who had not reaſon to be ſatisfied with his politeneſs and humanity. The Greeks could not ſufficiently admire that even in Games a thing unknown before amongſt the Romans, he ſhould introduce ſo much exactneſs and diſcernment; and that a man, employed in the greateſt affairs, ſhould not neglect the leaſt decorum in ſmall ones.

He had cauſed all the ſpoils, which he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up together, bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word arms of all kinds,

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. and had ranged them in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he ſet fire to them firſt himſelf, and the principal officers after him.

He next expoſed to the view of the ſpectators, on an higher place, prepared for that purpoſe, all that was richeſt and moſt magnificent in the booty he had taken in Macedonia, and which was to be carried to Rome: rich moveables, ſtatues and paintings, executed by the greateſt maſters, vaſes of gold, ſilver, braſs, and ivory, which in magnificence ſurpaſſed all that had ever been ſeen of the kind, even in the palace of Alexander.

But the greateſt ſatisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from this magnificence, and which moſt ſoothed his ſelf-love, was to ſee, in the midſt of ſo many curious things, and ſights capable of attracting the eye, that nothing appeared ſo wonderful and ſo worthy of attention and admiration, as himſelf. And when ſome expreſſed their ſurprize at the fine order that appeared at his table, he ſaid * pleaſantly, that the ſame genius which was neceſſary in drawing up an army, was alſo neceſſary in diſpoſing a feaſt; the one for rendering an army formidable to an enemy, and the other for making an entertainment agreeable to the gueſts.

His diſintereſtedneſs and magnanimity were no leſs praiſed than his magnificence and politeneſs. For he did not ſo much as ſee all the gold and ſilver found in the King's treaſury, and which amounted to very great ſums, but he cauſed it to be put into the hands of the Quæſtors, in order to be laid up. He only ſuffered his ſons, who loved ſtudy, to keep the books of Perſeus's library. The young Lords of thoſe times, and thoſe who were intended one day to command armies, did not expreſs contempt for ſtudy, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or uſeleſs in the profeſſion of arms.

* Vulgò dictum ipſius ferebant, & convivium inſtruere & ludos parare, ejuſdem eſſe qui vincere bello ſciret. Liv.

Paulus

Paulus Æmilius, in diſtributing the rewards of valour, gave only a ſilver cup of five pounds weight to his ſon-in-law Tubero. It was the ſame Tubero, who, with ſixteen perſons of his family, lived on a ſmall piece of land, which ſufficed for their ſubſiſtance and ſupport. This cup was the firſt piece of plate that entered the houſe of the Ælii; and it was ſtill neceſſary, that virtue and honour ſhould introduce it into that little poor family, worthy indeed of being called the palace and temple of poverty. If Paulus Æmilius, when maſter of the immenſe treaſures of Perſeus, had converted a part of them to inrich himſelf, could it be alſo ſaid, that virtue and honour had introduced thoſe riches into his houſe? He was far from ſo ſhameful and infamous a proceeding. I call it ſo after Cicero, who declares, * that avarice is the moſt ſhameful of all vices, eſpecially in thoſe who are charged with the government of a State; and that to make ſo noble an employment the means of gain, is not only the moſt infamous, but the vileſt and moſt criminal of all things. He had ſaid before, ſpeaking of Perſeus, that nothing had entered that General's houſe, except the immortal glory of his virtue. *Et hic nihil domum ſuam præter memoriam nominis ſempiternam detulit.* A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

When Paulus Æmilius had made all the rich ſpoils of Perſeus embark in order to be carried to Rome, in the charge of Cn. Octavius, and had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took his leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuſe the liberty which the Romans had granted them, and to preſerve it by good government and unity, he ſet out for Epirus, with a decree of the Senate, which ordered him to let his ſoldiers plunder all the cities of that country, that had revolted againſt the Romans, and eſpouſed the King's party. He had alſo Liv. xlv. 34.

* Nullum vitium tetrius quàm avaritia, præſertim in principibus rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæſtui rempublicam, non modò turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium. Offic. II. 77.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. ſent Scipio Naſica and Fabius his ſon with part of his troops to ravage the country of the Illyrians, which had aided that Prince.

When the Roman General arrived in Epirus, he thought it neceſſary to act with caution in executing his commiſſion, that his deſign might not be foreſeen. He ſent officers into all the cities, under pretext of withdrawing the garriſons, in order that the people of Epirus might enjoy liberty as well as the Macedonians. And this is called prudence! At the ſame time he ſignified to ten of the principal citizens of each city, that on a day fixed they ſhould bring all the gold and ſilver that were in the houſes and temples into the publick places; and he diſtributed his cohorts into all the cities, in order to ſeize thoſe ſums, and to guard them ſafely. On the day fixed, the gold and ſilver was brought early in the morning into the places, and delivered to the Roman officers, and at ten of the clock, the ſignal having been given, all the reſt was plundered by the ſoldiers. An hundred and fifty thouſand men were made ſlaves. After having plundered to the number of ſeventy cities, the walls of them were demoliſhed. All the ſpoils were ſold, and out of the ſum, to which they amounted, each foot ſoldier had about five pounds, (two hundred denarii) and each of the horſe ten. This violent execution ſhews, that the Romans knew the maxims of conquerors, cruel when they are to eſtabliſh their ſway, which is ſafe in being afterwards made ſupportable by the wiſdom and lenity of their government.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his diſpoſition, which was mild and humane, had cauſed this decree to be executed, he marched towards the ſea to the city of Oricum, made his whole army embark, and repaſſed into Italy. Some days after, Anicius having aſſembled the reſt of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal perſons of them, whoſe ſentence was reſerved for the judgment of the Senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, went up that river in the galley of King Perſeus, which was of ſixteen benches of oars, and in which were diſplayed, not only the arms taken, but the rich ſtuffs and the fine purple carpets found amongſt the plunder. All the citizens went out to meet this galley, accompanied it in crowds along the ſhore, and ſeemed to anticipate the honours of a triumph, which the Proconſul had ſo well deſerved. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. Liv. xlv. 35.

Some days after arrived Anicius and Octavius with the fleet. The Senate decreed them all three triumphs, and ordered C. Caſſius to engage the Tribunes of the People in the name of the Senate to propoſe the law, or uſual decree in the like caſes, to impower thoſe Generals to retain the title of command for the day they ſhould enter the city in triumph. * Envy commonly neglects inferior merit, and aims its venom at that which is greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed. Anicius and Octavius found no obſtacle to their triumphs: Paulus Æmilius, to whom they would have been aſhamed to compare themſelves, was the only one oppoſed. That General had made his ſoldiers obſerve the ſevere diſcipline of the antient Romans. The part of the plunder which he had promiſed them was infinitely ſhort of their expectations; and if he had fully ſatisfied their avidity, he muſt have abandoned all the King's treaſures to them. The army of Macedonia in conſequence was diſpoſed to expreſs little zeal for their General in the aſſembly which was upon the point of being held for paſſing the law. But Servius Galba, as a Tribune of the ſecond legion, and who was perſonally the enemy of Paulus Æmilius, had prejudiced his legion againſt him, and by their means engaged the whole army to be preſent in the aſſembly, and to be revenged of a cruel and avaricious General, in rejecting the law propoſed for his triumph. He called the ſtrictneſs, with which Paulus Æmilius had cauſed the diſcipline to Liv. ibid. 35, 36.

* Intacta invidiâ media ſunt: ad ſumma fermè tendit.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. be obſerved, cruelty; and his care in preſerving the riches of the conquered country for the publick treaſury, avarice. Such diſcourſes however made a great impreſſion upon the ſoldiers: and their diſcontent, which aroſe from their inſatiable avidity, injured the excellent qualities of their General, to whom however they were all forced to do juſtice within themſelves, by acknowledging the ſuperiority of his merit in every reſpect.

On the day of the aſſembly, as a triumph was upon the point of being decreed him unanimouſly, Galba ſeeing that nobody offered to oppoſe a law, which did not ſeem to admit any difficulty, came forwards, and ſaid that particulars having a right to ſpeak for or againſt Laws propoſed, he demanded, that the affair might be deferred till next day, becauſe it was already paſt two in the afternoon, and the four remaining hours did not ſuffice for deducing all the reaſons he had to alledge againſt the triumph of Paulus Æmilius. The Tribunes having ordered him to ſpeak immediately, if he had any thing to ſay, he began a long diſcourſe full of injurious expreſſions and reproaches; the end of which was to animate and incenſe the ſoldiers, by exaggerating the cruelty of the Generals in reſpect to them, and giving them to underſtand, that if all of them in concert rejected the law, they would teach the great perſons of Rome by that firmneſs of behaviour to treat the troops with leſs rigor than they did. In this manner he took up the reſt of the day.

The next day, the ſoldiers came in ſo great a number to the aſſembly, it was almoſt impoſſible for the other citizens to enter it to give their ſuffrages. The firſt Tribes abſolutely rejected the propoſal of the triumph. The Senators upon that, highly enraged, that Paulus Æmilius ſhould be denied an honour, which he had ſo well deſerved, and alarmed beſides by a conſpiracy, which was upon the point of ſubjecting the Generals to the ſoldiers, and of rendering them the victims of their licentiouſneſs and avarice, made a great noiſe in the aſſembly. After the tumult

mult had been appeaſed, M. Servilius, who had been Conſul, and had killed three and twenty enemies, who had challenged him, in ſingle combat, deſired the Tribunes to begin the deliberation again, and to permit him to ſpeak to the people. This being granted, he explained himſelf to the following effect. A. R. 585, Ant. C. 167.

" Romans, it ſeems to me, that we may now more " than ever know the great ability of Paulus Æmilius " in the art of war, ſince having an army to command " ſo inclined to licentiouſneſs and revolt, he has known " how to keep it within the bounds of duty, and to " perform with it ſuch great and glorious actions. But " what I cannot conceive, is, that after having expreſt " ſo lively and univerſal a joy, and even paid thankſ- " givings to the Gods on only the news of the victory " gained in Macedonia, now that this victory is in a " manner ſet before your eyes, by the preſence of the " General, to whom you are indebted for it, you appear " indifferent, and inclined to refuſe the ſame Gods the " honours and acknowledgment you owe them, for ſo " diſtinguiſhed a protection. Liv. xlv. 37—39. Plut. in Æmil.

" Could one have believed, that there was a ſingle " perſon at Rome, that could diſlike triumphing over " the Macedonians, and that the perſons ſhould be the " very ſoldiers of Paulus Æmilius, who ſought to ob- " ſcure the glory of their victory. But what com- " plaints then do they make of their General? He has " obliged us, ſay they, to guard our poſts with extreme " ſeverity. He has made our ſentinels and rounds do " their duty with more rigour than any of thoſe who " commanded before him. He has exacted from us " more aſſiduity in fatigues, than had been required " before, being every where in perſon, and affording " us no relaxation. And laſtly, having it in his power " to inrich us by the ſpoils he took, he has choſe rather " to keep the King's treaſures to adorn his triumph, " and to cauſe them afterwards to be carried into the " publick treaſury. You would be aſhamed, ſoldiers, " to expreſs yourſelves in theſe terms. Theſe however " are the only reproaches you can make your General,

" and

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. " and the only reaſons you have to oppoſe the honour " Rome is for granting him.

" But do not deceive yourſelves, ſoldiers. It is not " Paulus Æmilius that your refuſal will hurt. A tri- " umph can add nothing to his glory, univerſally ac- " knowledged as it is, and confirmed by ſo many no- " ble exploits. It is the Roman People themſelves, " it is the whole Commonwealth, you injure. You " muſt not imagine, that a triumph is a particular, a " private ceremony. It is an honour common to the " whole nation. Have the many triumphs over the " Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, rendered only the " Generals illuſtrious who conquered thoſe nations? " Has not the greateſt part of their glory been reflected " upon the Roman name.

" Can there be a more delightful ſpectacle, than to " ſee a conſiderable number of Generals of armies, " great Lords, and Perſeus himſelf with his children, " Perſeus, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt opulent King " of Europe, all laden with chains, walk before the " chariot, and almoſt under the feet of the triumpher? " And this is the delightful ſcene, the ſhining glory, " of which a malignant envy labours to deprive all " Rome.

" Inſtead of theſe honours, you are preparing ſhame " and infamy for the Roman People, which will for " ever ſully their renown, in cauſing them to be con- " ſidered as enemies to true merit. And at the ſame " time you do an irreparable injury to the Common- " wealth. For what Roman will endeavour to imitate " Scipio, or Paulus Æmilius, in a city which repays " the moſt important ſervices of its Generals only with " ingratitude?

" But I am in the wrong, ſoldiers, to impute to " all of you ſentiments ſo remote from your character, " and the conduct you have hitherto obſerved. So " black and criminal a conſpiracy can only be the effect " of the hatred and phrenzy of ſome particulars, the " perſonal enemies of Paulus Æmilius. The ſuf- " frages you are this inſtant going to give, and which

" I aſſure

" I aſſure myſelf cannot but be in his favour, will fully " juſtify you." A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

This diſcourſe made ſuch an impreſſion upon the ſoldiery, that upon the tribes being called upon again to vote, they unanimouſly decreed Paulus Æmilius a Triumph. The merit of this General having thus prevailed over the malice and jealouſy of his enemies, he triumphed over Perſeus and the Macedonians during three days ſucceſſively. Liv. xlv. 39.

The triumph of which we are ſpeaking far exceeded all which had hitherto been ſeen at Rome, either for the greatneſs of the conquered King, the number and excellence of the ſtatues and paintings expoſed to view in this ſhew, or the immenſe ſums carried into the publick treaſury. [A circumſtantial deſcription of this pomp may be ſeen in the little tract upon Triumphs.] Theſe ſums were ſo conſiderable, that the citizens paid no more taxes till the time of Hirtius and Panſa, who were Conſuls the year after Cæſar's death. Plut. Liv. xlv. 40.

It is eaſy to conceive how much the ſight of ſo powerful a King as Perſeus, reduced to ſo humbled a ſtate, accompanied by the Queen his wife, and followed by his children bathed in tears, muſt have excited the compaſſion of the ſpectators. That Prince had deſired Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him for a ſhow to the Roman People, and to ſpare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius anſwered coldly: " The favour he aſks of me, is in his own power; he " can grant it to himſelf." What he intended by theſe words wants no interpretation.

When the pomp arrived at the foot of the Capitol, the priſoners were carried, according to cuſtom, to the publick priſons.

Paulus Æmilius gave an hundred denarii to each foot ſoldier (about fifty ſhillings) twice as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the horſe.

For the reſt, Perſeus, laden with chains and led through the city before the chariot of the victor, was not the only one, who in thoſe days afforded a great example Liv. ibid. Plut. in Æmil.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. example of the inconſtancy of human things. Paulus Æmilius, in the midſt of his triumph, all glittering with gold and purple, gave alſo a proof of it, no leſs ſad and affecting. Of the four ſons which he had, the two by his firſt wife, Fabius and Scipio, had been adopted into two other families. Of the two others, whom he had by his ſecond wife, and kept in his houſe to be the heirs of his name, fortunes, and glory; the youngeſt died at twelve years of age, five days before his triumph, and the other, who was fourteen, was taken off three days afterwards. Every body was ſenſibly touched with the affliction of that unfortunate father, whoſe ſucceſſes and joy were mixed with ſo affecting a loſs and ſo cruel a ſubject of grief.

Liv. xlv. 41. Plut. After ſome days, he repaired to the aſſembly of the People, to give an account of his ſervices, according to the uſual cuſtom, and made a ſpeech worthy of a true Roman. "Though my triumph and the funerals of my children, which have ſerved alternately as ſights for you, cannot have ſuffered you to be ignorant either of the good ſucceſs of my Conſulſhip, or the ſad fate of a family twice ſtruck from heaven in ſo ſhort a ſpace; permit me, however, Romans, to relate to you in few words the happineſs of the Commonwealth, and the misfortune of my houſe. Having ſet out from Brunduſium, at ſun-riſe, I arrived three hours after at Corcyra with my whole fleet. Five days after I offered a ſacrifice to Apollo at Delphi for myſelf and my armies, by land and ſea. From Delphi I arrived in five days more at the camp, took upon myſelf the command of the army, and, after having reformed ſome abuſes which were a great obſtacle to ſucceſs, I advanced within ſight of the enemy. But finding that it was neither poſſible to force the King in his intrenchments, nor to bring him to a battle, I ſeized the fort and defiles of Pythium, notwithſtanding the troops which guarded them; marched down by that means into the plain, forced Perſeus to a battle, gained it, reduced his whole kingdom into ſubjection to the Roman

" man People; and laſtly, terminated a war in fif- A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.
" teen days, which had ſubſiſted three years, and
" which the preceding Conſuls had conducted in ſuch
" a manner, that the laſt always tranſmitted it to his
" ſucceſſor more difficult and dangerous than it was
" when he came to the command. The ſucceeding
" events have been no leſs fortunate. All the cities
" that had been ſubject to Perſeus ſurrendered, I ſeized
" all the treaſures of that Prince. I afterwards made
" him priſoner in the temple of Samothracia, where
" the Gods ſeem to have put him into my hands, with
" his children. It was at this time, judging myſelf,
" that fortune was too favourable to me, I began to
" apprehend her inconſtancy. I was afraid, that ſhe
" would lay ſome ſnare for me at ſea, when I ſhould
" have embarked to carry the rich ſpoils of Macedonia
" with my victorious army to Italy: for it is at ſea
" that fortune ſeems to exerciſe her ſway with moſt
" power. But our voyage was entirely good: the
" treaſures and my troops arrived at a good port in
" Italy. There ſeemed nothing farther for me to aſk
" of the Gods. However, being perſuaded that it is
" often after her moſt ſignal favours, that fortune
" takes pleaſure in evidencing her malignity, I im-
" plored of the Gods, that they would let fall the
" ills, which ſuch great proſperity ſeemed to denounce,
" rather upon me than upon the Commonwealth.
" * At preſent therefore the funerals of my children,
" as if to deride human proſperity, having happened
" before and after my triumph, I have room to hope
" that ſo diſtinguiſhed a diſaſter in my family has ac-
" quitted the Commonwealth in the ſight of the Gods,
" and leaves it nothing farther to fear on their part.
" Perſeus and myſelf have been equally ſpectacles to
" mankind, to inſtruct all mortals, how little they
" ought to rely upon their preſent felicity. There is

* Itaque defunctam eſſe fortunam publicam mea tam inſigni calamitate ſpero; quòd triumphus meus, velut ad ludibrium caſuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum meorum eſt interpoſitus. Liv.

" how-

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. "however a great difference between us. Reduced "as well as his children into captivity, he has ſeen "them dragged before him in triumph: but after- "wards he has the conſolation to ſee them alive and "well. And for me, who have triumphed over Per- "ſeus, a ſtill more unfortunate father than him, I "went from the funeral of one of my ſons in my cha- "riot to aſcend to the Capitol, and deſcended from "thence almoſt only to ſee the other expire before "my eyes. Thus, of four ſons with whom I was "ſurrounded, not one remains that bears my name, "the two firſt having paſſed by adoption into other "families. But your good fortune, and the publick "felicity, conſole me for my loſſes, and the ſolitude "to which my houſe is now reduced." This diſcourſe, full of force and conſtancy, touched the hearers more, than if he had endeavoured to move their compaſſion by deploring his misfortune in a plaintive and mourn- ful tone.

Liv. xlv. 42. Plut. However ſenſible P. Æmilius might be to the mis- fortunes of Perſeus, he could do nothing more for him, than to cauſe him to be removed from the publick pri- ſon into a more commodious place. He was carried by order of the Senate to Alba, where he was guarded and ſupplied with money, moveables, and perſons to ſerve him. Moſt authors ſay, that he deſtroyed himſelf by abſtaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till ſome years after.

Of the three children of Perſeus, two, his daughter and eldeſt ſon, who was called Philip, and who was only his ſon by adoption, and his brother by birth, did not live long. His youngeſt ſon, called Alexan- der, by a fate ſtill more unhappy than captivity and death itſelf, was reduced to work with his own hands for the means of life: and afterwards, as he had learnt the Latin tongue, he became a regiſter under the magiſtrates of the city of Alba. What a fall was this for the ſon of the greateſt King upon earth, and what

what example can be more capable of humbling human pride! A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

Triumphs were alſo granted to Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius: to the firſt, for the ſucceſſes at ſea: and to the other, for the conqueſt of Illyricum. In this laſt triumph, King Gentius was led before the victor's chariot with his wife, children, brother, and many of the principal perſons of his nation. Plut. ibid. 42, 43.

Cotys, King of Thrace, ſent to demand his ſon, who had been impriſoned after having been led in triumph. He excuſed himſelf for his attachment to the intereſts of Perſeus, and offered a conſiderable ranſom for the young Prince. The Senate, without accepting his excuſes, replied, that having more regard to his former ſervices than his recent fault, they returned him his ſon, without accepting a ranſom. That the Roman People did not ſell their favours, and choſe rather to leave the value of them in the hearts, and to the gratitude of thoſe they obliged, than to require a price that would diſhonour them.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE TWENTY-SIXTH.

THIS book contains more than the ſpace of one and twenty years. It includes principally a ſeries of affairs which aroſe from the war of the Romans with Perſeus, the beginnings of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, the third Punic war, and the deſtruction of Corinth.

SECT. I.

Ambaſſadors ſent by the Senate into Egypt. They go out of their way to Rhodes. In conſequence of their diſcourſe all who had declared for Perſeus againſt the Romans are put to death. Haughtineſs of Popilius: Anſwer of King Antiochus. Return of the Ambaſſadors to Rome. Embaſſies of the Kings of Syria and Egypt to Rome. Maſgaba, ſon of Maſiniſſa, comes Ambaſſador to Rome. He is received there very honourably. Honours paid to his brother Miſagenes. The Freedmen are all reduced into a ſingle Tribe. Embaſſy of Attalus to Rome. He hearkens to the wiſe remonſtrances of Stratius his phyſician. The Rhodians are ill received at Rome. Harangue of their Ambaſſadors. Cato declares in favour of the Rhodians. The Senate's anſwer. The alliance of Rome is at length granted to the Rhodians.

dians. Lamentable complaints of the Ætolians to Paulus Æmilius. They do not obtain juſtice. The credit and inſolence of the partiſans of Rome increaſe extremely. Unjuſt and cruel policy of the Romans. The Achaians, ſuſpected of having favoured Perſeus, are ſent to Rome, baniſhed, and diſperſed into different cities. The Achaians ſend ſeveral deputations to Rome in favour of the exiles, but always ineffectually. The exiles are at laſt ſent home to their own country. Great friendſhip between Scipio the younger and Polybius. Meanneſs of ſoul of Pruſias. End of Livy's hiſtory.

IN the preceding book we have ſeen, that Ptolomy Evergetes and Cleopatra his ſiſter, being vigorouſly attacked by Antiochus the Illuſtrious, King of Syria, had ſent Ambaſſadors to the Romans to implore their aid. The Senate, moved with the extreme danger in which Egypt was, and beſides convinced, that it was not for the intereſt of Rome to ſuffer Antiochus to aggrandize himſelf ſo much, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to put an end to the war. C. Popillius Lænas, C. Decimius, and C. Hoſtilius, were charged with this important affair. They were inſtructed to go firſt to Antiochus, and afterwards to Ptolomy; to declare to them from the Senate, that they muſt ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war: and that, if either of the two refuſed, the Roman People would no longer conſider him as their ally. Knowing that the danger was urgent, three days after the reſolution taken in the Senate, they ſet out from Rome with the Ambaſſadors of Egypt. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Liv. xliv. 19. Polyb. Legat. 90.

After having ſtopt ſome time in the iſland of Delos, they reſumed their route. When they arrived at the port of Lorima in Caria, oppoſite to Rhodes, the principal perſons of the Rhodians came to them, and earneſtly deſired them to come to Rhodes; repreſenting to them, that it was important for the ſafety and honour of their Republick, that they ſhould know from themſelves what had been done hitherto, and what ſtill actually paſſed at Rhodes, in order that they Liv. xlv. 10.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. might inform the Senate of it, and undeceive them in reſpect to the falſe reports, which might have been ſpread againſt the Rhodians at Rome. The Ambaſſadors long refuſed to ſtop: but the Rhodians preſſed them ſo ſtrongly, that they at length conſented to their requeſt.

Liv. xlv. 10. They went therefore to Rhodes, where it was neceſſary to make new inſtances to them, in order to induce them to come into the aſſembly. But the manner in which they ſpoke there increaſed the alarm of a people already trembling, inſtead of abating it. Popillius reproached them with all that their Republick, or even every particular amongſt them, had either done or ſaid againſt the intereſts of the Romans, ſince the war had been declared againſt the King of Macedonia; the whole with a countenance glowing with rage, and the tone of an accuſer, which was natural to him, and made them beſides perceive the wrong they had been guilty of, and the diſcontent of the Romans. For they judged from the indignation of a ſingle Senator, who had no perſonal cauſe of anger againſt them, of the diſpoſition of the whole order in reſpect to them. C. Decimius, the ſecond of the Ambaſſadors, ſpoke to them with more moderation. For in reſuming the diſcourſe of Popillius, he ſaid, "that moſt of the faults, with which they were reproached, ought to be attributed, not to the people of Rhodes in general, but to ſome incendiaries who had animated them againſt the Romans. That thoſe ſycophants, whoſe tongues were venal, had dictated decrees full of extravagant praiſes of the King of Macedonia, and charged their Ambaſſadors with ſenſeleſs orders, which could not but occaſion the Rhodians as much repentance as confuſion, and of which the puniſhment would undoubtedly fall upon the guilty." He was heard with great applauſe, and in conſequence of what he had opened, a decree was paſſed immediately, by which all, who ſhould be convicted of having ſaid or done any thing in favour of Perſeus, ſhould ſuffer death. But moſt of thoſe who were within this caſe, had

had either quitted the city, when the Romans entered it, or had voluntarily killed themſelves. The Ambaſſadors ſtayed only five days at Rhodes, and immediately departed for Alexandria. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

They arrived there, when Antiochus was preparing to beſiege it. They went to meet him at Eleuſis, a town ſituated a ſmall quarter of a league from the city. The King ſeeing Popillius, whom he had known particularly at Rome, whilſt he was an hoſtage, offered him his hand as an old friend. The Roman, who conſidered himſelf no longer as a private perſon, but in a publick character, deſired to know, before he received his civility, whether he was ſpeaking to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He preſented him the decree of the Senate, and bade him read it. Antiochus, after having done ſo, ſaid, that he would deliberate upon it with his council, and give him his anſwer. Popillius, inraged that the King ſhould talk of delays, drew a circle upon the ſand round that Prince, with a little ſtaff which he had in his hand; and aſſuming the haughty air, and ſevere tone that were natural to him, "Before you quit this circle," ſaid he to him, "give me the anſwer I am to carry "back from you to the Senate." The King daſhed at ſo haughty a proceeding, after a moment's reflexion, replied humbly: "I will do what the Senate demands." Popillius then offered him his hand as the friend and ally of the Commonwealth. What haughtineſs of ſoul, * what inſolence of language was this! This Roman, with a few words, terrifies the King of Syria and ſaves the King of Egypt. Liv. xlv. 12.

What gave the one ſo much boldneſs, and the other ſo much docility, was the news which had been juſt before received of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus King of Macedonia. From thenceforth every thing gave way before them, and the Roman name became terrible to all Princes and nations.

* Quàm efficax eſt animi ſermoniſque abſciſſa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit. VAL. MAX.

A.R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Antiochus having quitted Egypt on the day fixed, Popillius with his Collegues entered Alexandria, where he concluded the treaty of accommodation between the * two brothers, which hitherto had only been in embrio. From thence he went to the iſland of Cyprus, which Antiochus had almoſt conquered already, cauſed it to be reſtored to the Kings of Egypt, to whom it belonged of right, and returned to Rome to give an account of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy.

Liv. xlv. 18. Almoſt at the ſame time Ambaſſadors from Antiochus and the two Ptolomies and Cleopatra their ſiſter, arrived there. The firſt ſaid, "That the peace which the Senate had thought fit to eſtabliſh between their maſter and the Kings of Egypt, ſeemed preferable to him to all the victories he could have gained, and that he had obeyed the orders of the Roman Ambaſſadors as thoſe of the Gods themſelves." Flattery equally mean and impious! They afterwards congratulated the Roman People upon the victory they had lately gained over Perſeus.

The Egyptian Ambaſſadors, no leſs exceſſive than thoſe of Syria, declared: "That the two brothers Ptolomy, and Cleopatra, believed themſelves more indebted to the Senate and People of Rome than to their own parents and the Gods themſelves, having been delivered by the protection of the Romans from the calamities of a ſiege, and reinſtated upon the throne of their anceſtors, from which they were almoſt entirely expelled."

The Senate replied: "That Antiochus had done wiſely in obeying the Ambaſſadors; and that the Senate and People of Rome were well pleaſed with him upon that account." Might not one ſay, that here ſeems to ariſe a diſpute between adulation and meanneſs on one ſide, and haughtineſs and arrogance on the other? As to the Ptolomies, and Cleopatra, they were anſwered: "That the Senate was very glad of

* The two Ptolomies, Philometor and Evergetes. Theſe facts, that are treated here only incidentally, are related more at large in the Ancient Hiſtory.

having

having rendered their ſituation more happy; and that it would endeavour to make them ſenſible, that they ought to conſider the amity and protection of the Roman People as the firmeſt ſupport of their kingdom." The Prætor had orders to make the Ambaſſadors the uſual preſents. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

This Antiochus, whom we here ſee ſo mean and abject, was however ſirnamed Epiphanes, that is, "Illuſtrious and Glorious." At his return from Egypt, beſides ſeeing a crown wreſted from him by the Romans, of which he had aſſured himſelf, and of which he was almoſt in poſſeſſion, he made the whole weight of his wrath fall upon the Jews, againſt whom he exerciſed the greateſt cruelties. The God of Iſrael, whoſe worſhip he had endeavoured to aboliſh at Jeruſalem, let fall his hand upon that impious King, and cauſed him to die in the midſt of the moſt acute torments. All the events of this Prince's reign, and his miſerable death, had been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

Embaſſies came to Rome from ſeveral parts in effect of the defeat of Perſeus. Maſgaba, the ſon of Maſiniſſa, having landed at Puteoli, found there the Quæſtor L. Manlius, whom the Senate, having had advice of his arrival, had ſent to meet him, in order to conduct him to Rome at the expence of the Commonwealth. He was received there in a very honourable manner, and had audience immediately. The things which he had to ſay to the Senate, though very agreeable of themſelves, ſeemed ſtill more ſo from the reſpectful and ſubmiſſive expreſſions with which he accompanied them. "After having ſaid ſomething of the cavalry and infantry, elephants and corn, with which his father had ſupplied the armies of the Roman People, he added, that two things had given him pain, and occaſioned confuſion. The firſt was, that the Senate had deſired, inſtead of ordering him, to furniſh the Roman People with thoſe aids: and the ſecond, that they had ſent money to pay for the corn. That Maſiniſſa had not forgot that he was indebted to Liv. xlv. 13, 14.

A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. the Roman People for his kingdom, and for all the augmentations it had received: that accordingly, conſidering himſelf as only the tenant of his dominions, he reckoned the property of them to belong to thoſe who had given them to him. That they therefore ought to uſe commands and not requeſts with him; and to diſpoſe, as of their own, of the fruits which the lands produced, that he held from their liberality. That Maſiniſſa ſhould always be contented with ſuch part as the Romans ſhould leave him, after having taken what they ſhould have occaſion for. That theſe were the orders his father had given him at his departure. But that having afterwards received advice of the defeat of Perſeus, he had diſpatched horſe after him with inſtructions to congratulate the Senate upon it; and to proteſt, that this news had given him ſo much joy, that he was earneſtly deſirous to come to Rome to offer a ſacrifice to Jupiter in his temple of the Capitol, in gratitude for ſo great a bleſſing; and that he deſired the Senate's permiſſion to take that journey."

The Senate anſwered the young Prince, "That the King carried his gratitude too far, when he declared ſo high a ſenſe of a benefit which was no more than the juſt reward of his ſervices. That in the war with Carthage, he had aided the Commonwealth with equal fidelity and valour; and that the Romans were highly pleaſed with having ſeconded his bravery in the conqueſts of the dominions, of which he was in poſſeſſion. That he had afterwards aided the Romans with the ſame zeal and attachment in the wars they had ſuſtained againſt three Kings ſucceſſively, without ever departing from himſelf. That it was no wonder, that he took part in the victory of the Romans, who had united his fate with theirs, and had reſolved to ſhare good and bad fortune with them. That he ought to be contented with thanking the Gods for the victory of his allies in his own palace; that his ſon might do it in his name at Rome; and that beſides its being uſeleſs for him to take ſo long a journey, the intereſt itſelf of the Roman People required, that he

he ſhould not quit his kingdom, nor remove ſo far from Africa." A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168.

Some time after his departure, the Senate received advice, that Miſagenes, another ſon of Maſiniſſa, having been diſmiſſed by Paulus Æmilius, in tranſporting his cavalry to Africa, had met with a ſtorm in the Adriatick, which had diſperſed his fleet, and driven himſelf with three of his ſhips to Brunduſium, where he remained ſick. The Quæſtor L. Stertinius was ſent to him, and was ordered to hire him an houſe in that city, to ſupply him abundantly with every thing he ſhould have occaſion for, and to provide him ſhips to carry him ſafely to Africa, as ſoon as he recovered his health.

This ſame year, the Cenſors Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher ſettled an affair in concert, upon which they had long differed. It related to the freedmen, who after having been twice particularly included in the four Tribes called "the Tribes "of the city," had a third time ſpread into the other Tribes. Theſe city-tribes, *Urbanæ*, were the leaſt honourable, containing only the tradeſmen and artificers of Rome; whereas thoſe of the country, *Ruſticæ*, were compoſed of the more conſiderable citizens, who poſſeſſed eſtates in the country, where many were ſettled, and others often withdrew. After long conteſts the Cenſors reduced all the freedmen into one of the four Tribes of the city called *Eſquilina*, decreeing, that for the future, they ſhould give their ſuffrages in that Tribe only. This regulation did the Cenſors great honour in the Senate. Cicero aſcribes it to Gracchus only, who actually had the greateſt ſhare in it: and he gives us a great idea of the wiſdom and importance of this decree. "We * find it very difficult, he makes Scævola ſay, to keep our government in a tolerable ſtate. But if Gracchus had not confined the freedmen within the Tribes only of the

* Atque is (Ti. Gracchus) libertinos in urbanas tribus tranſtulit: quod niſi feciſſet, rempublicam, quam nunc vix tenemus, jamdiu nullam haberemus. Lib. I. de Orat. n. 38.

city, the Commonwealth would long ſince have been entirely ruined."

A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Polyb. Legat. 93. Liv. xlv. 19, 20. Amongſt the different embaſſies of Kings and States which came to Rome after the victory gained over Perſeus, Attalus attracted the regard and attention of the Romans more than all the reſt. He came in the name of his brother Eumenes, to congratulate them upon their new victory, and alſo to implore their aid againſt the Gauls of Aſia, who had committed great ravages in the dominion of the King of Pergamus. He was received at Rome with all the marks of diſtinction and amity, that a Prince could expect, who had given proofs in the war of Macedonia of his conſtant attachment and fidelity exempt from all ſuſpicion.

The extraordinary honours paid to Attalus, the true reaſons of which he did not penetrate, ſoothed him extremely; and in conſequence he gave ear to propoſals, which in other circumſtances would have immediately ſtruck him with horror.

Ibid. Moſt of the Romans had no longer any eſteem o affection for Eumenes. His ſecret negotiations with Perſeus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that Prince had never been ſincerely in their intereſt, and that he had only abſtained from declaring againſt them for want of occaſion. Full of this prejudice, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Romans, in their private converſations with Attalus, intimated to him, "that Rome formed very different judgments of himſelf and his brother. That as to him, he was conſidered as the true friend of the Romans; and Eumenes, on the contrary, as an ally, who had neither been faithful to them, nor to Perſeus. That he was ſure of obtaining what he ſhould demand for himſelf, and what he ſhould aſk againſt his brother, the whole Senate being diſpoſed to grant him at leaſt one

one half of his brother's kingdom. That accordingly, when he ſhould appear before the Senate, he ought to confine himſelf ſolely to that demand, and to ſpeak only of his own intereſts, without mentioning the affair for which his brother had ſent him." What a propoſal was this made to a brother againſt his brother and King! Theſe ſtrokes of ſelf-intereſted policy, which began then to take place amongſt the Romans, may ſerve as a key to explain their conduct on other occaſions, wherein they more induſtriouſly conceal it. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

The temptation was great to a Prince, who doubtleſs did not want ambition, and to whom the occaſion of ſatisfying it preſented itſelf without being ſought. He therefore hearkened to theſe bad counſels; and the more, as they were given him by ſome of the principal perſons of Rome, of great reputation for wiſdom and probity. He promiſed them, that he would demand in the Senate, that part of his brother's kingdom ſhould be given him.

Attalus had a phyſician with him, called Stratius, whom Eumenes had cauſed to attend him to Rome, to aſſiſt him in his conduct, and to keep him by wiſe counſels within the bounds of his duty, in caſe he ſhould incline to depart from it. Stratius had, with penetration, manners highly inſinuating and perſuaſive. Having either apprehended, or known from Attalus himſelf, the deſign with which he had been inſpired, he took the advantage of ſome favourable moments, for making judicious remonſtrances to him: "That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itſelf and but lately eſtabliſhed, had only ſubſiſted and been augmented by the union and good intelligence of the brothers in poſſeſſion of it. That only one of them indeed bore the name of King, and wore the diadem, but that they all reigned in reality. That Eumenes having no male iſſue (for the ſon he had, and who reigned afterwards, was not then known) muſt leave his throne to the brother immediately next to himſelf. That conſequently the right of At-

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. talus to ſucceed in the kingdom was inconteſtable; and that, conſidering the age and infirmities of his brother, the time for ſucceeding him could not be very remote. Wherefore then ſhould he anticipate and haſten, by an unjuſt and criminal enterprize, what would ſoon happen by a natural and legitimate means? Did he intend to divide the kingdom with his brother, or deprive him of it entirely? That if he only had a part of it, both weakened by ſuch partition, and expoſed to the inſults of their neighbours, might ſoon be alike deprived of the whole. That if he aſpired at reigning alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private perſon, or would he baniſh him at his years and with his infirmities, or put him to death? That he did not doubt, but ſuch thoughts would give him horror. That not to mention the tragical ends of fraternal diſcord related in books, the quite recent example of Perſeus ought to ſtrike him. That that unfortunate Prince, who had ſhed his brother's blood to ſecure the crown to himſelf, purſued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the ſame crown at the feet of a victor in the temple of Samothracia, in a manner before the eyes and by the order of the Gods, who preſide there, the witneſſes and avengers of his guilt. That the very perſons who flattered the ambition of Attalus, more out of hatred for Eumenes than amity for him, would praiſe his moderation and greatneſs of ſoul, if he perſiſted in his fidelity to his brother, to the laſt."

Of what value upon a like occaſion ought a ſincere, prudent, and diſintereſted friend to appear! What an advantage is it for a Prince to give thoſe who approach him the liberty of ſpeaking their thoughts freely, and to be known to them in that light! The wiſe repreſentations of Stratius had their effect upon the mind of Attalus. When that Prince was introduced to the Senate, without ſpeaking againſt his brother, or aſking to ſhare the kingdom of Pergamus with him, he contented himſelf with congratulating the Senate in the

the name of Eumenes and his brothers upon the victory, that had lately terminated the war of Macedonia. He mentioned with great modeſty his own ſervices in that war. He deſired, that Ambaſſadors might be ſent to check the inſolence of the Gauls, who ravaged the countries dependant upon Pergamus, and to put a ſtop to the hoſtilities of thoſe Barbarians. He concluded with demanding for himſelf in particular the inveſtiture of Ænos and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, which had been conquered by Philip, father of Perſeus, and diſputed with him by Eumenes. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

The Senate imagining, that Attalus would demand a ſecond audience, in order to ſpeak in particular of his own pretenſions to a part of his brother's kingdom, promiſed, that they would ſend the Ambaſſadors, and made the Prince the uſual preſents. They alſo promiſed to put him into poſſeſſion of the two cities he had demanded. But, when it was known that he was ſet out from Rome, the Senate, offended to ſee, that he had not done what they expected from him, and not being able to revenge themſelves in any other manner, they revoked the promiſe which perſonally regarded him, and before the Prince was out of Italy, declared Ænos and Maronæa free and independant cities. However, an embaſſy was ſent to the Gauls; but with what orders is not ſaid.

The Roman policy here ſhews itſelf in full light, and that in a manner which highly diſgraces not only ſome particulars, but the whole Senate, to whom Polybius aſcribes the low and unworthy revenge, with which it puniſhed the laudable fidelity of Attalus in reſpect to his brother, and his declining to betray him by the black treachery he was adviſed to perpetrate. Livy, whoſe admiration for the Romans has no bounds, does not mention this laſt circumſtance, which might indeed diſgrace them not a little in the ſenſe of every impartial reader; and he concludes this circumſtance with ſaying: "Attalus received at Rome, as long as he was there and when he quitted it, all the preſents and all the honours which the Senate and

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. People uſually grant to thoſe they moſt eſteem." Such an omiſſion is no ſmall fault in an hiſtorian *, whoſe principal duty is, firſt never to advance any thing falſe; and ſecondly, not to fear ſaying all that is true: in a word, to avoid even the ſuſpicion of ſaying any thing through favour or enmity to perſons.

Polyb. Legat. 93. 99, 100, & 104. Liv. xlv. 20, 25. The Rhodians came next in play. Full of anxiety they had ſent two embaſſies to Rome upon the necks of each other. But the Senate at firſt refuſed to hear them, as having rendered themſelves unworthy of that honour, and declaring war againſt them was even talked of. At length, after great inſtances having obtained an audience of the Senate, they appeared at it as ſuppliants, dreſt in mourning habits, with

Ibid. their cheeks bathed in tears. Aſtymedes ſpoke, and with all the ſigns of the moſt lively and moſt humble grief took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. " He at firſt took great care not to ſeem to intend to juſtify it. He owned, that it had juſtly drawn upon it the anger of the Roman People: he owned the faults it had committed: he did not palliate the wrong their indiſcreet embaſſy had done, which inſolent haughtineſs of him who ſpoke had rendered ſtill more criminal. But he deſired the Senate to make a difference between the whole body of the nation, and ſome particulars, whoſe conduct they diſavowed, and whom they were ready to deliver up to them. He repreſented, that there was no city nor Commonwealth that had not in it ſome ſenſeleſs and frantic members. That after all, no other crimes were imputed to them but words, fooliſh, raſh, and extravagant indeed, (which he owned to be the character and failing of his nation) but of which the wiſe ſeldom take much notice, and do not puniſh with the utmoſt rigour, no more than Jupiter darts his thunder upon all thoſe who ſpeak of him with little reſpect." " But, added he, the neutrality we obſerved in the

* Prima eſt hiſtoriæ lex, ne quid falſi dicere audeat; deinde, ne quid veri non audeat: ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo, ne qua ſimultatis. Cic. de Orat. II. 62.

" late

" late war, is conſidered as a certain proof of our ill- A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.
" will to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, in
" which the intention, when without effect, is puniſh-
" ed as the action itſelf? But ſhould you carry your
" rigour to that exceſs, the puniſhment cannot with
" juſtice fall upon any but thoſe who have had that
" intention, and much the greateſt number of us are
" innocent. And even ſuppoſing that this neutrality
" and inaction render us criminal, are the real ſervices
" we did you in the two preceding wars to be reckon-
" ed as nothing, and may they not cover the omiſſion
" imputed to us for the laſt? Let Philip, Antiochus,
" and Perſeus be conſidered as three ſuffrages in our
" cauſe; the two firſt will certainly be for us, and
" carry it in our favour; and the third, though taken
" in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, will appear doubtful and un-
" certain. Can you, in this light, paſs ſentence of
" death againſt Rhodes? For your ſentence is upon
" the point of deciding, whether it ſhall ſubſiſt any
" longer, or be entirely deſtroyed? You may, if you
" pleaſe, declare war againſt us; but you cannot make
" it: for not a ſingle Rhodian will take arms to de-
" fend himſelf. If you perſevere in your anger, we
" ſhall only aſk time to go to Rhodes to report our
" unfortunate embaſſy; and that inſtant all the men,
" women, and free perſons of our ſtate will embark
" with all our eſtates and effects: abandoning the
" Gods of our country and our houſhold Gods, we
" ſhall come to Rome, and after having thrown all our
" gold and ſilver at your feet, we will all deliver up
" ourſelves to your diſcretion. We will ſuffer here
" before your eyes all that you ſhall decree. If Rhodes
" is deſtined to be plundered and burnt, at leaſt we
" ſhall ſpare ourſelves the ſight of its deſtruction.
" You may, by your ſentence, declare us enemies:
" but there is a ſecret ſenſe within ourſelves, that will
" paſs one quite different; and whatever hoſtilities you

* Neque moribus neque egibus ullius civitatis ita comaratum eſſe, ut, ſi quis vellet inimicum perire, ſi nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. LIV.

" exerciſe

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. "exerciſe againſt the Rhodians, you will find in them "only friends and vaſſals."

After this diſcourſe, all the Deputies proſtrated themſelves upon the ground, and holding olive branches in their hands, extended them towards the Senators to implore peace of them. When they had withdrawn, the Senate proceeded to give their ſuffrages. All who had ſerved in Macedonia as Conſuls, Prætors, or Lieutenant-Generals, and had ſeen their ſenſeleſs pride and ill-will to the Romans with their own eyes, were much againſt them. Cato, ſo well known for the ſeverity of his character, which often roſe even to cruelty, was ſoftened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and ſpoke for them in a very lively and eloquent manner. Livy does not repeat his diſcourſe, becauſe it was then extant in a work of Cato's, intitled, *de Originibus*, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, and in which he inſerted his harangues.

Liv. xlv. 20, 25.

Aulius Gellius has preſerved ſome fragments of this ſpeech of Cato's, by which it appears, that he uſed almoſt the ſame reaſons as the Rhodian Ambaſſadors. I ſhall cite what I think the moſt remarkable in it at the bottom of the page, in order to give the reader ſome examples of a manly and energical ſtile, which was the character of the Roman eloquence in thoſe antient times, when people were more attentive to the force and ſolidity of thoughts, than to the elegance and harmony of words.

Cato begins his diſcourſe with repreſenting to the Romans, that they ought not, in conſequence of the victory gained over the King of Macedonia, to abandon themſelves to the tranſports of exceſſive joy. "* I know, ſays he, that proſperity uſually begets "pride and inſolence; for which reaſon I am afraid, "leſt in the preſent deliberation ſome bad reſolution "may

* Scio ſolere pleriſque hominibus rebus ſecundis atque proſixis animum excellere, ſuperbiam atque ferociam augeſcere atque creſcere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ eſt, quia hæc res tam ſecundè proceſſit, ne quid in conſulendo adverſi eveniat, quod noſtras ſecundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriosè eveniat. Adverſæ res ſe domant,

" may be taken, which will draw upon Rome ſome A.R. 583. Ant. C. 167.
" misfortune, that may make the frivolous joy to
" which ſhe abandons herſelf vaniſh. Adverſity in
" humbling our pride, reſtores us to our reaſon, and
" teaches us what it is fit for us to do. Proſperity, on
" the contrary, by the joy it occaſions, puts us out of
" our biaſs, and makes us loſe ſight of the end, which
" a calm ſituation of mind would make us perceive
" and follow. For this reaſon I am abſolutely of
" opinion, that we ſhould defer the deciſion of this
" affair for ſome days, till having recovered from the
" violent emotions of our joy, we come to poſſeſs
" ourſelves, and can deliberate more maturely.——I
" believe indeed that the Rhodians did wiſh, that the
" Romans had not conquered Perſeus: but that de-
" ſire is only common to them with all other States.
" And this is not the effect of enmity to the Romans,
" but love of their own liberty, for which they have
" juſt reaſon to fear, if there be no longer any power
" capable of balancing ours, and of preventing us
" from doing all that we think fit——For the reſt,
" the Rhodians have not aided Perſeus. Their whole
" crime, by the confeſſion of their moſt inveterate
" accuſers, is to have intended to become our ene-
" mies, and to declare againſt us. But how long has
" the will, the intention only become criminal? Is

mant, & docent quid opus ſit facto: Secundæ res lætitiâ tranſverſum trudere ſolent a rectè conſulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico ſuadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in Poteſtatem noſtrum redeamus——Atque ego quidem arbitror Rhodienſes voluiſſe nos ita depugnare uti depugnatum eſt, neque regem Perſen viciſſe Non Rhodienſes id modo voluere, ſed multos populos ac multas nationes idem voluiſſe arbitor. Atque haud ſcio, an partim eorum fuerint, qui non noſtræ contumeliæ cauſa id noluerint evenire. Sed enim id metuere, ſi nemo eſſet homo quem vereremur, & quicquid luberet faceremus, ne ſub ſolo imperio noſtro in ſervitute noſtra eſſent. Libertatis ſuæ causâ in ea fuiſſe ſententia arbitror. Atque Rhodienſes tamen Perſen publicè nunquam adjuvere. Qui accerrimé adverſus eos dicit, ita dicit: hoſtes voluiſſe fieri. Et quis tandem & noſtrûm, qui, quod ad ſeſe attinet, æquum cenſeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quòd arguatur malè facere voluiſſe? Nemo, opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim. Rhodienſes ſuperbos eſſe aiunt——Sint ſanè ſuperbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Inde iraſcimini, ſi quis ſuperbior eſt quàm nos? CATO apud Aul. Gell. vii. 3.

" there

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. "there amongſt us a ſingle perſon who would ſubject "himſelf to this rule? For my part I would not. "The Rhodians are proud, ſome ſay. What is that "to us? Would it become us to make it a crime for "them to be prouder than we are."

Liv. xliv. 25. The opinion of ſo grave and ſo reſpected a Senator as Cato, prevented war from being made againſt the Rhodians. The anſwer given them did not declare them enemies, but at the ſame time did not treat them as allies, and left things ſtill in ſuſpence. They were ordered to withdraw the governors they had in the cities of Lycia and Caria. Thoſe provinces had been abandoned to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and they were deprived of them on the preſent occaſion by way of puniſhment for their infidelity. They were alſo ordered ſome time after to evacuate the cities Caunus and Stratonicea. They had bought the firſt for two hundred talents of Ptolomy's Generals, and the ſecond had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus. Their yearly revenue from theſe two cities was an hundred and twenty talents.

The Senate's anſwer having diſpelled the fear at Rhodes, that the Romans would take arms againſt their Republick, made all other ills ſeem light; and it is uſual for the expectation of great misfortunes, when people ſee themſelves delivered from them, to ſtifle the ſenſe of ſuch, as in other circumſtances would have ſeemed very conſiderable. How hard ſoever the Senate's orders were, the Rhodians ſubmitted to them, and executed them directly. They immediately decreed the Romans a crown of ten thouſand pieces of gold in value, and made choice of the Admiral Theodotus to preſent it.

Polyb. Legat. 104. He had orders to ſollicit the alliance of the Romans: reaſons of policy had prevented them from aſking it hitherto. This favour was not granted them then. They did not obtain it till the year following, after long and great inſtances. Tiberius Gracchus, who was very lately returned from Aſia, whither he had been ſent as commiſſioner to examine into the ſtate

ſtate of it, was of great ſervice to them. He declared, A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the Senate's orders, and had paſſed ſentence of death upon the partiſans of Perſeus. After ſo favourable a teſtimony, the alliance of the Commonwealth was granted to the Rhodians.

I have obſerved in the preceding book, that the Ætolians had preſented themſelves to Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits on his return from making the tour of Greece. The ſubject of their complaint was, that Licifcus and Tiſippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whom they had devoted themſelves, had rendered all-powerful in Ætolia, had ſurrounded the Senate with ſoldiers, lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the country for the Romans; that they had maſſacred five hundred and fifty of the principal perſons of the nation, whoſe whole crime was having appeared to favour Perſeus; that many others had been baniſhed; and that the eſtates of both had been given to thoſe who informed againſt them. Liv. xlv. 18.

If Paulus Æmilius had been ſole judge in this affair, it is probable that he would have done juſtice to the Ætolians. In all the occaſions wherein he acts from his own ſenſe, he ſhews a generous ſoul, that abounds with ſentiments of humanity. But the council of the commiſſioners was actuated by different principles. All the informations made to them were reduced to knowing, not who had done or ſuffered wrong, but who had been for Perſeus or for the Romans. The murtherers in conſequence were acquitted. The exiles had no more juſtice done them than the dead. Only Bæbius was ſentenced, for having lent his aſſiſtance in this bloody execution. But why was he condemned, if it was juſt; and if not, why were thoſe acquitted, who were the principal authors of it? Ibid. 21.

This ſentence ſpread terror amongſt all thoſe who declared any attachment to Perſeus, and extremely augmented the haughtineſs and inſolence of the Roman adherents. Amongſt the principal perſons of each city, there were three parties. The one was en- Ibid.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. tirely devoted to the Romans, another was in amity with the Kings; and both making their court to their protectors with abject flattery, rendered themſelves powerful in their cities, which they greatly oppreſſed. The third party of citizens, oppoſite to the two others, obſerved a kind of medium, eſpouſing the party neither of the Romans nor of the Kings, but devoted themſelves to the defence of their laws and liberty. Theſe laſt at bottom were much eſteemed and beloved in their reſpective cities, but had no authority in them. All offices, embaſſies, diſtinctions, and rewards, after the defeat of Perſeus, were conferred on thoſe who had followed the party of the Romans, and they employed their credit to ruin thoſe inevitably, who were not in the ſame intereſt.

With this view, they repaired in great numbers from all parts of Greece to the commiſſioners appointed by the Senate to regulate its affairs. They informed them, that beſides thoſe, who had openly declared for Perſeus, there were many others ſecretly enemies to the Romans, and who, under pretence of ſupporting liberty, prejudiced every body againſt Rome; and that Greece would never remain quiet and entirely ſubmiſſive to the Romans, unleſs that after having cruſhed the oppoſite party, the authority of thoſe was firmly eſtabliſhed, who had no intereſt at heart but that of the Roman Commonwealth. The ten commiſſioners perfectly approved all theſe reflexions, and made them the rule of their conduct.

What juſtice can be expected from a tribunal, determined to conſider and treat all as criminals, who are not of the Roman party, and to beſtow all kinds of favour upon thoſe, who will declare themſelves enemies and informers againſt them? We ſee here to what the ambition of rule leads mankind. It makes them blind to all ſenſe of duty and decency; and juſtice itſelf, when an obſtacle to the projects they have formed, is ſacrificed as well as every thing elſe. The more we advance in the hiſtory of the Romans, the more corrupt we ſee them, and the more they de-

part

part from the antient ſentiments of generoſity and equity, to abandon themſelves to a policy contrary to all the rules of virtue. The conſequences of theſe new maxims are upon the point of evidencing themſelves by the moſt unjuſt and notorious perſecution it is poſſible to imagine. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

The Roman General, in effect of orders which he did not approve, but which he thought himſelf obliged to execute, having received the liſt of the names of the ſuſpected, ſent for them from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and ordered them to follow him to Rome, to defend themſelves againſt what was laid to their charge. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to Aſia, to take informations againſt thoſe, who had favoured Perſeus either publickly or in ſecret.

Of all the little States of Greece none gave the Roman Commonwealth ſo much umbrage as the Achaian league, which had hitherto cauſed itſelf to be reſpected by the number and valour of its troops, the ability of its Generals, and eſpecially by the union that prevailed between the cities which compoſed it. The Romans, who had long been jealous of a power capable of oppoſing their ambitious deſigns, eſpecially if it had joined either the King of Macedonia or the King of Syria, had laboured on different occaſions to weaken, by dividing, it: but it was not till the preſent conjuncture, that they began to act with open violence, and to trample under foot the rights and liberty of the Achaian Commonwealth. Liv. xlv. 31. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 416, 117.

After the defeat of Perſeus, Callicrates, entirely to ruin the advocates of liberty, whom he conſidered as his enemies with the Romans, to whom he had ſold himſelf, gave in the names of all the ſuſpected to have favoured Perſeus to the ten commiſſioners. They did not think it ſufficed to write to the Achaians, as they had done to the other States, to order them to ſend ſuch of their citizens as were accuſed of having favoured Perſeus to Rome; but they deputed two of their own number to go in perſon to make known this order to the League. Two reaſons induced them to

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. act in this manner. The firſt was the fear leſt the Achaians, who were very jealous of their liberty and full of courage, ſhould refuſe to obey the letters, which ſhould be ſent them, and that Callicrates and the other informers ſhould run the riſque of loſing their lives in the aſſembly: the ſecond was, that nothing was found amongſt Perſeus's papers to convict the Achaians informed againſt; and they were however for deſtroying them.

The two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. The one of them, more prone to injuſtice than the other, (Pauſanias who has preſerved this fact does not ſay which) complained in the aſſembly, that many of the moſt powerful perſons of the league had ſupported Perſeus againſt the Romans, and demanded that they ſhould be condemned to ſuffer death, after which he ſhould name them. This propoſal ſhocked the whole Aſſembly. They cried out on all ſides, that it was unheard of for perſons to be condemned before they were accuſed, and he was deſired to point out the guilty. Being thus forced to explain himſelf, he replied, at the ſuggeſtion of Callicrates, that all thoſe who had been in office, and had commanded the armies, were guilty of that crime. Zeno then, who was highly conſidered amongſt the Achaians, riſing up ſpoke as follows: "I am of the number of thoſe who have been Prætors, and commanded the armies. I proteſt, that "I have acted in nothing contrary to the intereſts of "the Romans; and I offer to prove it; either in "this aſſembly of the Achaians, or at Rome before "the Senate." The Roman laid hold of his laſt words, as favouring his deſign, and ordered that all thoſe whom Callicrates had informed againſt in particular, and whom he named, ſhould be ſent to Rome.

The whole aſſembly were in the higheſt affliction. Nothing of the like nature had ever appeared, not even under Philip, nor his ſon Alexander. All-powerful as they were, they never thought of making thoſe who were againſt them come to Macedonia. There

There were regular tribunals in Greece, in which the affairs of the Greeks were determined according to all the formalities preſcribed by the laws. Thoſe Princes left the deciſion of ſuch affairs to the council of the Amphictyones, their natural judges. The Romans did not act in this manner. By an enterprize which may be called tyrannical, they cauſed above a thouſand of the moſt conſiderable citizens of the Achaian league to be ſeized and carried to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and deteſtation to all the Achaians. They ſhunned the ſight of him as of an infamous traitor, and nobody would bathe in the publick baths after him, till all the water had firſt been emptied out of them. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

Polybius, the famous hiſtorian, was of the number of theſe accuſed perſons. When they arrived at Rome, the Senate, without hearing them, without examining their cauſe, or obſerving any form of juſtice, and ſuppoſing without the leaſt foundation, and contrary to what was publickly known, that they had been heard and condemned in the aſſembly of the Achaians, baniſhed them all into Hetruria, where they remained diſperſed in the different cities. Polybius was treated with leſs rigor. The two ſons of Paulus Æmilius obtained permiſſion for him to ſtay at Rome. This ſervice to Polybius was of great advantage to themſelves, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve: but firſt it is neceſſary to relate in this place all that concerns the unhappy condition of theſe exiles.

The Achaians, extremely ſurprized and afflicted at the fate of their countrymen, ſent Deputies to Rome to deſire that the Senate would take cognizance of their cauſe. They were anſwered, that had been done, and that themſelves had tried it. Upon this anſwer, the Achaians ſent the ſame Deputies back to Rome, (Eureas was at their head) to proteſt again before the Senate, that the accuſed had never been heard in their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Eureas accordingly entered the Senate with the other Deputies, who accompanied him. He Polyb. Legat. 205.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. related the orders he had received, and deſired, that cognizance might at length be taken of the affair, and that the accuſed ſhould not be ſuffered to periſh without judgment paſſed on the crime with which they were charged. That it was to be deſired that the Senate itſelf would enquire into the affair, and make known the guilty: but that, if their greater occupations did not afford them leiſure, they had only to refer the affair to the Achaians, who would do juſtice in it in ſuch a manner as ſhould ſhew the averſion they had for the offenders.

Nothing was more equitable than this demand; and the Senate in conſequence was extremely at a loſs, how to anſwer it. On the one ſide, they did not believe it proper for them to try it, for the accuſation was entirely falſe: and on the other, to diſmiſs the exiles without any trial, was to condemn their firſt conduct, and beſides irretrievably to ruin their friends in Achaia. The Senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of recovering their exiles, and to make them more dependant and ſubmiſſive to their orders, wrote to Callicrates in Achaia, and to the partiſans of Rome in the other States, that it did not appear for their intereſt, nor that of the States themſelves, that the exiles ſhould return into their country. This anſwer not only put the exiles, but all Greece, into a conſternation. It cauſed an univerſal mourning. Every body was aſſured, that there was nothing further to be hoped for the accuſed Achaians, and that their baniſhment was perpetual.

Polyb. Legat. 122. However, the Achaian Commonwealth ſent new Deputies whom they inſtructed to demand the return of the exiles, and eſpecially of Polybius and Stratius: for moſt of the reſt had died during their baniſhment, and eſpecially the principal perſons. Theſe Deputies had orders to aſk this favour as ſuppliants, leſt, by inſiſting upon the innocence of the exiles, they might ſeem to reproach the injuſtice of the Senate. Nothing eſcaped them in their harangue, that was not extremely reſerved. Notwithſtanding that, the Senate continued inflex-

inflexible, and declared they would adhere to what had been regulated. Is the ancient Senate of Rome to be ſeen in this conduct? A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

The Achaians did not deſiſt, but decreed ſeveral deputations at different times. They had reaſon to perſevere ſo much in applying to the Senate in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated inſtances had no other effect than to ſet the injuſtice of the Romans in greater light, they cannot be conſidered as uſeleſs. But many of the Senators had been moved with them, and ſupported ſo juſt a demand with their voices. Polyb. Legat. 129, 130.

The Achaians having received advice of this, thought it neceſſary to take the advantage of ſo favourable a diſpoſition, and decreed a laſt deputation. The exiles had now been baniſhed ſeventeen years, and many of them were dead. Great debates aroſe in the Senate about them, ſome being for having them ſent back into their country, and reinſtated in their fortunes, and others oppoſing it. Scipio Æmilianus, at the requeſt of Polybius, had ſollicited Cato in their favour. That grave Senator riſing up to ſpeak in his turn: "To ſee us diſputing an whole day," ſaid he, "whether a few old men of Greece ſhall be "buried by our grave-diggers, or thoſe of their own "country, one would think we had nothing to do, "and that our purpoſe was to murther time." * This jeſt perhaps had its effect, and made the Senate aſhamed of their long tenacious oppoſition. Policy alſo might have more ſhare than regard to juſtice in the Senate's ſuffering themſelves to be at laſt prevailed upon. It was when they were upon the point of entering into a war with Carthage, that they diſmiſſed theſe exiles. It is probable that they were glad to give the Achaians ſome ſatisfaction, at the time, when they were going to have ſuch powerful enemies as the Carthaginians upon their hands. Plut. in Caton. p. 341.

* Ridiculum acri Fortùs ac meliùs magnas plerumque ſecat res. HORAT.

A.R. 585. Ant. C. 167. Polybius was further for deſiring, that they ſhould be reinſtated in the honours and dignities they poſſeſſed before their baniſhment: but before he preſented his memorial to the Senate, he thought it proper to ſound Cato, who ſmiling ſaid to him. "Polybius, you do "not imitate the wiſdom of Ulyſſes. You are for "going back into the cave of the Cyclops for ſome "wretched cloaths you have left there." The exiles returned in conſequence into their country: but of a thouſand that came out of it at that time, only about three hundred remained. Polybius did not uſe this permiſſion; or if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as three years after he was with him at the ſiege of Carthage.

Polyb. apud Valeſ. 149, 150. Scipio, when but eighteen years old, had contracted a great intimacy with Polybius after his return from Macedonia. They had been a little acquainted before. But it was undoubtedly upon the occaſion of the important ſervice done Polybius, as we have ſaid above, by the ſons of Paulus Æmilius, that Scipio contracted this friendſhip with him, which became ſo advantageous to that young Roman, and which has ſcarce done him leſs honour with poſterity than all his victories. It appears, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when Scipio was alone with him, he opened his heart to him without reſerve, and complained, but in a very kind and tender manner, that Polybius always addreſſed his diſcourſe in their converſations at table to his brother Fabius. "I perceive plainly," ſaid he, "that this indifference for me proceeds from "your believing, that I am a thoughtleſs young man, "and void of the taſte that now prevails in Rome, "becauſe I neither apply myſelf to the ſtudies of the "bar, nor cultivate eloquence. But how ſhould I do "ſo. I am perpetually told, that the world does not "expect an orator from the houſe of the Scipio's but "a General. I muſt own, and hope you will pardon "the freedom, with which I tell you ſo, that I am "ſenſibly concerned and afflicted by your indifference "for me."

Poly-

Polybius, ſurprized at this diſcourſe, which he did not expect, conſoled him as well as he could, and aſſured him, "that if he uſually addreſſed his diſcourſe to his brother, it was not for want of eſteem and affection for him, but ſolely becauſe Fabius was the elder; and beſides knowing that both brothers thought in the ſame manner, and lived in the greateſt union, he believed that ſpeaking to the one was ſpeaking to both." "For the reſt," added he, "I offer you my "ſervice ſincerely, and you may diſpoſe abſolutely of "me. As to the Sciences in the ſtudy of which you "are now employed, you will find aſſiſtance enough "from the great number of learned men who come "every day from Greece to Rome: but as to war, "which is peculiarly your profeſſion as well as your "paſſion, it is in my power to be of ſome uſe to "you." A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

Scipio then taking him by the hands, which he preſſed in his own: "Oh! when," ſaid he, "ſhall "I ſee the day, when free from all other engage-"ments, and living with me, you will have the "goodneſs to apply yourſelf in forming me. It will "be then that I ſhall really believe myſelf worthy of "my anceſtors." From thenceforth Polybius, charmed and tenderly affected with ſuch noble ſentiments in a young man, attached himſelf particularly to him. Scipio, on his ſide, could not quit him; his greateſt pleaſure was to converſe with him: he reſpected him as his father, and Polybius on his ſide loved him as his ſon. The ſequel will ſhew, how much Scipio improved from the converſations and advice of ſo ineſtimable a friend; an ineſtimable treaſure for young Noblemen, when they are ſo happy to acquire, and ſo wiſe as to know, its value.

Pruſias, King of Bithynia, being come to Rome to congratulate the Senate and People upon the good ſucceſs of the war againſt Perſeus, degraded the Majeſty of Kings by his abject flatteries, which roſe even to impiety. He had before exerciſed himſelf in that ſtile: and when Roman Ambaſſadors had been ſent

to

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. to him, he went to meet them with his head ſhaved, a cap, and the dreſs of freedmen; then ſaluting the Deputies: "You ſee," ſaid he to them, "one of "your freedmen, ready to do whatever you pleaſe, "and to conform entirely to all your cuſtoms." He did not depart from the ſame abject ſentiments, when he came in perſon to Rome. On his entering the Senate, he kept near the door, holding down his hands, oppoſite to the Senators who continued ſitting; and proſtrating himſelf kiſſed the threſhold. Afterwards, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly he cried out, "I ſalute you, Gods preſervers." The reſt of his diſcourſe ſuited this prelude. Polybius ſays, that he ſhould be aſhamed to repeat it. Pruſias concluded with aſking, "that the Roman People would renew the alliance with him; and grant him a certain territory conquered from Antiochus, which the Gauls had ſeized without its being given them by any body. And laſtly, he recommended his ſon Nicomedes to them." Every thing was granted him: only commiſſioners were appointed to examine the ſtate of the territory in queſtion, and to be aſſured whether it belonged to Antiochus, in which caſe the Roman People freely gave it to Pruſias.

Livy, in his relation of this audience, omits the abject ſubmiſſions of Pruſias, of which he ſays the Roman hiſtorians did not ſpeak. He contents himſelf with repeating at the end, part of what Polybius had ſaid of it. He had reaſon. For this baſe behaviour, if real, diſgraced the Senate as much that ſuffered it, as the Prince that committed it.

Here ends all that remains of Livy. His Roman Hiſtory, containing an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, extended from the foundation of Rome, to the death and funeral of Druſus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and conſequently included the ſame number of years. Of theſe hundred and forty-two books only thirty-five, as I have already obſerved, are come down to us, of which ſome are not entire. Theſe are not the fourth part

part of his work. What a loſs is this to the learned world! My hiſtory, for the reſt of it, will make it evident. I ought not to wonder that hitherto it has not diſpleaſed the public. The beauties of Livy, which were the admiration of Rome at a time, when taſte had attained its higheſt perfection, and which have been univerſally admired by all ſucceeding ages, though much diminiſhed in a foreign tongue, could not but meet with ſome ſucceſs, eſpecially in an age like ours, which has had, and ſtill retains, ſo much ſimilitude with that of Auguſtus. Plutarch, who will now be my principal guide, will conſole me in ſome degree for the loſs of Livy. A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167.

In the ſequel I ſhall make great uſe of the ſupplement of Freinſhemius. The reader may ſee what I have ſaid of that excellent work, in a former Volume.

But notwithſtanding the lights which I ſhall have both from ancient and modern authors, there will ſtill be barren years from time to time, that will afford but little matter, and facts, of which the exact date cannot be aſſigned. Thus I ſhall not be able to diſpoſe my hiſtory by years with the ſame regularity as in the preceding books. I ſhall however take care to avoid confuſion: and without determining the year, in which each fact paſſed, becauſe that is impoſſible, I ſhall join thoſe together which have any relation to each other.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Different embaſſies at Rome. The Senate prevents Eumenes from entering Rome. Pruſias by his Ambaſſadors accuſes Eumenes before the Senate. Attalus and Athenæus juſtify their brother Eumenes. Imprudent conduct of Sulpicius in Aſia againſt Eumenes. Alliance renewed with Ariarathes Philopator. Cenſorſhip of Paulus Æmilius and of Marcius Philippus. Sun-dial. Troubles in Syria after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius demands in vain permiſſion of the Senate to return into Syria. Mother of Octavius. Demetrius eſcapes from Rome, and is univerſally acknowledged King. Sickneſs and death of Paulus Æmilius: his funeral; and praiſe. Love of poverty of Tubero, and his wife the daughter of Paulus Æmilius. Generous and noble uſe which Scipio Æmilianus, the ſon of Paulus Æmilius, makes of his riches on various occaſions. Tubero compared with Scipio Æmilianus. Naſica prevails upon the People to have a Theatre almoſt finiſhed, demoliſhed. AFFAIRS OF ROME. *Decree for baniſhing philoſophers and rhetoricians from Rome. Embaſſy of Carneades to Rome. Two Conſuls abdicate upon account of the want of ſome religious forms in their election. Tribune of the People puniſhed for having failed in reſpect to the Pontifex Maximus.* WARS *with the Dalmatians and ſome ſtates of the Ligurians. The Dalmatians are defeated by Figulus and Naſica. The Maſſylians are revenged by the Romans on the Oxibians and Deceates.* AFFAIRS OF MACEDONIA. *Andriſcus, who calls himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, ſeizes Macedonia. He is at length defeated, taken, and ſent to Rome. Two new impoſtors riſe up in Macedonia, and are defeated.*

M. CLAUDIUS

M. CLAUDIUS.
C. SULPICIUS.

WE have already obſerved, that ſince the defeat of Perſeus new Embaſſies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon that victory, to juſtify themſelves or excuſe the attachment they ſeemed to have for that Prince, or laſtly, to lay complaints before the Senate. A. R. 586. Ant. C. 166.

Pruſias was ſcarce ſet out, when news came that Eumenes was upon the point of arriving. This advice perplexed the Senate. That Prince, in the war with Perſeus, had acted in ſuch a manner as to be conſidered neither as a friend, nor an enemy. There were violent ſuſpicions, not certain proofs againſt him. To admit him to an audience was to declare him innocent: and to condemn him as criminal, was to lay themſelves under the neceſſity of making war with him, and openly to proclaim, that they had been wanting in point of prudence in loading a Prince with honours and poſſeſſions, whoſe character they had little known. To avoid theſe inconveniences, the Senate paſſed a decree, by which all Kings were prohibited from coming to Rome; and they cauſed this decree to be ſignified to the King of Pergamus, who was not at a loſs to comprehend the ſenſe of it. Accordingly he returned into his dominions. Polyb. Legat. 97.

This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the ardour of his friends. Pruſias ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, to complain of the irruptions which he made into Bithynia. He added, that that Prince held ſecret intelligence with Antiochus, that he oppreſſed all thoſe who ſeemed to favour the Romans, and in particular the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, not obſerving the decrees of the Senate in reſpect to them. The latter had alſo ſent Deputies to Rome, to carry their complaints thither, which they often repeated afterwards, as well as Pruſias. The Senate did not declare themſelves yet. They contented themſelves Ibid. 104.

with

A. R. 586. Ant. C. 166. with aiding and ſupporting the Gallo-Greeks as much as poſſible underhand, without openly injuring Eumenes.

Polyb. Legat. 106. The King of Pergamus, who had been forbade to enter Rome, ſent Attalus and Athenæus his two brothers thither, to anſwer the accuſations with which he was charged. The apology which they made, ſeemed ſolidly to refute all the complaints, that had been brought againſt the King; and the Senate was ſo well ſatisfied with them, that they were ſent back into Aſia with great honours and preſents. They however did not entirely efface the impreſſions conceived againſt there brother. They could not be perſuaded, that their was no intelligence and combination formed between him and the King of Syria. And though Tiberius Gracchus, who had been ſent ſome time before into Aſia to enquire into the diſpoſition of the Kings and States in reſpect to Rome, had given a favourable account of the conduct of thoſe two Princes, who had treated him with all poſſible politeneſs and reſpect, the Senate again diſpatched Manius Servius and Sulpicius Gallus with orders to penetrate things to the bottom, and ſtrictly to examine the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus.

Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. 145. Sulpicius acted in this commiſſion in a very imprudent manner. He was a vain man, who loved noiſe, and ſought to make a figure by braving Eumenes. When he arrived in Aſia, he cauſed publick notices to be fixed up in all the cities, that thoſe who had any complaints to make in reſpect to that Prince ſhould come to him at Sardis. There, during ten days, he gave a calm hearing to all the accuſations people thought fit to form againſt Eumenes: a liberty which ſet all the malecontents at work, and opened the door for all kinds of calumnies.

Polyb. Legat. 109. About this time died Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, whoſe ſiſter Eumenes had married. His ſon Ariarathes, ſurnamed Philopator, ſucceeded him. The father had intended, when his ſon came of age, to reſign the crown to him, but the young Prince would not

not conſent to it: this occaſioned him to be called *Philopator*, that is "Lover of his father:" a very laudable action, at a time when it was common for Princes to acquire Thrones by parricide! As ſoon as young Ariarathes became King, he ſent Deputies to Rome to demand, that the alliance, which his father had with the Romans might be renewed: this was granted him with great profeſſions of eſteem and good will. The Senate was prejudiced in favour of theſe Princes, in conſequence of the report which Ti. Gracchus had made of their diſpoſition, on his return from the embaſſy of which we have ſpoke above. A. R. 586. Ant. C. 166.

I paſs over ſeveral reſpective complaints of the Kings of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, as well as different embaſſies on both ſides to Rome. I have ſpoke of them in the Antient Hiſtory.

On the cloſing of the Cenſus in the 588th year of Rome by the Cenſors Paulus Æmilius and Marcius Philippus, the citizens amounted to the number of three hundred and thirty ſeven thouſand four hundred and fifty two. Plut. in Paul.

A new Sun-dial was erected in the place of the old one, which had been ſet up near the tribunal of harangues an hundred years before. I have ſpoke of it in a former volume. Plin. vii. 60.

I refer ſpeaking of ſome laws paſſed about this time againſt the luxury of the table for another place.

The facts which we have juſt related took up three years, 580, 587, 588, and part of 589.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
M'. Juvencius Thalna. A. R. 589. Ant. C. 163.

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which happened the preceding year, made way for great troubles in Syria. Antiochus Eupator his ſon, only nine years of age, had ſucceeded him under the tuition of Lyſias. But Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus Philopator, who was actually an hoſtage at Rome, pretended, that the crown was his right. He therefore demanded liberty Polyb. Legat. 107. Juſtin. xxxiv. 3. Appian. in Syr.

A. R. 589. Ant. C. 163. liberty of the Senate to return into Syria, and earneſtly entreated it to aid him in aſcending a throne, to which he was lawful heir, as the ſon of Seleucus the eldeſt brother of Epiphanes, who had reigned before. To induce the Senate to favour him, he repreſented that having been brought up at Rome from twelve years old (he was now three and twenty) he ſhould always conſider that city as his native country, the Senators as his fathers, and their ſons as his brothers. The Senate had more regard to the intereſts of the Commonwealth than to the rights of Demetrius, and judged, it would * be more advantageous to the Romans, that there ſhould be a minor King upon the throne of Syria, than a Prince like Demetrius, who might in the ſequel become formidable to them. Equity and publick Faith are now ſeen to decline every day in the Senate. The Senators paſſed a decree to confirm Eupator, and ſent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius into Syria, with the character of Embaſſadors, to regulate all things there conformably to the articles of the treaty made with Antiochus the great. Their view was to weaken that kingdom as much as poſſible.

A. R. 590. Ant. C. 162.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
C. Marcius Figulus.

Cic. Philip. ix. 4.

When the Embaſſadors arrived, they found that the King had more ſhips and elephants than were allowed by the treaty. They cauſed the ſhips to be burnt and the elephants to be killed, that exceeded the number ſtipulated by the treaty, and made ſuch regulations in all other things, as were moſt for the advantage of the Romans. This treatment ſeemed inſupportable, and incenſed the People againſt them. One called Leptinus was ſo much exaſperated, that in his rage, he fell upon † Octavius, whilſt he was in

* Senatu, tacito judicio, tutius apud pupillum, quàm apud eum, [Demetrium] regnum futurum arbitrante. Justin.

† This Octavius had been Conſul ſome time before, and was the firſt of his family who had obtained that honour. Cic. Philipp. ix.

the

the bath, and killed him. Lyſias, the regent of the kingdom, was ſuſpected of having underhand ſhared in this aſſaſſination. Ambaſſadors were ſent to Rome, to juſtify the King, and proteſt that he had not had any ſhare in this fact. The Senate diſmiſſed them without any anſwer, not having ſufficient proofs againſt Lyſias, and on another ſide not believing it conſiſtent with the dignity of the Roman name to accept a ſlight ſatisfaction for ſuch an inſult from a perſon juſtly ſuſpected. By their ſilence they reſerved the enquiry into and puniſhment of the crime to themſelves. A. R. 590. Ant. C. 162.

Demetrius believed, that the diſſatisfaction of the Romans with Eupator, was a favourable conjuncture it was proper for him to improve, and he applied a ſecond time to the Senate for permiſſion to return into Syria. He took this ſtep contrary to the opinion of moſt of his friends, who adviſed him to make his eſcape without ſaying any thing. The event ſhewed him, that they judged right. As the ſame reaſons of intereſt, which the Senate had at firſt for keeping him at Rome ſtill ſubſiſted, he had the ſame anſwer, and the grief to experience a ſecond refuſal. He then gave into the firſt counſel of his friends; and Polybius the hiſtorian, who was then at Rome, was one of thoſe who preſſed him moſt to put it ſecretly, but ſuddenly, in execution. He hearkened to him. After having taken all his meaſures, he quitted Rome under pretext of an hunting-match, repaired to Oſtia, and embarked with a ſmall train on board * a Carthaginian ſhip bound to Tyre. All that the Senate could do, was ſome days after to depute Ti. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to obſerve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

4. Octavius Cæſar, afterwards Emperor, ſo well known under the name of Auguſtus, was of the ſame family, but of another branch, of which none had ever been Conſuls. SUETON.

* This ſhip was going to carry the firſt-fruits and revenues of Carthage to Tyre, according to cuſtom.

A. R. 590. Ant. C. 162. Demetrius having landed at Tripoli in Syria, cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the Senate had ſent him to take poſſeſſion of his Dominions, and that they were fully reſolved to ſupport him in it. Eupator was immediately conſidered as irretrievably ruined, and every body abandoned him to go over to Demetrius. Eupator and Lyſias were ſeized by their own troops, and delivered up to their enemy, who put them to death. Thus Demetrius found himſelf eſtabliſhed upon the throne without oppoſition, and with prodigious rapidity.

I ſhall ſay little in the ſequel of the affairs of the Eaſt and of Egypt, except when ſuch facts occur as are cloſely interwoven with the Roman Hiſtory. For the reſt, the reader will permit me to refer him to the Antient Hiſtory.

A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160.

L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

I have ſaid ſomething before of the Cenſorſhip of Paulus Æmilius, in which he acquired, as in all his other employments, great reputation. On quitting this office, he was taken ill of a diſtemper, that was at firſt believed very dangerous, but which afterwards ſeemed of a lingering kind. The phyſicians having adviſed him change of air, he embarked for Velia, where he remained a conſiderable time in a very ſolitary and retired houſe near the ſea. The Romans ſoon lamented his abſence, and on more than one occaſion teſtified by their regret their impatience to ſee him again. He could not reſiſt ſentiments ſo grateful to him, and returned to Rome, which had not long the happineſs to poſſeſs him. He died ſoon after, univerſally regretted by all orders of the citizens.

His funeral was ſolemnized with a pomp truly worthy of the merit and character of that great man. It did not conſiſt in the ſumptuous magnificence that uſually attends this kind of ceremonies, but in the moſt ſincere affection, true ſorrow, and warm gratitude,

tude, expreſſed not only by the citizens, but the enemies themſelves. The Ambaſſadors of Macedonia, who were then at Rome, aſked as a favour to be permitted to carry the bier of Paulus Æmilius on their ſhoulders. Upon which Valerius Maximus makes this reflexion: "This mark of eſteem will appear ſtill more extraordinary, if we conſider, that the forepart of this bier was adorned with paintings, wherein were repreſented the triumphs which the perſon whoſe memory they honoured had gained over Macedonia. * And indeed, what veneration and reſpect for Paulus Æmilius did not thoſe expreſs, who, through affection for him, did not conceive horror in carrying themſelves through an whole people, the evidences of the defeats of their nation. This ſight made his funeral ſeem leſs a pomp of that kind, than a ſort of ſecond triumph." A. R. 593. Ant. C. 160.

But what conſtitutes the moſt exalted praiſe of Paulus Æmilius, is the very moderate fortune he left at his death. The ſum which he cauſed to be carried unto the publick treaſury on the day of his triumph, amounted to about one million three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and it muſt indeed have been very conſiderable, as it ſufficed to cauſe the taxes paid by the Roman citizens to be aboliſhed. † Believing himſelf too happy in having inriched the Commonwealth, he did not let the leaſt part of thoſe immenſe ſpoils enter his own houſe, but contented himſelf with leaving it the remembrance of his name, and a glory that could only expire with the world. In order that his eſtate might be in a condition to pay his wife's dower, which amounted to about three thouſand eight hundred pounds, it was neceſſary to ſell part of Offic. ii. 76.

* Quantum enim Paulo tribuerant, propter quem gentis ſuæ cladium indicia per ora vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt. Quod ſpectaculum funeri ſpeciem alterius triumphi adjecit.

† At hic nihil domum ſuam præter memoriam nominis ſempiternam detulit. Cic.

Penates ſuos nulla ex parte locupletiores fecit: præclarè ſecum actum exiſtimans, quòd ex illa victoria alii pecuniam, ipſe gloriam occupaſſet. VAL. MAX. iv. 3.

A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160. his ſlaves, moveables, and ſome farms: after which the remainder of his whole fortune was only about nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds.

That Paulus Æmilius, deſcended from one of the moſt noble and antient houſes of Rome, which had been rendered illuſtrious by the greateſt offices and dignities, inherited only ſo moderate a fortune from his anceſtors, reflects honour upon a long ſucceſſion of them. But that in the midſt of ſo many occaſions of inriching himſelf by legitimate means, and in an age, wherein the antient maxims were almoſt univerſally deſpiſed, he ſhould conſtantly keep within the bounds of a moderate patrimony, is a glory peculiar to himſelf. It certainly required an extraordinary force of ſoul and ſuperiority of courage not to give way to the torrent, and to ſet himſelf above examples and diſcourſe.

The antient taſte of eſteem and love of ſimplicity, and even poverty, was ſtill ſupported in ſome families by good domeſtick examples, and by the extreme care taken not to ally with perſons of different principles. It was in this ſpirit Paulus Æmilius choſe Ælius Tubero for his ſon-in-law, * a man of the greateſt worth, ſays Plutarch, and one who bore poverty more generouſly and more nobly than any other Roman. There were ſixteen very near relations, all of the name and family of the Ælii, who had only one ſmall houſe in the city, and another in the country, in which they all lived with their wives and a great number of ſmall children. I have mentioned the ſame Tubero above in ſpeaking of the ſilver cup, given him by his father-in-law Paulus Æmilius, which was the firſt piece of plate that ever entered the houſe of the Ælii.

The wife of this illuſtrious lover of poverty did not degenerate from the nobleneſs of his ſentiments. Plutarch relates, that Æmilia, the daughter of a father twice Conſul, and who had twice triumphed,

* Ἀνὴρ ἄριστος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενίᾳ χρησάμενος.

was

was not aſhamed of her huſband's poverty, but admired the virtue in him, that made him conſent to continue poor; that is, the motive which kept him in his ſtate of poverty, by proſcribing the means of making himſelf rich, which are uſually far from honeſt, and full of injuſtice. For legitimate methods for a noble Roman to acquire riches, were very rare, to whom thoſe of trade and manufacture were prohibited, and who could not, in reward of the ſervices he rendered the State, expect either gratification, penſion, or any of the advantages which officers in theſe days uſually receive from the liberality of Kings. He had ſcarce any means of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as moſt of the Magiſtrates and Generals had now done for ſome time. And it was this greatneſs of ſoul, this diſintereſtedneſs, theſe ſentiments of honour, this preference avowedly given to virtue over riches, which this illuſtrious lady admired in her huſband, and with great reaſon. As ſhe was infinitely above the common and vulgar manner of thinking, through the veils of poverty and ſimplicity ſhe diſtinguiſhed the virtue which were the cauſe of them, and thought herſelf obliged to reſpect them ſtill more from the very point which would perhaps have made him contemptible to the many. θαυμαζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣς πένης ἦν. It was in the houſe of Paulus Æmilius, this illuſtrious lady had imbibed theſe great principles: and we are going to ſee, it is in conſequence of the ſame principles, that Scipio Æmilianus her brother makes the moſt noble uſe of riches it is poſſible to imagine. A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160.

Greatneſs of ſoul can appear with luſtre in more than one point of view, and is not confined within the bounds of camps and armies. Before we produce our Scipio upon this theatre, I believed it proper to ſhew him in his family and domeſtick life, eſpecially with relation to the uſe of riches.

I have already obſerved, that Scipio, at hardly eighteen years of age, had devoted himſelf entirely to Polybius; and that he conſidered as the greateſt good

A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160. fortune of his life the occaſion of forming himſelf by the counſels of ſuch a friend, whoſe converſation he preferred to all the idle amuſements which have uſually ſo much attraction for young perſons. What hopes may not be conceived of the future from ſuch a diſpoſition!

Polybius began by inſpiring him with extreme averſion for the pleaſures, equally dangerous and ſhameful, to which the Roman youth abandoned themſelves, already almoſt univerſally depraved and corrupted by luxury, and the diſorders which riches, and the new conqueſts had introduced at Rome. Scipio, during the firſt five years of being in ſo excellent a ſchool, knew well how to improve from the leſſons he received in it. In conſequence, having had the courage to ſet himſelf above the bad example of the youth, he was from thenceforth conſidered as the model of prudence and wiſdom.

Always directed by the wiſe counſels of Polybius, he added to innocence of manners generoſity, noble diſintereſtedneſs, and the moſt illuſtrious uſe of riches, virtues ſo neceſſary to perſons of high birth, and which Scipio carried to their ſupreme degree, as may be ſeen from ſome facts related by Polybius, which are highly worthy of admiration.

Æmilia *, the wife of the firſt Scipio Africanus, and mother of him, who had adopted the Scipio, of whom Polybius ſpeaks in this place, had left a rich inheritance at her death to her grandſon. This lady, beſides diamonds, and other jewels, which form the ornaments of her ſex and rank, had a great quantity of gold and ſilver plate uſed in ſacrifices, a magnificent train, chariots, equipages, and a conſiderable number of ſlaves of both ſexes: the whole in proportion to the wealth of the family ſhe had married into. When ſhe was dead, Scipio gave all theſe valuable things to his mother Papiria, who having been repudiated for many years by Paulus Æmilius, and

* She was the ſiſter of P. Æmilius.

not

not having wherewith to ſupport the ſplendor of her birth, led an obſcure life, and did not appear either at the publick aſſemblies, or ceremonies of religion. When ſhe was ſeen again with this pomp, ſo magnificent a liberality did Scipio abundance of honour, eſpecially amongſt the ladies, who were not ſilent upon the occaſion, and in a city, wherein, ſays Polybius, people were not much diſpoſed to part with their fortunes. A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160.

He was admired no leſs upon another occaſion. He was obliged, in conſequence of the inheritance which had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different terms to the daughters of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their fortunes; this was to each five and twenty talents (five and twenty thouſand crowns.) On the expiration of the firſt term, Scipio cauſed the whole ſum to be paid into the banker's hands. Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Naſica, who had married thoſe two ſiſters, believing Scipio had made a miſtake, went to him, and told him, that the law, which perhaps was unknown to him, gave him three years for paying that ſum, at different payments. Young Scipio replied, that he was not ignorant of what the laws allowed: that the rigor of them might be followed amongſt ſtrangers; but with relations and friends it was proper to act with more ſimplicity and generoſity; and he deſired them to conſent, that the whole ſum might be paid them. They left him full of admiration of their kinſman's generoſity, and * reproaching themſelves for the narrowneſs of their ſentiments in reſpect to intereſt, though they were the principal and moſt eſteemed perſons of the city. This liberality ſeemed the more admirable to them, ſays Polybius, as at Rome, far from being willing to pay fifty thouſand crowns three years before the expiration of the term, nobody would have conſented to pay one thouſand before the day prefixed.

* Κατεγινώσκοντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν μικρολογίας.

A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160. It was in the ſame ſpirit, that two years after, on the death of Paulus Æmilius, he reſigned to his brother Fabius, who was not ſo rich as he, all that ſhould have fallen to him of his father's eſtate, which amounted to above ſixty talents, (ſixty thouſand crowns) in order thereby to correct the inequality of fortune between the two brothers.

The ſame brother intending to exhibit a ſhew of gladiators after their father's death, in honour of his memory, as was the cuſtom, and not being able to defray ſuch an expence, which roſe very high, Scipio contributed fifteen talents (fifteen thouſand crowns) to defray at leaſt half of it.

The magnificent preſents, which Scipio had made his mother, devolved to him with entire right after that lady's death: and his ſiſters, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had no pretence to them. He would have thought it a diſhonour to him to have taken back his gifts. In conſequence he gave all he had given his mother to his ſiſters, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, and acquired new applauſes by this new proof of his greatneſs of ſoul, and tender regard for his family.

Theſe different gifts, which in the whole amounted to very great ſums, ſeem to derive greater value from the age at which he beſtowed them (for he was very young) and ſtill more from the noble and obliging manners with which he knew how to accompany them: to which may be added, the character of the times wherein he lived, when the avidity of money, excited by the frantick expences of luxury, that increaſed every day, began to become an almoſt univerſal way of thinking, which was conſidered as neceſſary in ſome ſenſe.

The facts which I have juſt cited are ſo foreign to our manners, that there would be reaſon to apprehend they might be taken for the violent exaggeration of an hiſtorian prejudiced in favour of his hero; if every body did not know, that the prevailing character of Polybius, who relates them, was a great love of truth, and

and an extreme remoteneſs from all flattery. In the paſſage itſelf, from which I have extracted this account, he has thought it neceſſary to uſe ſome precautions in reſpect to what he ſays of the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio: and he obſerves, that as his writings were to be read by the Romans, who perfectly knew all things that related to that great man, he ſhould not fail to be contradicted, if he ventured to advance any thing contrary to truth: an affront to which it is not probable an author who has any regard to his reputation would willingly expoſe himſelf. A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160.

In the midſt of this decline of the Roman manners, we have ſeen two illuſtrious men ſhew extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul, but by ways quite different; Tubero, in the moderation of a ſimple life of poverty, embraced out of choice and taſte: and Scipio Æmilianus, in a ſtate of opulence, who diſtinguiſhes himſelf only by beneficence: the one by the generous contempt of riches, and the other by the wiſe and noble uſe of them. On which ſide is there moſt merit and glory? Does it require more force of mind and courage to ſtem the torrent of cuſtom and example, which ſeems to authorize every * means of amaſſing money legitimate or not, not to be anxious in reſpect to the occaſions of a numerous family, as Tubero's was, to deſpiſe a kind of reproach and contempt which the opinion of men attaches to poverty; than not to ſuffer either the head or the heart to be corrupted by the lurking poiſon of riches, to keep one's ſelf free from vice and exempt from reproach with them, to know no other advantage in them but the power they afford of doing good to others; in a word, to make ſubſervient to liberality, generoſity, true magnificence, and the exerciſe of the greateſt virtues, what is uſually in a manner the natural aliment of luxury, pomp, idle expences, ridicule, eſteem for one's ſelf, and an inſolent

* Rem facias, rem: Si poſſis, rectè; ſi non, quocumque modo rem. HORAT.

con-

A.R. 592. Ant. C. 160. contempt for every one whatſoever, who is not rich and opulent, whatever merit they may have in other reſpects. This queſtion is a fine ſubject for philoſophers to deſcant upon; but it would carry us too far from the ſubject of our hiſtory.

Freinſheim. xlviii. 27. I think it not improper to give a fact a place here, which like the reſt I have juſt related, ſeems to flow from the ſpirit of ſimplicity, ſeverity, and wiſdom, that antiently prevailed at Rome. Scipio Naſica, the ſon of him who had been adjudged the worthieſt man of Rome, ſhewed himſelf not degenerate from ſuch a father from the earlieſt years of his life by ſingular probity and innocence of manners, and ſtill recommended himſelf more by his profound knowledge of law in general, and by the talent of eloquence. He made uſe of the latter on an important occaſion, in which he had great difficulties to ſurmount, and in which his ſucceſs ſhewed how much authority his virtue had given him with the People. The Cenſors, whoſe term of office had lately expired (M. Valerius Meſſala, and C. Caſſius Longinus) amongſt other publick works, had ordered a theatre to be erected within the walls of the city, and the edifice was in great forwardneſs. Before this time the citizens uſed to ſtand at the games and ſhews exhibited at Rome. Naſica foreſaw, that the convenience of ſitting at eaſe would much augment the ardor of the people for the ſhews, which was already but too great, and that the licentiouſneſs of the theatrical pieces, in the corruption of manners, which increaſed every day, would not fail to infect the whole city, and obliterate in the youth all ſenſe of probity and ſhame. Full of zeal for the publick good, he repreſented to the Senate the inconveniences, and unhappy conſequences of this new inſtitution, with ſo much force and warmth, that the demolition of the building was immediately reſolved and executed; and the Senate paſſed a decree, to prohibit for the future, that any ſeats or benches for ſitting at the repreſentation of games ſhould be made within the city, or nearer than at the diſtance

of a thouſand paces from it, it being their will, that the people ſhould ſtand at them, in order that even * in the midſt of their pleaſures and diverſions they might always retain ſomething manly, and a vigour to indicate the Roman manners. † Paterculus has reaſon to place this regulation in the number of thoſe, which did moſt honour to the Roman gravity and ſeverity, particularly in an age which had already much degenerated from the antient manners. A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160.

Before we proceed to the important wars Rome had to ſuſtain againſt the Carthaginians, Achæans and Viriathus, and the Numantines in Spain, and not to be obliged to break in upon the account of them by a mixture of foreign facts, often of little conſequence, I proceed firſt to relate ſome events, which paſſed in Rome itſelf, and deſerve not to be omitted: I ſhall afterwards ſay ſomething of two wars of little importance againſt the Dalmatians and ſome ſtates of Liguria: And laſtly, I ſhall anticipate the relation of ſeveral commotions that happened in Macedonia, and join them all in the ſame point of view.

AFFAIRS of ROME.

ALL novelties are ſuſpected. The arts of Greece, which began principally to be introduced at Rome ſince the defeat of Perſeus, were at firſt very ill received there. In the year 591, the Senate paſſed a decree for baniſhing the philoſophers and rhetoricians out of the city.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the famous embaſſy of the Athenians, compoſed of three illuſtrious philoſc- A. R. 597. Ant. Hiſt.

* Ut ſcilicet remiſſioni animorum juncta ſtandi virilitas, propria Romanæ gentis nota eſſet. VAL. MAX. ii. 4.

† Cui [Caſſio theatrum facienti]——eximia civitatis ſeveritas & * Conſul Scipio reſtitere. Quod ego inter clariſſima publicæ † voluntatis argumenta poſuerim. VELL. PATERC. i. 15.

* Naſica was not Conſul then, his term having expired.

† This word ſeems an error: Gravitatis would perhaps be better.

phers,

phers, of which Carneades was the moſt famous. I have ſaid, that the ſeverity of Cato was alarmed by the great number of Roman youth, that ran after theſe three great maſters; and the ardor with which they collected their diſcourſes. He took care to expedite the affair for which they came to Rome, and to have an audience of leave ſoon given them, "leſt, ſaid he, our youth ſhould be corrupted by the ſubtleties of the Greeks, and abandon the ſimplicity of our antient manners."

Reſpect for religion was carefully kept up in Rome; and I find two fine examples of it at the time of which we are ſpeaking.

A. R. 589. Cic. de nat. Deor. l. ii. Gracchus, being Conſul in the 589th year for the ſecond time, preſided in the aſſembly for the election of Conſuls for the enſuing year, who were P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, and C. Marcius Figulus. Theſe new Conſuls entered upon office, drew lots for their provinces, and were already the one in Corſica and the other in Gaul, when Gracchus was ſeized with a ſcruple of conſcience in reſpect to a certain ceremony he had omitted, the want of which rendered their election defective. He was then in Sardinia, and wrote to the college of Augurs to inform them of this fact: and the Augurs gave an account of it to the Senate. The affair ſeemed very ſerious, and orders were immediately diſpatched to recal the two Conſuls. They, who were both wiſe and prudent perſons, obeyed with entire ſubmiſſion, and on their return to Rome they abdicated the Conſulſhip, and were appointed ſucceſſors. "Thus, ſays Cicero *, Gracchus choſe rather to own a fault, which he might have concealed, than to leave the Commonwealth accountable to religion for a neglect puniſhable perhaps by the Gods: and the Conſuls made no difficulty to diveſt themſelves immediately of the principal dignity

* (Gracchus) peccatum ſuum quod celari poſſet confiteri maluit, quàm hærere in Republica religionem: Conſules ſummum imperium ſtatim deponere, quàm id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem.

of

of the State, rather than keep it a moment contrary to the rules of religion." The moderation of these two illustrious citizens was not suffered to hurt them; and some years after the Consulship was conferred upon them both.

We only know the other fact, which it remains for me to relate, from the epitome of the 47th book of Livy, which mentions no particulars of it. It only tells us, that Cn. Tremelius, Tribune of the People, having had a difference with M. Æmilius Lepidus, the great Pontiff, in which he had used opprobrious terms, had a fine laid upon him. Every body knows the enormous power of the Tribunes of the People, which even rendered their persons sacred and inviolable. Regard, however, for religion carried it against this magistracy, often terrible to the Consuls and the whole Senate. A. R. 592.

WARS with the DALMATIANS, and some of the STATES of LIGURIA. Affairs of MACEDONIA.

THE Dalmatians, who had formerly been subject to Gentius, having incommoded their neighbours by incursions, the * Lissians, who had suffered much by them, and were in alliance with the Romans, complained of them to the Senate. Ambassadors were immediately made to set out, who were ill received by the Dalmatians. War having in consequence been declared, two Consuls were successively sent against those people. The first was C. Marcius Figulus, then Consul for the second time, who made such a progress, that his successor Scipio Nasica, to whom a second Consulship had been also given, had only to besiege Delminium the capital of the country, in order to terminate the war. He took that city, and demolished it: and it never was rebuilt afterwards. It is A. R. 596. A. R. 597.

* One of the principal cities of the Lissians was Tragurium, now called Trau in Dalmatia.

at

at this time only a very mean town, that ſtill retains
Corn.Nep. the ſame name, Delminio upon the Drin in Boſnia. What is moſt worthy of obſervation in all this war, in other reſpects but of little importance, is the victor's modeſty, who refuſed the title of Imperator, which his ſoldiers gave him with acclamations, and made great difficulties to accept the triumph decreed him by the Senate. He did himſelf juſtice, for his actions were not very conſiderable. But who is it that does juſtice on the like occaſions?

A.R. 598. The year following the Romans for the firſt time paſſed the Alps in arms, but not to make war now againſt the Gauls, but againſt ſome people of Liguria by origin, though ſettled in the Gauls. Polybius calls them Oxybians and Deceates: they inhabited beyond the Var, along the ſea-coaſts, in the neighbourhood of the cities Nice, Antibes, and * Frejus. Thoſe Barbarians attacked Nice and Antibes, colonies of the Maſſilienſes, and rendered themſelves formidable to Maſſilia itſelf. (*hod. Marſeilles.*) An embaſſy ſent by the Senate of Rome, upon the complaint of the Maſſilienſes, was no better received by the Ligurians, than that of which we have ſpoke had been by the Dalmatians. In conſequence it was neceſſary for the Conſul Q. Opimius to march againſt them with an army, in order to reduce them to reaſon. The enterprize was not difficult to the Roman power. Opimius beſieged the city, where the Ambaſſadors had been inſulted, took it by ſtorm, made the inhabitants ſlaves, and ſent the principal authors of the inſult in chains to Rome, to ſuffer the puniſhment their crime deſerved. The Ligurians were more than once defeated and cut to pieces. The Conſul, to ſecure the tranquillity of the Maſſilienſes, gave them part of the conquered countries, and ordered that for the future thoſe Barbarians ſhould ſend hoſtages to Maſſilia, to be changed from time to time.

* Frejus was not yet in being, at leaſt as a Roman colony, and with the name of Forum Julii. But I thought it neceſſary to determine the country of which I ſpeak.

I come

I come now to what regards Macedonia.

Fifteen or ſixteen years after the defeat and death of Perſeus, one Andriſcus of Adramyttium, a city of Myſia in Aſia Minor, a man of the meaneſt birth, gave himſelf out for the ſon of Perſeus, aſſumed the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged King by the inhabitants of the country. He had invented a ſtory concerning his birth, which he gave out every where, pretending that he was the ſon of a concubine of Perſeus. He had flattered himſelf that he ſhould be believed on his own word, and that he ſhould occaſion great movements in Macedonia in his favour. When he found that every thing remained quiet there, he retired into Syria to the court of Demetrius Soter, whoſe ſiſter had married Perſeus. That Prince, who immediately knew the impoſtor, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent him to Rome, in hopes, by that ſervice, to acquire the protection of the Romans, for which at that time he had particular occaſion. Freinſh. xlix. l. A. R. 600.

The Romans had little regard to that impoſtor, who ſeemed to them to merit only contempt, ſo that ſmall care was taken to guard or keep him in cloſe confinement. He took advantage of the negligence of his keepers, and made his eſcape from Rome. Having found means to raiſe a conſiderable army amongſt the Thracians, whom he had the addreſs to bring into his views, he made himſelf maſter of Macedonia either by conſent or force, and aſſumed the marks of Sovereignty.

Sp. Postumius Albinus.
C. Calpurnius Piso. A. R. 604. Ant. C. 148.

Andriſcus, a man of nothing, who had been brought up, and lived hitherto in low life, and who juſt before had neither land nor fortune, encouraged by the rapidity of his firſt ſucceſs, finding Macedonia too narrow for him, attacked Theſſaly, and ſubjected a part of it to his power.

The

The affair then began to appear more ſerious to the Romans. They appointed Scipio Naſica to go in quality of Ambaſſador, or Commiſſioner, to put a ſtop to this defection in its birth, judging him highly fit for that employment. And indeed, he was perfectly maſter of the art of giving the neceſſary bent of mind, and of bringing people into his views by perſuaſion; and in caſe it was neceſſary to employ arms, he was very capable of forming a deſign with wiſdom, and of executing it with valour. As ſoon as he arrived in Greece, and was perfectly informed in the affairs of Macedonia, he gave the Senate advice of them; and, without loſs of time, made a tour through the cities of the allies, in order immediately to raiſe troops for the defence of Theſſaly. The Achaians, who were ſtill the moſt powerful people of Greece, ſupplied him with the greateſt number, without regard to their paſt diſcontents. He ſoon deprived the falſe Philip of all the cities he had taken in Theſſaly, drove out his garriſons, and repulſed himſelf into Macedonia.

However, upon Scipio's letters it was ſoon ſeen at Rome, that it was neceſſary to delay no longer ſending a General with forces againſt this enemy. The Prætor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to paſs the ſea as ſoon as poſſible with an army. He ſet out directly. But conſidering Andriſcus as only a mock King, he did not conceive it neceſſary to take any great precautions againſt him, and he raſhly engaged in a battle, wherein he loſt his life with part of his army: the reſt eſcaped only by favour of the night.

The victor, fluſhed by this good ſucceſs, and believing his power firmly eſtabliſhed, abandoned himſelf to his vicious inclinations with neither moderation nor reſerve, as if to be really a King was to know no other law nor rule but his paſſions and caprice. He was covetous, proud, and cruel. Nothing was ſeen on all ſides but oppreſſions, confiſcations of eſtates, and murthers. Taking advantage of the terror occaſioned by the defeat of the Romans, he ſoon recovered all he had loſt in Theſſaly. An embaſſy which the Cartha-

Carthaginians, then actually attacked by the Romans, ſent him with the promiſe of ſpeedy ſupport, extremely exalted his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected Prætor, had ſucceeded Juventius, and was already near the enemy. Andriſcus had reſolved to advance to meet him: but he thought it neceſſary not to remove far from the ſea, and ſtopt at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman Prætor ſoon followed him thither. The two armies were in ſight of each other, and ſkirmiſhes paſſed every day. Andriſcus gained a conſiderable advantage in a ſmall engagement of the horſe. Succeſs uſually blinds men of little experience, and becomes fatal to them. Andriſcus believing himſelf ſuperior to the Romans, detached a great body of his troops to defend his conqueſts in Theſſaly. This was a groſs error; and Metellus, who let nothing eſcape him, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was defeated, and Andriſcus reduced to fly. He took refuge amongſt the Thracians, from whence he ſoon returned with a new army. He had the raſhneſs to venture a ſecond battle, which proved as unfortunate for him as the firſt. In both he loſt above five and twenty thouſand men. A.R. 605.

Nothing was wanting to compleat the glory of the Roman General except ſeizing Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty King of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not pique themſelves much upon faith, and made it give place to their intereſt. This Prince put his gueſt into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon him the anger and arms of the Romans. He was ſent to Rome.

Another Adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus by the aſſumed name of Alexander, had the ſame fate as the firſt, except that Metellus could not take him: he retired into Dardania, where he kept himſelf concealed. Freinſh.

It was at this time that Macedonia, which had made ſo bad an uſe of the liberty granted it by the Romans, was reduced into a province, that is, treated like a conquered country.

A.R. 610. A third impoſtor appeared ſome years after, and gave himſelf out for the ſon of Perſeus under the name of Philip. His pretended title was but of ſhort duration. He was defeated and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, who on that occaſion received the ſurname of Scrofa, becauſe in encouraging his ſoldiers, he had aſſured them, that he would diſperſe the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos.*

SECT. III.

THIRD PUNIC WAR.

Origin and occaſion of the third Punic war. Rome ſhews little favour to the Carthaginians in their differences with Maſiniſſa. War between Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians. Great anxiety and fear of the Carthaginians in reſpect to the Romans. Rome deliberates, whether war ſhall be declared againſt Carthage. It is reſolved. Alarm of the Carthaginians. They ſend Deputies to Rome. Hard conditions propoſed to them. They accept them. They ſend three hundred of their principal citizens as hoſtages. They deliver up all their arms. They are at length told that they muſt quit Carthage, which will be demoliſhed. Grief and horror of the Deputies. Deſpair and fury of Carthage, when that news is made public there. Reflexion upon the conduct of the Romans. Generous efforts of Carthage to prepare for the ſiege. Invocation of the tutelar Gods of Carthage to quit it, and the form of devoting that city. Carthage beſieged by the two Conſuls. Scipio diſtinguiſhes himſelf above all the other officers. Death of Maſiniſſa. The new Conſul continues the ſiege with great languor. Scipio, who ſtands only for the Ædileſhip, is elected Conſul, and charged with the war of Africa.

Roman Miles, computed at 755 Toises and ½.

30 60 90 120 150

French Leagues of 3000 Geometrical Paces, or 2500 Toises.

10 20 30 40 50

To give this Map some Advantage every thing is included in it circumstantially, of which the Subject is capable, without regard to the Time or Occasion, for which it is placed in the Roman History: This Map will hereby be of more general Use.

The ancient Itineraries being peculiarly numerous in respect to this Country, almost the whole Detail of it is taken from them. In tracing, as we have done, the Roman Ways, the Position of Places is settled and cleared up; and the Reader is even enabled to judge of the weight which the use of the ancient Itineraries may have in the Construction of the Body of the Work. But besides the Advantage of a greater Particularity in this Map, the Author of it owns, that he has corrected the first in it in many Places.

It is hard to establish Limits to Numidia (at the time it had Kings) on the Side of Africa, or the Roman Province, as it is certain, that this State extended at that time into the Country, which afterwards made part of the Proconsulate, and Byzacena. Every-body knows, that on the West, Numidia was bounded only by the River Mulacha: It was not till after the Time of Bocchus, the Son of Bocchus, and Brother of Bogud, Kings of Mauritania, that the Western Part of Numidia was called Mauritania, to which an additional Name, taken from Cæsarea its Capital has been added, to distinguish it from the ancient Mauritania, or Tingitana. The Numidians were formerly divided into two People; the MASSYLI *in the Eastern Part, who were the Subjects of Masinissa: and the* MASSÆSYLI *in the other, the Subjects of Syphax.*

NUMIDIA

For Mr Rollin's Roman Hist

By Mons.r D'Anville,

Geographer in Ordinary to the King of F

May 1742.

NUMIDIA

FOR Mr ROLLIN'S ROMAN HISTORY,

BY MONSR D'ANVILLE,

Geographer in Ordinary to the King of France.

May 1742.

ZEUGITANA

AFRICA PROPRIA

Solitudines

Solitudines

Solitudines

Solitudines

Musulani

Tubusuptus

Tigisis

Bagai

Tabudis

Thebeste

Ammedera

Sufetula

Septimunicia

Thena

Capsa

Byzacium

Meninx vel Lotophagites

Girba I.

SYRTIS MINOR

Lilybœum

Solinus

Candidum Pr

Hermæum Pr

Cossyra

Cercina I. et Opp.

Larmesiæ I.

Mahadia Turris Hannibalis

Sabrata

Oea Tripoli

The Country calld EMPORIA in Polybius and Livy, hath been since calld BYZACIUM.

R.W. Seale Sculp.

Africa. He arrives in Africa, and delivers Mancinus from great danger. He re-eſtabliſhes diſcipline amongſt the troops. He carries on the ſiege with vigour. Deſcription of Carthage. Aſdrubal's barbarous cruelty. Sea-fight. Scipio, during the winter, attacks and takes Nepheris, a place in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The ſiege continued. The city at length ſurrenders. Aſdrubal alſo ſurrenders. His wife kills her children, and throws herſelf with them into the flames. Scipio's compaſſion on ſeeing the ruin of Carthage. Noble uſe which he makes of the ſpoils of that city. Joy which the news of the taking of Carthage occaſions at Rome. Ten Commiſſioners ſent into Africa. Deſtruction of Carthage. Scipio returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. Carthage re-eſtabliſhed.

THE third Punic war, leſs conſiderable than the two former in the number and greatneſs of battles, and its duration, which was but of four years, was much more ſo by its ſucceſs and event, as it terminated in the total deſtruction of Carthage.

That city, after her laſt defeat, and the treaty of peace conſequential of it, rightly perceived what ſhe had to fear from the Romans, in whom ſhe always obſerved much ill-will, whenever ſhe applied to them in her differences with Maſiniſſa.

In the preceding books I have related ſeveral Deputations ſent from both ſides, and ſeveral Commiſſions appointed by the Romans, who ſent Senators to take cognizance of thoſe diſputes upon the ſpot, and to terminate them, without their ever paſſing any definitive ſentence. It is evident, that Rome was not at all inclined either to ſatisfy the Carthaginians, or to do them juſtice; and that the quarrel was purpoſely ſpun out, to give Maſiniſſa time to ſtrengthen himſelf in his uſurpations, and to weaken the enemy. Polyb. legat. 118.

Upon new complaints made by the Carthaginians, a deputation was decreed at Rome to make farther enquiries upon the ſpot. Cato was in the number of the Commiſſioners. When they arrived, they aſked A.R. 595. Ant. C. 157.

the contending parties, whether they would abide by their arbitration. Maſiniſſa readily conſented. The Carthaginians replied, that they had a rule ſettled, to which they adhered, which was the treaty concluded by Scipio, and demanded to be tried without favour. This anſwer was a pretext to the Deputies for deciding nothing. They viſited the whole country, which they found in a very good condition, eſpecially the city of Carthage; and they were ſurprized to find it almoſt re-eſtabliſhed in the ſame degree of greatneſs and power, as it was before its laſt defeat. On their return they did not fail to give the Senate an account of this, declaring, that Rome would never be ſafe as long as Carthage ſhould ſubſiſt.

From thenceforth the Senators were extremely exaſperated againſt Carthage: and if the war was not declared till a conſiderable length of time after, it is to be believed, that occaſion and pretexts were rather wanting on the ſide of the Romans, than will. Maſiniſſa found them a plauſible motive both for attacking Carthage, and the promiſe of an eaſy victory. The thing happened as follows.

A diviſion had taken place in Carthage, and the Numidian King had a powerful party there. The zealous Republicans having found a favourable opportunity, drove the heads of this party to the number of forty out of the city, and made people take an oath that they would never ſuffer the recalling of the exiles to be propoſed. They retired to Maſiniſſa, who ſent two of his ſons, Guluſſa and Micipſa, to ſollicit their re-eſtabliſhment. The gates of the city were ſhut againſt them, and Guluſſa was even warmly purſued by Amilcar, one of the Generals of the Republick. This was a new ſubject of war: armies were raiſed on both ſides, and a battle fought. This was in the Conſulſhip of Quintius and Acilius.

T. Quin-

T. QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS. A.R. 602.
M'. ACILIUS BALBUS. Ant. C. 150.

Scipio the younger, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was a ſpectator of this battle. He was come to Maſiniſſa from Lucullus, who was making war in Spain, and under whom he ſerved, to aſk ſome elephants of him. During the whole battle he kept upon the top of an hill very near the place where it was fought. He was aſtoniſhed to ſee Maſiniſſa, then above fourſcore years old, mounted on horſeback without a ſaddle, according to the cuſtom of the country, giving orders, and ſuſtaining the rudeſt fatigues like a young officer. The battle was very obſtinate, and continued from morning till night: but at length the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio afterwards ſaid, that he had been preſent in many battles, but that none had given him ſo much pleaſure as this, in which quiet and in cold blood he had ſeen above an hundred thouſand men engage, and long diſpute the victory. And as he was well read in Homer, he added, that before him only Jupiter and Neptune had enjoyed ſuch a ſight; when one from the top of mount Ida, and the other from the higheſt eminence in Samothracia, had the pleaſure of ſeeing a battle between the Greeks and Trojans. I cannot tell, whether the ſight of an hundred thouſand men cutting one another's throats gives a very ſenſible pleaſure, or whether ſuch a delight can ſubſiſt with the ſenſe of humanity natural to us. Hom. Il. viii. 51. & xiii. 12.

The Carthaginians after the battle deſired Scipio to terminate their diſputes with Maſiniſſa. He heard both ſides. The firſt conſented to cede the territory of Emporia, which had been the firſt ſubject of the quarrel, to pay down two hundred talents of ſilver, and to add to them eight hundred more at different terms, as ſhould be agreed on. But Maſiniſſa demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles; the Carthaginians not being willing to hear that propoſal, they ſeparated without Appian. p. 40.

A. R. 602. Ant. C. 150. out concluding any thing. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and thanks to Maſiniſſa, ſet out with the elephants he came for.

Appian. P. 40. The King, after the battle, kept the enemy's camp inveſted upon an hill, where they could receive neither proviſions nor reinforcement. At this juncture arrived Deputies from Rome. They were ordered, in caſe Maſiniſſa was worſted, to terminate the affair; otherwiſe to decide nothing, and to give the King great hopes: and they followed the latter part of their inſtructions. In the mean time the famine increaſed every day in the camp of the Carthaginians; and to increaſe their misfortune the plague joined it, and made terrible havock. Reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered themſelves, upon engaging to deliver up the deſerters to Maſiniſſa, to pay him
About 750,000 l. five thouſand talents of ſilver in the ſpace of fifty years, and reinſtate the exiles, notwithſtanding the oath they had taken to the contrary. They were all made to paſs under the yoke, and diſmiſſed each with only a ſingle habit. Guluſſa, to revenge the bad treatment he had received, as we have ſaid above, detached a body of cavalry after them, whoſe attacks they could neither avoid nor ſuſtain, in their preſent diſarmed condition. Thus of fifty-eight thouſand men very few returned to Carthage.

So conſiderable a defeat gave great alarm there. They particularly apprehended, that the Romans, under pretext, that the Carthaginians, contrary to the conditions of the treaty, had taken arms againſt a King in alliance with Rome, ſhould declare war againſt them: for they could not doubt the ill-will of the Roman Senate in reſpect to them. To prevent the effect of it, the Carthaginians declared by a decree of the Senate Aſdrubal and Carthalon, one of whom had been General of the army, and the other had * commanded the auxiliary troops, guilty of trea-

* The foreign troops had commanders of their reſpective nations, all of whom were ſubordinate to a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian, Βασιλεύς.

ſon,

ſon, as being the authors of the war with the King of Numidia. They then ſent deputies to Rome, to know what people thought and expected there from them. They were anſwered coldly, that it was for the Senate and People of Carthage to conſider what ſatisfaction was due to the Romans. Not being able to get any other anſwer or explanation by a ſecond embaſſy, they conceived great anxiety; and in extreme terror from the remembrance of paſt evils, they already thought they ſaw the enemy at their gates, and repreſented to themſelves all the direful effects of a long ſiege, and of a city taken by ſtorm. A. R. 602. Ant. C. 150.

In the mean time the Senate of Rome deliberated upon the reſolution the Commonwealth ſhould take; and the diſputes between Cato and Scipio Naſica, who thought quite differently upon that ſubject, were renewed. The firſt, on his return from Africa, had already repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he had found Carthage, not in the condition the Romans believed it, exhauſted of men and riches, weak and reduced; but on the contrary, abounding with youth, with immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, prodigious ſtores of all kinds of arms, and all the neceſſaries of war; and ſo proud and full of confidence with all theſe great preparations, that there was nothing ſo great, at which their hopes and ambition did not aſpire. It is ſaid, that after having held this diſcourſe, he even threw figs of Africa, which he had in his breaſt, into the midſt of the Senate; and that, on the Senators admiring their beauty and bigneſs, he told them: "It "is but three days ſince thoſe figs were gathered. "And that is the diſtance between us and the enemy." And afterwards, upon any affairs being deliberated upon in the Senate, Cato always added; "And I further conclude, that Carthage muſt be de-"ſtroyed." Naſica, on the contrary, was for ſuffering it to ſubſiſt. Plut. in vit. Caton. p. 352. Plin. xv. 18.

Both had their reaſons to think as they did. Naſica, ſeeing that the people's inſolence roſe to ſuch an height, as to make them commit all manner of exceſſes; that Plut. ibid.

A. R. 602. Ant. C. 150. ſwelled with pride in effect of their victories, they could no longer be kept within bounds by the Senate itſelf; and that their power had attained to ſuch an height, that it was capable of forcing the Commonwealth into all the meaſures they ſhould think fit to eſpouſe: Naſica, I ſay, in this ſituation, was for leaving them the fear of Carthage as a curb, to moderate and check their audacity. For he thought, that the Carthaginians were too weak to ſubdue the Romans, and that they were alſo too ſtrong to be deſpiſed by them. Cato on his ſide judged, that for a people become proud and inſolent from proſperity, and whom unbounded licentiouſneſs precipitated into all kinds of diſorders, there was nothing more dangerous, than to leave them a State for a rival and enemy, hitherto always powerful, but from its misfortunes themſelves become wiſer and more cautious than ever, and not entirely to remove from them all cauſe of fear from without, when they had all poſſible means within of hurrying on to the laſt exceſſes.

Laying aſide the laws of equity for a moment, I leave the reader to determine, which of theſe two great men judged moſt juſtly according to the rules of good policy and with reſpect to the intereſt of the State. Certain it is, as * all Hiſtorians have obſerved, that after the deſtruction of Carthage the change of conduct and government was evident at Rome: that vice no longer crept into it with fear, and in a manner by ſtealth, but barefaced and erect, and with ſurprizing rapidity poſſeſſed all orders of the Commonwealth: and that people abandoned themſelves without reſerve or bounds to luxury and pleaſures, which did not fail, as that is inevitable to draw on the

* Ubi Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab ſtirpe interiit——fortuna ſævire ac miſcere omnia cœpit. SALLUST. in bell. Catil.

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus & Senatus Rom. placidè modeſtéque inter ſe remp. tractabant.——Metus hoſtilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus deceſſit, ilicet ea quæ ſecundæ res amant, laſcivia atque ſuperbia inceſſere. Id in bell. Jugurth.

ruin

ruin of the State. "The † firſt Scipio, ſays Paterculus ſpeaking of the Romans, had laid the foundations of their future greatneſs: the latter, by his conqueſts, opened the way for all kinds of vice and diſorders. From the time that Carthage, which kept Rome in play by diſputing empire with her, was entirely deſtroyed, her manners declined no longer ſlowly and by degrees, but ſuddenly and with precipitation." A. R. 602. Ant. C. 150.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS. A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149.
M'. MANILIUS.

However that were, it was reſolved in the Senate to declare war againſt the Carthaginians: and the reaſons, or pretexts given for it, were, that contrary to the tenor of the treaty they had kept ſhips, and marched an army out of their territories againſt a Prince in alliance with Rome, whoſe ſon they had treated with violence, at the time he had a Roman Ambaſſador with him. App. p. 42.

An entirely lucky event, which happened whilſt the affair of Carthage was in deliberation, no doubt contributed much to the taking of this reſolution. This was the arrival of Deputies from Utica, who came to put their perſons, fortunes, lands and city into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have fallen out more opportunely. Utica was the ſecond city of Africa, was very rich, and had a port equally ſpacious and commodious, which was but ſixty ſtadia from Carthage, and might ſerve as a place of arms for attacking it. The Senate then heſitated no longer, and the war was declared in all the forms. The two Conſuls were preſſed to ſet out with all poſſible expedition, and ſecret orders were given them not to terminate the war without the deſtruction of Carthage. They

† Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ poſterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, ſublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, ſed præcipiti curſu à virtute deſcitum, ad vitia tranſcurſum. VELL. PATERC. ii. 1.

departed

A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149. departed immediately, and ſtopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. The fleet was conſiderable, and had on board it fourſcore thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe.

Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 972. Carthage did not yet know what had been reſolved at Rome. The anſwer the Deputies had brought back from thence, had only ſerved to augment her trouble and anxiety. They had been told, that it was for the Carthaginians to conſider, in what manner they could ſatisfy the Romans. They knew not how to act. At length they ſent new Deputies; but with full powers to do all they ſhould judge neceſſary, and even, in caſe circumſtances ſeemed to require it, to declare, that the Carthaginians abandoned themſelves and all they poſſeſſed to the diſcretion of the Romans. This, according to the force of the words, *ſe ſuaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was making them abſolute maſters of their fate, and to confeſs themſelves their vaſſals. They had never been capable in the former wars to reſolve upon ſo mortifying a ſtep: and however they expected no great ſucceſs from it, becauſe the people of Utica having been beforehand with them in doing the ſame, had deprived them of the merit of an early and voluntary ſubmiſſion.

On arriving at Rome, the Deputies were informed, that the war was declared and the army ſet out. They had therefore no time to deliberate, and ſurrendered their perſons and all they poſſeſſed to the Romans. In conſequence of this meaſure, they were anſwered, that becauſe they had at length taken the right reſolution, the Senate granted them liberty, the exerciſe of their own laws, all their territories, and all their other poſſeſſions, either as private perſons or as a Republick; on condition, that in three days they ſhould ſend three hundred hoſtages of the principal youth of their city to Lilybæum, and do what the Conſuls ſhould order them. Thoſe laſt words gave them extreme anxiety: but the trouble they were in, made them incapable either of replying, or aſking any explanation; and it had been to no manner of purpoſe.

They

They therefore ſet out for Carthage, and gave an account of their commiſſion. A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149.

All the articles of the treaty were grating: but the ſilence kept in reſpect to the cities, of which no mention was made amongſt the things Rome conſented to leave them, gave them extreme diſquiet. However, nothing remained for them to do, but to obey. After their antient and recent loſſes, they were not in a condition to make head againſt ſuch an enemy, who had not been able to reſiſt Maſiniſſa. Troops, proviſions, ſhips, allies, were all wanting; and hope and courage more. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 972.

They did not think it proper to wait the expiration of the term of thirty days, which had been granted them; but to ſoften the enemy by the promptitude of their obedience, though they however could not flatter themſelves with that effect, they made the hoſtages ſet out immediately. Theſe were the flower and hope of the moſt noble families of Carthage. Never was ſight more affecting. Nothing was heard but mournful cries, nor ſeen but tears. The whole city reſounded with groans and lamentations. The mothers in particular, bathed in tears, tore their hair, beat their breaſts, and in a manner frantick with grief and deſpair raiſed cries capable of moving the hardeſt hearts. It was ſtill quite another thing at the fatal moment of ſeparation, when having accompanied them to the ſhips they took their laſt leaves, not expecting ever to ſee them more, bathed them with their tears, never gave over embracing them, and preſſed them in their arms without being able to conſent to their departure; ſo that it was neceſſary to pull them away by force, which was more cruel to them than if their bowels had been torn out of their bodies. When they arrived in Sicily, the hoſtages were ſent forwards to Rome, and the Conſuls told the Deputies, that when they were at Utica, they would let them know the orders of the Commonwealth.

In the like conjunctures there is nothing more cruel than a terrible uncertainty, that without ſhewing any Ibid. P. 375. App. p. 44—46.

A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149. any thing in particular, leaves all that can be apprehended obvious and impending. As ſoon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the Deputies repaired to the camp of the Romans, declaring, that they were come in the name of the State to receive their orders, which they were ready to obey in all things. The Conſul Cenſorinus, who ſpoke, after having praiſed their good diſpoſition and obedience, ordered them to deliver up to him without fraud or delay all their arms in general. They conſented to this; but they deſired him to reflect upon the condition to which he reduced them, at a time when Aſdrubal, who was become their enemy only on account of their entire ſubmiſſion to the Romans, was almoſt at their gates with an army of twenty thouſand men. They were anſwered, that Rome would provide for that.

App. 46. This order was executed immediately. A long train of carriages arrived in the camp, laden with all the preparations of war, that were in Carthage: two hundred thouſand compleat ſuits of armour, an infinite number of ſpears and javelins, and two thouſand machines for diſcharging ſtones and darts. The Deputies of Carthage followed, accompanied by the moſt venerable old men of the Senate and Prieſts of the Gods, to endeavour to excite the Romans to compaſſion at this critical moment, when their ſentence was going to be paſſed, and their final doom determined. The Conſul roſe up for a moment on their arrival with ſome expreſſions of kindneſs and humanity; then ſuddenly reſuming a grave and ſevere air he ſaid: "I cannot but approve your readineſs in executing the orders of the Senate. It has inſtructed me to declare to you, that its laſt pleaſure is, that you ſhould quit Carthage, which it has reſolved to deſtroy; and that you remove your abode to whatever part of your territory you ſhall think fit, provided it be fourſcore ſtadia from the ſea."

Ibid. 46—53. When the Conſul had pronounced this terrible decree, nothing was heard but a lamentable cry amongſt the

the Carthaginians. They were thunderſtruck in a manner, and neither knew where they were, nor what they did. They rolled themſelves in the duſt, tearing their cloaths, and venting nothing but groans and ſobs. After having recovered themſelves a little, they extended their hands ſometimes towards the Gods, and ſometimes towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and juſtice to a people upon the point of being reduced to deſpair. But as they were entirely deaf to their prayers, they ſoon changed them into reproaches and imprecations, putting them in mind, that there were Gods, who were the avengers, as well as witneſſes of crimes and perfidy. The Romans could not refrain from tears at ſo moving a ſight; but their reſolution was taken. The Deputies could not even prevail, that the execution of the order ſhould be ſuſpended, till they had applied again to the Roman Senate, in order to endeavour to have it revoked. They were obliged to ſet out and carry the anſwer to Carthage. A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149.

They were expected there with an impatience and dread not to be expreſſed. They had much difficulty to break through the throng that preſſed around them to know the anſwer, which it was but too eaſy to read in their looks. When they arrived in the Senate, and had related the cruel order they had received, a general cry informed the people of their fate: and from that inſtant nothing was heard throughout the whole city but howling, deſpair, rage, and fury. App. p. 53, 54.

Let us ſtop here a moment, to conſider a little the conduct of the Romans. I cannot ſufficiently regret, that the fragment of Polybius, in which this deputation is related, ends exactly in the moſt affecting part of his hiſtory; and I ſhould ſet a much higher value on a ſhort reflection of ſo judicious an author, than the long harangues, which Appian puts into the mouths of the Deputies, and of the Conſul. Now I cannot believe, that Polybius, full of good ſenſe, reaſon, and equity as he was, could on the occaſion in queſtion have

A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149. have approved the proceeding of the Romans. We do not, in my opinion, ſee their antient character in it: that greatneſs of ſoul, dignity, integrity, and declared abhorrence of mean ſtratagem, diſguiſe, and impoſture, that are not, as is ſomewhere ſaid, of the Roman genius: *Minimè Romanis artibus.* Why were not the Carthaginians attacked with open force? Why was it declared to them expreſsly by a treaty, which is a ſacred thing, that liberty and the free exerciſe of their laws were granted them, and conditions underſtood, that entirely ſubvert both? Why, under the ſhameful ſuppreſſion of the word City in this treaty, is the perfidious deſign of deſtroying Carthage concealed, if as under the ſhadow of that equivocation they might do it with juſtice? And laſtly, wherefore is not the laſt declaration made them till after they have at different times taken from them their hoſtages and arms, that is, after having put it abſolutely out of their power to refuſe them any thing? Is it not manifeſt, that Carthage, after ſo many defeats, all weakened and exhauſted as ſhe is, ſtill makes the Romans tremble, and that they do not believe it in their power to ſubdue her by force of arms? It is very dangerous to have power enough to commit injuſtice with impunity, and even to hope great advantages from it. The example of all empires ſhews us, that they ſeldom fail to act thus when they believe it for their intereſt.

Polyb. l. 13. p. 671, 672. The great praiſe which Polybius gives the Achaians, differs much from what we ſee in this place. Thoſe States, ſays he, far from employing ſtratagem and deceit with their allies for augmenting their power, did not even believe, that it was allowable to uſe them againſt their enemies, and deemed That only a ſolid and glorious victory which they gained ſword in hand by courage and bravery. He owns, in the ſame place, that only faint traces of the antient generoſity of their forefathers ſtill remained amongſt the Romans; and he thinks himſelf obliged, ſays he, to make this remark, contrary to a principle become very common in his time, amongſt perſons in the adminiſtration of govern-

governments, that it is impoſſible to ſucceed in publick affairs, whether of war or peace, without ſometimes employing fraud and deceit. A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149.

I return to my ſubject. The Conſuls did not make haſte to march againſt the Carthaginians, not imagining, that they had any thing to fear from a city diſarmed. They took advantage of this delay to put themſelves into a poſture of defence: for it was unanimouſly reſolved not to abandon the city. Aſdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thouſand men, was elected General without the walls; and Deputies were ſent to him to deſire him, in favour of his country, to forget the injuſtice done him through fear of the Romans. The command of the troops in the city were given to another Aſdrubal, the grandſon of Maſiniſſa. Arms were then made with incredible expedition. The temples, palaces and publick places were changed into ſo many workſhops. Men and women worked on them night and day. An hundred and forty ſhields, three hundred ſwords, five hundred pikes and javelins, a thouſand arrows, and a great number of machines for diſcharging them, were made every day; and becauſe materials were wanting to make cords, the women cut off their hair, which was an abundant ſupply. App. 55. Strab. l. 17. p. 833.

Maſiniſſa was diſcontented, that the Romans, after he had extremely weakened the power of the Carthaginians, came to take the advantage of his victory, without ſo much as imparting to him their deſign in any manner; which occaſioned ſome coldneſs between them. App. p. 55.

The Conſuls however advanced towards the city to beſiege it. It is to be believed, that the two ceremonies, of invoking the tutelary Gods of Carthage to quit it, and of devoting that city, were then performed. Macrobius informs us, that it was an antient cuſtom amongſt the Romans, but that it was kept very ſecret, when they beſieged an enemy's city, to call out the Gods who reſided in it; whether they believed, that they could not take the city without doing ſo, or, Macrob. Sat. iii. 9.

that

A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149. that it ſeemed impious to them to make the Gods priſoners. They had a form for this evocation, and another which they afterwards uſed for devoting the ſame city to the infernal Gods. Macrobius, who has preſerved theſe two forms, affirms, that they were uſed in reſpect to Carthage. I proceed to repeat both in this place as curious and venerable monuments of the conviction the whole antient world were under, in reſpect to the power which the Divinity exerciſes over human things. The firſt is as follows.

" O thou, God or Goddeſs, under whoſe protection " the People and State of Carthage are, and you " eſpecially who have taken upon you to defend this " city and its people, I beg, I conjure and aſk it as a " boon, that you will abandon the People and State " of Carthage; that you will quit all its places, tem- " ples, ſacrifices, and the city; remove from it, and " ſpread terror, diſmay, and blindneſs of mind over " this People and State. Abandoned by your antient " votaries, come to Rome amidſt my people: let all " that belongs to us, places, temples, ſacrifices, and " city be more grateful to and pleaſe you more than " your antient abode: be the defenders of me, the " Roman People, and my ſoldiers in ſuch manner, " that we may perceive and acknowledge the effects " of your protection. If you give ear to my prayer, " I vow to erect temples to you, and to celebrate games " in your honour."

After having called out the Gods protectors of the enemy's city in this manner, the Romans devoted it to the infernal divinities by this ſecond form, which, as well as the firſt, was to be repeated by the General.

" God Pluto, Jupiter the maleficent, *Dii manes*, " or by whatever other names you are to be called, " I aſk that you will fill the whole city of Carthage " and the army which I have in my thoughts, and " which I hear, with diſorder, terror and diſmay; " that you will deprive thoſe who ſhall carry arms " defenſive or offenſive againſt our legions and army

" of

" of the light of the day; that you cauſe the army A.R. 603.
" and enemies we attack to periſh, men, cities, lands, Ant. C.
" with all thoſe that inhabit in the places, regions, 149.
" lands and cities, which belong to our enemies;
" that you regard as devoted and conſecrated to you,
" according to the moſt ſolemn forms of devoting,
" the army of the enemy, their cities, countries,
" which I conceive and underſtand, their heads and
" perſons of all ages without difference amongſt them.
" I give and devote them to you to be ſubſtituted in
" the place of me, of all confided to me, of my of-
" fice, of the Roman People, of our armies and legi-
" ons. And laſtly, I aſk of you that you will not
" ſuffer me, all confided to me, my command, our
" legions and army actually employed in this war, to
" experience any diſgrace. If you do theſe things,
" ſo that I know, perceive, and diſcern, that my
" prayer has been heard, then whoever he be who ex-
" ecutes this vow, and in whatever manner he executes
" it, in ſacrificing three black ſheep to you, let it be
" deemed well executed. I pray and atteſt you, O
" Earth, who are the mother of mankind, and you
" alſo, O Jupiter!"

Superſtition manifeſts itſelf in every part of theſe forms. We obſerve in them, that they acknowledged two kinds of divinities, the one beneficent, which they call out of the enemy's city, and invite to inhabit and protect Rome; the other malevolent, to whoſe wrath they devote the enemy, and from whom they aſk nothing for themſelves, but to receive no hurt from them. Theſe tedious repetitions of the ſame words, and tireſome enumerations, this ſcrupulous attention not to leave any ambiguity, even to adding this clauſe, " which I conceive and underſtand," thereby to remove the obſcurity, which might be found againſt their intent in their words; all this is certainly very miſerable. But through theſe clouds ſhines forth however the knowledge of the divinity, and a ſolemn confeſſion of his power over all human events. This

A. R. 603. Ant. C. 149. App. p. 55—58.

is good ore, which the alloy of ſuperſtition cannot deprive of its value.

All theſe imprecations were vented againſt Carthage; after which the Conſuls attacked it with force of arms. They expected nothing leſs than to find a vigorous reſiſtance, and the incredible boldneſs of the beſieged aſtoniſhed them extremely. Nothing paſſed but frequent and briſk ſallies to repulſe the beſiegers, to burn the machines, and to harraſs the foragers. Cenſorinus attacked the city on one ſide, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, from thenceforth the terror of Carthage, ſerved at that time as legionary tribune, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf amongſt all the officers as much by his prudence as valour. The Conſuls committed many faults by not following his advice. That young officer brought off the troops from ſeveral ſteps, in which the imprudence of the Generals had engaged them. An illuſtrious Carthaginian, named Himilco Phameas, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, which inceſſantly harraſſed, and very much incommoded the foragers, did not dare to appear in the field, when it was Scipio's turn to ſuſtain them; ſo well did he know how to keep his troops in order, and to poſt them advantageouſly. So great and general a reputation drew envy upon him at firſt: but as he behaved in all things with abundance of modeſty and reſerve, it ſoon changed into admiration; ſo that when the Senate ſent Deputies into the camp to inquire into the State of the ſiege, the whole army joined in ſpeaking in his favour; ſoldiers, officers, the Generals themſelves, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: ſo important is it, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to ſoften the luſtre of an infant glory by modeſt and obliging manners, and not to inflame jealouſy by haughtineſs and ſufficiency of behaviour, the natural effects of which are to alarm ſelf-love in others, and to render even merit and virtue odious.

Sp. Pos-

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. A. R. 604.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO. Ant. C. 148.

Maſiniſſa ſeeing himſelf near death, deſired Scipio to come to him, to aſſiſt him in making the proper diſpoſitions in reſpect to the ſucceſſion, and the partition it would be neceſſary to make of them amongſt his children. Scipio on his arrival found him dead. That Prince at his death had commanded them to refer themſelves in all things to Scipio's deciſion, whom he left them as a father and guardian. I defer ſpeaking with more extent of Maſiniſſa's family and poſterity in this place, to avoid interrupting the hiſtory of Carthage too long.

The eſteem Phameas had conceived for Scipio, induced him to quit the ſide of the Carthaginians to embrace that of the Romans. He ſurrendered himſelf to him with above two thouſand horſe, and was afterwards of great ſervice to the beſiegers. App. p. 651

Calpurnius Piſo Conſul, and L. Mancinus his Lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the ſpring. The campaign paſſed without any conſiderable action. They were even worſted on ſeveral occaſions, and carried on the ſiege of Carthage but ſlowly. The beſieged, on the contrary, had reſumed courage. Their troops increaſed conſiderably; and they ſpared no pains to engage the States and Kings in their quarrel. They ſent as far as Macedonia to the falſe Philip, who pretended himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, and was then actually at war with the Romans, exhorting him to puſh it on vigorouſly, and promiſing him ſupplies of money and ſhips. Ibid. 66.

This news occaſioned diſquiet at Rome. They began to apprehend for the ſucceſs of a war, which from day to day became more doubtful, and more important than had at firſt been imagined. The more they were diſſatisfied with the ſlowneſs of the Generals and the worſe they ſpoke of them, the more earneſt was Ibid. 68.

A. R. 604. Ant. C. 148. every body to ſpeak well of young Scipio, and to extol his extraordinary virtues: and Cato himſelf, who did not willingly praiſe, applied to him what Homer ſays of Tireſias compared with the other dead: "He only is wiſe; the reſt are mere ſhadows." Ὁιῷ πεπνυσθαι· τοι δὲ σκιαὶ ἀισσουσι. He came to Rome to demand the Edileſhip. As ſoon as he appeared in the aſſembly, his name, aſpect, reputation, and the general belief, that the Gods had deſtined him to terminate the third Punic war, as the firſt Scipio his grand-father by adoption had terminated the ſecond; all this extremely ſtruck the people; and though the thing was contrary to the laws, and the Old for that reaſon oppoſed it, inſtead of the Edileſhip which he aſked, the people gave him the Conſulſhip, ſetting the laws aſide for this year, and reſolved, that he ſhould have Africa for his province without drawing lots, as was the cuſtom, and as Druſus his Collegue demanded.

Hom. Od. l. x. v. 495.

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. P. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Livius Drusus.

App. p. 69. As ſoon as Scipio had compleated his recruits, he ſet out for Sicily, and ſoon arrived at Utica. This was very opportunely for Mancinus Piſo's Lieutenant, who had raſhly engaged himſelf in a poſt, where the enemy kept him ſhut up, and where they were going to cut him to pieces the next morning, if the new Conſul, who was informed of his danger on his arrival, had not made his troops re-embark in the night, and haſtened to his aid.

Ibid. 70. Scipio's firſt care on his arrival was to re-eſtabliſh diſcipline amongſt the troops, which he found entirely ruined. They had neither order, ſubordination, nor obedience. Their ſole care was to plunder, eat, drink and divert themſelves. He made all the uſeleſs mouths quit the camp, regulated the ſpecies of proviſions the ſuttlers were to bring in, and would ſuffer none but what were ſimple and military; induſtriouſly

triouſly baniſhing all that tended to luxury and voluptuouſneſs. A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147.

When he had well eſtabliſhed this reformation, which coſt him neither much time nor pains, becauſe he ſet others the example in his own perſon, he believed he had ſoldiers, and applied himſelf ſeriouſly to the ſiege. Having made his troops provide themſelves with axes, cleavers, and ladders, he led them in the night with great ſilence to a part of the city called Mægara, and having ordered great cries to be raiſed on a ſudden, he attacked it with the utmoſt vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at firſt very much terrified. However, they defended themſelves with great courage, and Scipio could not ſcale the walls. But having obſerved a tower, which they had abandoned, he ſent a detachment of bold and determinate ſoldiers thither, who by the help of pontons paſſed from the tower to the walls, entered Mægara, and broke down the gates. Scipio entered that moment, drove the enemy from that poſt, who, ſurprized and confounded by this unforeſeen attack, and believing the whole city taken, fled to the Citadel, and were followed by the troops alſo that incamped without the city. The latter abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it neceſſary to provide for their ſecurity.

Before I go on, it is proper that I ſhould give ſome idea in this place of the ſituation and bigneſs of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war with the Romans had ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants. It was ſituated at the bottom of a gulf, ſurrounded by the ſea in the form of a peninſula, of which the neck, that is the Iſthmus, which joined it to the continent, was a league and a quarter (five and twenty ſtadia) in breadth. The peninſula was eighteen leagues in circumference [360 ſtadia.] On the weſtern ſide projected a long point of land, almoſt an hundred and four yards [half a ſtadium,] broad, which running into the ſea ſeparated it from the moraſs, and was App. p. 56, 57. Strab. l. 17. p. 832.

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. cloſed on all ſides,* by rocks and a ſingle wall. On the ſouth ſide next the continent, where the citadel called Byrſa ſtood, the city was incloſed within three walls thirty cubits high without the parapets and towers, that flanked it all around at equal diſtances, an hundred and ſixty yards from each other. Each tower had four ſtories: the walls had but two; they were vaulted, and at bottom there were ſtables for three hundred elephants, and the things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and others over them for four thouſand horſes, with magazines for their provender. There were alſo places for lodging twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. To conclude, all theſe military preparations were contained in the walls only. There was but one part of the city, where the walls were weak and low: this was a neglected angle, which began at the point of land, of which we have ſpoke, and ran on quite to the ports, that were on the weſtern ſide. There were two, which communicated with each other, but which had but one entrance ſeventy feet broad, that was cloſed with chains. The firſt was for the merchants; here were many and different places of abode for the ſeamen. The other was the interior port for the ſhips of war, in the midſt of which was an * iſle, called Cothon, that as well as the port had great quays on its ſides. Here were ſeparate covered docks for laying up two hundred and twenty ſhips, with magazines over them; where all things neceſſary for arming and fitting out ſhips were kept. The entrance of each of theſe docks intended for laying up ſhips was adorned with two marble Ionic pillars: ſo that the port as well as the iſle repreſented on the two ſides two magnificent galleries. In this iſle was the admiral's palace; and as it fronted the entrance of the port, he could from thence diſcover all that paſſed in the main ſea, whilſt nothing could be

* According to Sam. Bochartus, the Cothon was not an iſle, but the port itſelf ſo cut by human art.

ſeen

ſeen from thence, that was done within the port. In like manner the merchants had no view of the ſhips of war, the two ports being ſeparated by a double wall; and in each there was a particular gate for entering the city without paſſing through the other port. Thus we can diſtinguiſh three parts in Carthage. The port, which was double, ſometimes called Cothon, from the little iſle of that name: the citadel, called Byrſa: and the city properly ſo called, where the inhabitants lived, which ſurrounded the citadel, and was called Mægara. A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

Aſdrubal General of the Carthaginians, ſeeing at day-break the ſhameful defeat of his troops, to revenge himſelf on the Romans, and at the ſame time to deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, formed and executed a project worthy of him. It was this Aſdrubal, whom we have ſeen at firſt proſcribed by his country, and then appointed by them to command the troops that were without the city, whilſt another Aſdrubal, grandſon of Maſiniſſa, by his mother, was to command in Carthage. This firſt Aſdrubal, a violent and ambitious man, and fluſhed beſides with ſome firſt ſucceſſes againſt the Romans, could not ſuffer that the command ſhould be divided between him and a collegue: and to unite it entirely in his own perſon, and deliver himſelf from a diſagreeable rival, he ſuborned informers to accuſe him of holding intelligence with his uncle Guluſſa; and having cauſed him to be killed in the publick place, he in conſequence remained in the ſole poſſeſſion of the command both within and without Carthage. App. p. 72.

On the occaſion of which we are ſpeaking, out of a barbarous and vile ſpirit of revenge, he cauſed all the Roman priſoners he had to be brought to the walls, ſo as to be near enough to be ſeen by the whole army. He there made them ſuffer every kind of torment that could be inflicted. Some had their eyes pulled out; ſome their noſes, ears and fingers

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. cut off; others had their ſkins torn off their bodies with iron combs: and after they had ſuffered theſe torments, they were thrown down from the top of the walls. So cruel a treatment gave the Carthaginians horror, far from augmenting their courage: but he did not ſpare even them, and cauſed many of the Senators who ventured to oppoſe his tyranny, to be maſſacred.

App. p. 73. Scipio, ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the Iſthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had abandoned, and pitched a new one for his troops. It was of a ſquare form, ſurrounded with great and deep intrenchments, armed with good paliſades. On the ſide of the Carthaginians he raiſed a wall twelve feet high, and flanked from ſpace to ſpace with towers and redoubts, and upon the middle tower another very high one of wood was erected, from whence all that paſſed in the city was ſeen. This wall occupied the whole breadth of the Iſthmus, that is twenty-five ſtadia. The enemy, who were within the reach of darts, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent this work: but as the whole army were employed in it night and day without intermiſſion, it was compleated in twenty days. Scipio had a double advantage in it: firſt, becauſe his troops were more ſecurely and commodiouſly quartered; and ſecondly, becauſe by this means he cut off the enemy's proviſions, to whom none could be brought now, except by ſea, which could not be done without great difficulties, as well becauſe the ſea on that ſide is often tempeſtuous, as from the ſtrict guard kept by the Roman fleet. And this was one of the principal cauſes of the famine, which was ſoon felt in the city. Beſides which Aſdrubal diſtributed the corn that he received only to thirty thouſand men, who ſerved under him, little regarding the reſt of the multitude.

Ibid. p. 74. In order ſtill to cut off their proviſions more, Scipio undertook to ſhut up the entrance of the port by

by a mole, which began from the point of land, of which we have ſpoke that was at no great diſtance from the port. The enterprize at firſt ſeemed ſenſeleſs to the beſieged, and they derided the workmen. But, when they ſaw, that the work advanced every day in an extraordinary manner, they began to fear in earneſt, and thought of taking meaſures to render it uſeleſs. Women and children, every body ſet to work; but with ſo much ſecrecy, that Scipio could learn nothing of it by the priſoners of war, who only told him, that abundance of noiſe was heard in the port, but without its being known what was doing there. At length every thing being ready, the Carthaginians ſuddenly opened a new entrance on another ſide of the port, and appeared at ſea with a ſufficiently numerous fleet, which they had juſt built with the old materials, that remained in the magazines. It is agreed, that if they had attacked the Roman fleet immediately, they would infallibly have taken it; becauſe, as nothing of this kind was expected, and every body was employed elſewhere, they would have found it without rowers, ſoldiers, or officers. But, ſays the hiſtorian, Carthage was doomed to fall. They contented themſelves then with making a kind of inſult and bravado upon the Romans, and returned into the port. A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147.

Two days after they made their ſhips advance to fight in earneſt, and found the enemy in good order. This battle was to decide the fate of both parties. It was long and obſtinate, the forces on both ſides making extraordinary efforts, the one to ſave their country reduced to extremities, and the other to compleat their victory. In the battle the brigantines of the Carthaginians running along under the ſides of the great ſhips of the Romans, broke ſometimes their poops, ſometimes their rudders, and ſometimes the oars; and if they were preſſed, they retired with ſurprizing agility to return again immediately to the charge. At length the two fleets having fought with App. p. 75.

equal

A. R. 605 Ant. C. 147. equal advantage till ſun-ſet, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire, not reckoning themſelves defeated, but to renew the fight next day. Part of their ſhips not being able to enter the port ſoon enough, becauſe its entrance was too narrow, retired to the front of a very ſpacious terrace, which had been made againſt the walls for the landing of merchandize, on the ſide of which a little rampart had been raiſed during this war, leſt the enemy ſhould ſeize it. The battle began again there, with ſtill more vigour than ever, and continued till very late in the night. The Carthaginians ſuffered very much in it, and their ſhips that remained took refuge in the city. The next morning early Scipio attacked the terrace, and having with great difficulty made himſelf maſter of it, he poſted and fortified himſelf there, and cauſed a brick wall to be made on the ſide of the city very near the walls, and of the ſame height. When it was finiſhed, he made four thouſand men mount it, with orders to keep a perpetual diſcharge of darts and arrows upon the enemy, who were much incommoded by them, becauſe the two walls being of equal height, they ſcarce threw a ſingle dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

App. p. 78. During the winter-quarters, Scipio employed himſelf in getting rid of the troops without the place, which very much incommoded his convoys, and facilitated thoſe ſent to the beſieged. In order to this he attacked a neighbouring place, called Nepheris, which ſerved them for a retreat. In a laſt action there periſhed on the enemy's ſide above ſeventy thouſand men, as well ſoldiers as armed peaſants, and the place was carried with great difficulty after a ſiege of two and twenty days. The carrying of this place was followed with the ſurrender of almoſt all the towns of Africa, and very much contributed to the taking of Carthage itſelf, into which it was from thenceforth almoſt impoſſible to introduce proviſions.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. A.R. 606. Ant. C. 146.
L. MUMMIUS.

In the beginning of the ſpring Scipio at the ſame time attacked the port called Cothon and the citadel. Having made himſelf maſter of the wall, which ſurrounded that port, he threw himſelf into the great place of the city, which was near it, from whence there were aſcents to the citadel by three ſtreets on a declivity with a great number of houſes on each ſide of them, from the tops of which a continual diſcharge of darts was made upon the Romans, who were forced, before they could advance, to force the neareſt houſes, and to poſt themſelves upon them, in order from thence to drive away thoſe who fought from thoſe adjacent. The battle on the tops and at the bottom of theſe houſes continued ſix days, with dreadful ſlaughter. To clear the ſtreets and open a way for the troops, the bodies of the inhabitants, who had been either killed or thrown from the tops of the houſes, were drawn away with hooks, and thrown into the foſſé's, moſt of them ſtill alive and reſpiring. In this labour, which took up ſix days and nights, the ſoldiers were relieved from time to time by others, who were freſh, without which it had been impoſſible to have ſuſtained the fatigue. During that whole time Scipio was the only perſon who did not ſleep, giving his orders on all ſides, and ſcarce allowing himſelf time to take any nouriſhment. App. p. 79.

The beſieged were reduced to extremities: and on the ſeventh day ſome appeared in the habits of ſuppliants, who aſked no other conditions, than that the Romans would be pleaſed to grant all thoſe their lives, who ſhould quit the citadel; which was granted them, the deſerters only excepted. Fifty thouſand men and women left it, who were conducted into fields under a good guard. The deſerters, who were about nine hundred in number, ſeeing there was no quarter for them Ibid. p. 81.

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. them to hope, intrenched themſelves in the temple of Æſculapius with Aſdrubal, his wife and two children; where, though their number was but ſmall, they however defended themſelves for ſome time, becauſe the place was high, ſituated on rocks, and had an aſcent of ſixty ſteps. But at length, preſſed by hunger, and exhauſted by fatigue, they ſhut themſelves up in the temple itſelf, reſolved not to quit it but with life.

Aſdrubal however, with deſign to ſave himſelf, ſecretly went down to Scipio, with an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himſelf at his feet. Scipio cauſed him to be ſhewn immediately to the deſerters, who, tranſported with fury and rage, vented a thouſand curſes againſt him, and ſet fire to the temple. Whilſt they were kindling it, it is ſaid that Aſdrubal's wife adorned herſelf as well as ſhe could, and placing herſelf with her two children in the ſight of Scipio, ſpoke to him with a loud voice to this effect: "I "make no imprecations againſt thee, Roman: for "thou only uſeſt the rights of war. But may the "Gods of Carthage, and you in concert with them, "puniſh the perfidious wretch, who has betrayed his "country, Gods, wife and children, as he deſerves." Then addreſſing herſelf to Aſdrubal: "Vile, perfi-"dious, baſeſt of men, this fire will ſoon conſume "me and my children; as for thee, unworthy Ge-"neral of Carthage, go and adorn the triumph of "thy conqueror, and ſuffer in the ſight of Rome the "puniſhment due to thy crimes." After theſe reproaches ſhe cut her childrens throats and threw them into the fire, and then leaped into it herſelf.

App. p. 82. As to Scipio, on ſeeing this city, which had been ſo flouriſhing during ſeven hundred years, equal to the greateſt empires in extent of dominion by ſea and land, by its numerous armies, fleets, elephants, and riches; ſuperior even to other nations in valour and greatneſs of ſoul, which, entirely deprived as it was both of arms and ſhips, had enabled it to ſuſtain during,

during three whole years the miſeries of a ſiege; ſeeing, I ſay, this city at this time abſolutely ruined, we are told, that he could not refuſe tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He conſidered that cities, nations, and empires, are ſubject to revolutions, as well as private perſons; that the ſame diſgrace had happened to Troy, of old ſo powerful, and afterwards to the Aſſyrians, Medes and Perſians, whoſe dominion was of ſuch great extent; and very lately again to the Macedonians, whoſe empire had made ſo glorious a figure. Full of theſe ſad ideas, he repeated two verſes of Homer's, the ſenſe of which is, * "That "the time ſhould come, when the ſacred city of "Troy, and the warlike Priam and his people, ſhould "be deſtroyed," implying by thoſe verſes the future fate of Rome, as he owned to Polybius, who deſired him to explain his thought to him. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. Iliad. l. vi.

If he had been enlightened by the rays of truth, he would have known what the Scripture teaches us, "Becauſe of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is transferred from one people to another." Carthage is deſtroyed, becauſe avarice, perfidy and cruelty had been carried there to their utmoſt height. Rome will have the ſame fate, when its luxury, ambition, pride and unjuſt uſurpations, covered with the falſe outſide of virtue and juſtice, ſhall have forced the ſupreme Maſter and Diſpenſer of empires to exhibit a great example to the univerſe in its fall. Eccleſiaſtic. x. 8.

Carthage having been taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it to his ſoldiers during ſome days, except the gold, ſilver, ſtatues, and other offerings found in the temples. He afterwards diſtributed many military rewards amongſt them, as well as to the officers, two of whom had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in particular. Theſe were Ti. Gracchus,

* Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
Καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

and

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. and C. Fannius, who had firſt mounted the walls. He cauſed a very ſwift ſailing ſhip to be adorned with the ſpoils of the enemy, and ſent it to Rome to carry the news of the victory.

At the ſame time he let the inhabitants of Sicily know, that they might come, and carry away the paintings and ſtatues, which the Carthaginians had taken from them in the preceding wars. And when he reſtored to the people of Agrigentum * the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that bull, which was at once a monument of the cruelty of their antient Kings, and of the lenity of their new maſters, ought to teach them, whether it were more for their advantage to be under the yoke of the Sicilians than the government of the Roman People.

Having cauſed part of the ſpoils found in Carthage to be ſold, he ſtrictly prohibited his own people to take, or buy any part of them; ſo careful was he to remove the leaſt ſuſpicion of intereſt from himſelf and his family.

When the news of the taking of Carthage arrived at Rome, the people abandoned themſelves immoderately to exceſs of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had been ſecure only from that moment. They called to mind all the calamities they had ſuffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily, Spain, and even in Italy during ſixteen years ſucceſſively, in which time Hannibal had plundered four hundred cities, killed on ſeveral occaſions three hundred thouſand men, and reduced Rome itſelf to the laſt extremity. On conſidering theſe misfortunes, they aſked each other, whether it was really true that Carthage was deſtroyed. All the orders emulated each other in expreſſing their gratitude to the Gods, and the city, during ſeveral days,

* Quem taurum Scipio cùm redderet Agrigentinis, dixiſſe dicitur, æquum eſſe illos cogitare utrum eſſet Siculis utilius, ſuiſne ſervire, an populo R. obtemperare, cùm idem monumentum & domeſticæ crudelitatis, & noſtræ manſuetudinis haberent. Cic. in Verr. l. iv. n. 78.

was

was ſolely engroſſed by ſolemn ſacrifices, publick prayers, games and ſhews. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

After the duties of religion were diſcharged, the Senate ſent ten Commiſſioners into Africa, to regulate its condition and fate for the time to come in conjunction with Scipio. Their firſt care was to cauſe all that remained of Carthage to be demoliſhed. App. p. 84. * Rome, already miſtreſs of almoſt the whole world, did not believe herſelf ſafe, whilſt only the name of Carthage ſubſiſted: ſo long did inveterate hatred, in effect of long and cruel wars, endure beyond the time there was reaſon to fear; and it did not ceaſe to ſubſiſt, till the object that excited it, ceaſed to be. It was forbidden in the name of the Roman People to inhabit it from thenceforth, with horrible imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, and eſpecially Byrſa and Mægara. They probably excepted the port, as it might be of uſe to themſelves. For the reſt, every body was allowed to enter it; † Scipio not being ſorry that the miſerable ruins of a place ſhould be ſeen, which had diſputed empire with Rome. They further decreed, that the cities, which in this war had adhered to the enemy, ſhould be demoliſhed, and their territories given to the allies of the Roman People; and they in particular rewarded the people of Utica with the whole country between Carthage and Hippona. They made all the reſt tributary, and a province of the Roman empire, into which a Prætor was annually ſent. This was called "the province "of Africa.

When every thing was ſettled, Scipio returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph. Nothing ſo Ibid.

* Neque ſe Roma, jam terrarum orbe ſuperato, ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinit, quam eſſe deſiit. VELL. PATERC. lib. 1. cap. 12.

† Ut ipſe locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, veſtigia calamitatis oſtenderet. CIC. Agrar. 2. n. 50.

ſplen-

A.R. 606. Ant. C. 146. ſplendid had ever been ſeen before: for nothing was ſeen but ſtatues, rarities, and curious paintings of ineſtimable value, which the Carthaginians during a long ſeries of years, had brought into Africa; without including the money carried into the publick treaſury, which amounted to very great ſums. By this important conqueſt Scipio made the ſurname of Africanus properly his own, which he already had by right of inheritance.

App. p. 85. Plut. in vit. Grac. p. 839. Whatever precautions had been taken to prevent any thoughts of reinſtating Carthage, leſs than thirty years after one of the Gracchi, to make his court to the people, undertook to replant it, and carried a colony thither, conſiſting of ſix thouſand citizens. The Senate being informed that many bad omens had ſpread terror, when the workmen were laying out the walls, and carrying on the foundations of the new city, they were for putting a ſtop to the deſign: but the tribune, who was not very delicate and ſcrupulous in point of religion, haſtened on the execution of it, notwithſtanding all thoſe ſiniſter omens, and compleated it in five days. This was the firſt Roman colony ſent out of Italy.

But the unhappy fate of the founder of this colony, prevented it from ſuſtaining itſelf. It muſt have conſiſted only of a kind of cottages * when Marius in his flight into Africa, retired thither. For it is ſaid, that he led a life of poverty amongſt the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf with the ſight of ſo amazing a proſpect, and being in ſome ſenſe capable by his condition of ſerving as a conſolation to that unfortunate city.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæſar, after the death of Pompey, having entered Africa, dreamt, that a great army with tears called upon him; and that

* Marius curſum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginenſium toleravit: cùm Marius aſpiciens Carthaginem, ille intuens Marium, alter alteri poſſent eſſe ſolatio. VELL. PATERC. lib. 2. c. 19.

moved

moved by this dream he had wrote down in his table-books the deſign he had formed in conſequence to rebuild Carthage and Corinth: but being killed ſoon after by the conſpirators, Auguſtus Cæſar, his ſon by adoption, who found this memorandum amongſt his papers, cauſed the city of Carthage to be rebuilt near the place where the old one ſtood, to avoid incurring the curſes which had been denounced, when it was demoliſhed, againſt whomſoever ſhould preſume to rebuild it. A. R. 606 Ant. C. 146.

Strabo and Plutarch however aſcribe the rebuilding of Carthage and Corinth to Julius Cæſar: and Plutarch even obſerves as a ſingularity in reſpect to thoſe two cities, that as it had before happened to them to be taken and deſtroyed at the ſame time, both had alſo at the ſame time been rebuilt and re-peopled. The rebuilding of Carthage had probably been begun by Julius Cæſar. But his death and the civil wars that followed it, having retarded the execution, Auguſtus put the laſt hand to it. However that be, Strabo affirms, that Carthage was as much peopled in his time as any other city of Africa; and was always the capital of all Africa under the ſucceeding Emperors. It ſubſiſted with ſplendor during about ſeven hundred years more: but it was at length entirely deſtroyed by the Saracens in the beginning of the ſeventh century. Strab. l. xvii. p. 833. Plut. in Caſ. p. 738.

I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of the character and great qualities of the ſecond Scipio Africanus. I now think it neceſſary to treat of the war of Achaia, and the ruin of Corinth, which agrees in time with that of Carthage.

SECT. IV.

Troubles excited in Achaia. The Achaian League declares war againſt Lacedæmon. Boœtia joins the Achaians. Metellus defeats the army of the Achaians. He makes himſelf maſter of Thebes and Megara. The Conſul Mummius arrives before Corinth. The beſieged raſhly give battle, and are defeated. The city of Corinth is taken, burnt, and entirely deſtroyed. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province. Great plunder taken in Corinth. Paintings of great value. Diſintereſtedneſs of Mummius. That Conſul's ſimplicity. Polybius's zeal for the honour of Philopœmen. His diſintereſtedneſs. He eſtabliſhes order and tranquillity in Achaia. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 411—428. Polyb. Legat. 143, 144. Id. in Excerpt. de virt. & vit. p. 181—189. Juſtin. l. 34. c. 1. Flor. l. 2. c. 16.

GREAT troubles, excited by the raſhneſs and avarice of thoſe who held the firſt offices, had aroſe in the Achaian League. Reaſon, prudence, and equity, no longer formed the reſolutions of their aſſemblies; but the intereſt and paſſions of the Magiſtrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achaian League and Sparta had ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome upon an affair in diſpute between them. Damocritus in the mean time, (the principal Magiſtrate of the Achaians) had cauſed war to be declared againſt Sparta. Metellus, who, after having conquered the falſe Philip Andriſcus, was then actually regulating the affairs of Macedonia, cauſed Damocritus to be deſired to ſuſpend hoſtilities, and to wait the arrival of the Commiſſioners nominated by Rome for terminating their differences. Neither he nor Diæus, who had ſucceeded him, had any regard to this requeſt. Both of them entered Laconia in arms, and ravaged it.

When

When the Commiſſioners arrived, the aſſembly was ſummoned to Corinth (Aurelius Oreſtes was at the head of the Commiſſion). The Senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that purpoſe to ſeparate as many cities as they could from it. Oreſtes notified the decree of the Senate to the aſſembly, which excluded from the league Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclæa near Mount Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, under pretext, that thoſe cities had not at firſt formed part of the body of the Achaians. When the Deputies, who compoſed the aſſembly, had given an account of this decree to the multitude, they were ſeized with fury, fell upon all the Lacedæmonians at Corinth, and maſſacred them, tore thoſe out of the houſes of the Commiſſioners who had taken refuge in them, and would have treated themſelves with the greateſt inſult, if they had not eſcaped their violence by flight. A. R 605. Ant. C. 147.

Oreſtes and his Collegues, on their return to Rome, related all that had happened to them. The Senate was highly incenſed, and immediately diſpatched Julius with ſome other Commiſſioners into Achaia: but they were inſtructed to complain moderately, and only to exhort the Achaians not to give ear to bad counſels, leſt they ſhould incur the reſentment of the Romans by imprudence; a misfortune which they might avoid by puniſhing thoſe themſelves, who had expoſed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, and there was reaſons of intereſt for acting with reſerve in reſpect to allies ſo powerful as the Achaians. The Commiſſioners met a Deputy on their way ſent by the ſeditious to Rome: they brought him back with them to Ægium, whither the Aſſembly of the nation had been called. They ſpoke in it with great moderation and mildneſs. In their diſcourſe they did not complain of the ill treatment of the Commiſſioners, or excuſed it better than the Achaians themſelves could have done. Neither did they mention the cities that were to be excluded from the league. They confined

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. themſelves to exhorting the council not to aggravate their firſt fault, not to irritate the Romans more, and to leave Sparta in peace. Such moderate remonſtrances were extremely agreeable to all the perſons of ſenſe preſent. But Diæus, Critolaus, and thoſe of their faction, all choſen in their ſeveral cities out of the vileſt, moſt impious and pernicious people, blew up the flames of diſcord, by inſinuating that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worſted upon many occaſions, and from the fear they were in that the Achaian League would declare againſt them.

In the mean time the Commiſſioners were treated with ſufficient reſpect. They were told, that Thearidas ſhould be ſent to Rome, and they were deſired to repair to Tegea, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and incline them to peace. Accordingly they repaired thither, and prevailed upon the Lacedæmonians to enter into an accommodation with the Achaians, and to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, till new Commiſſioners ſhould arrive from Rome to put an end to their differences. But on the ſide of the Achaians, only Critolaus went to the congreſs, and he did not arrive there till very late, and when he was almoſt no longer expected. A conference was held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would abate nothing of his pretenſions. He ſaid, that he was not allowed to decide any thing without the conſent of the nation, and would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be called in leſs than ſix months. This bad ſtratagem, or rather breach of faith, highly offended Julius. After having diſmiſſed the Lacedæmonians, he ſet out for Rome, where he deſcribed Critolaus as a man extravagant and out of his ſenſes.

The Commiſſioners had no ſooner quitted Peloponneſus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and called aſſemblies under pretext of making known what had been ſaid to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegea, but at bottom

to

to exclaim againſt the Romans, and to give an odious turn to their whole conduct, in order to inſpire others with the ſame hatred and averſion, which he had for them himſelf; and he ſucceeded but too well. He alſo prohibited the judges to proſecute or impriſon any Achaian for debt, till the concluſion of the affair between the Aſſembly and Lacedæmon. He thereby carried every thing he pleaſed, and diſpoſed the multitude to receive all orders he thought fit to give. Incapable of making reflections upon the future, they ſuffered themſelves to be catched by the attraction of the firſt advantage he propoſed. A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponneſus, diſpatched four Romans thither of diſtinguiſhed birth, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was aſſembled there. They ſpoke in it with abundance of moderation, exhorting the Achaians not to incur the anger of the Romans by a raſh and imprudent levity. They were treated with deriſion, and ignominiouſly driven out of the aſſembly. An innumerable throng of workmen and artificers gathered round them to inſult them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a delirium; but Corinth more than the reſt, which had abandoned itſelf to a kind of madneſs. They had been perſuaded, that Rome intended to enſlave them all, and abſolutely to deſtroy the Achaian League.

Critolaus ſeeing with great ſatisfaction that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh, harangued the multitude, exaſperated them againſt ſuch of the magiſtrates as did not enter into his views, exclaimed againſt the Ambaſſadors themſelves, animated every body againſt Rome, and intimated that it was not without taking good meaſures that he had ventured to make head againſt the Romans; that he had Kings in his party, and that ſome Republicks were alſo ready to join it. By theſe ſeditious diſcourſes he ſucceeded in cauſing war to be declared againſt the Lacedæmonians, and

A. R. 605. Ant. C. 147. indirectly againſt the Romans. The Ambaſſadors then ſeparated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon to obſerve from thence the conduct of the enemy. Another ſet out for Naupactus; and two remained at Athens, till Metellus ſhould arrive there.

The magiſtrate of the Bœotians, called Pytheas, who was as raſh and violent as Critolaus, came into his views, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with thoſe of the Achaians; they were diſcontented upon account of a judgment Rome had paſſed againſt them. The city of Chalcis ſuffered itſelf alſo to be brought over to their party. The Achaians, with ſuch weak aids, believed themſelves in a condition to ſuſtain the whole weight of the Roman power, ſo much were they blinded by their fury.

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. The Romans had choſen Mummius for one of the Conſuls, and had charged him with the war of Achaia. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, ſent new Ambaſſadors to the Achaians, and promiſed them, that the Roman People ſhould forget all the paſt, and pardon them their faults, if they would return to their duty, and conſent, that certain cities, which had been named before, ſhould be diſmembered from the league. This propoſal was rejected with haughtineſs. Metellus then made his troops move againſt the Achaians. He came up with them near Scarphia, a city of Locris, and gained a conſiderable victory over them, in which he took above a thouſand priſoners. Critolaus diſappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him afterwards. It was believed that he fell into ſome moraſſes in flying, and was drowned. Diæus ſucceeded him in the command, gave liberty to the ſlaves, and armed all the men capable of ſervice amongſt the Achaians and Arcadians. This body of troops amounted to forty thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. He further ordered every city to raiſe troops. The exhauſted cities were in the utmoſt affliction. Many private perſons, in deſpair killed themſelves

themſelves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they ſaw nothing for themſelves but aſſured deſtruction. Notwithſtanding the extremity of theſe calamities, they did not think of taking the only reſolution that could deliver them from them. They deteſted the temerity of their leaders, and however followed them. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

Metellus after the battle, of which we have ſpoke, met a thouſand Arcadians in Bœotia near Chæronea, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: they were all put to the ſword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almoſt entirely abandoned. Moved with the ſad condition of that city, he ordered, that the temples and houſes ſhould not be touched, and that none of the inhabitants either in the city or country ſhould be killed or made priſoners. He excepted Pytheas from that number, the author of all theſe misfortunes, who was brought to him, and put to death.

From Thebes, after having taken Megara, from which the garriſon had retired on his approach, he made his troops march towards Corinth, where Diæus had ſhut himſelf up. He ſent thither three of the principal perſons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achaians to recover their ſenſes, and accept the conditions of peace, which were offered them. Metellus paſſionately deſired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants on their ſide ardently wiſhed to ſee an end of their calamities: but they were not their own maſters, and the faction of Diæus diſpoſed all things. The Deputies were impriſoned, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not ſeen the multitude extremely exaſperated by the puniſhment he had inflicted upon Soſicrates, for having talked of ſurrendering to the Romans. The priſoners in conſequence were diſmiſſed.

Things were in this ſtate when Mummius arrived. He had haſtened his march through fear of finding

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. every thing ended before his arrival, and left another ſhould have the glory of terminating this war. Metellus left the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had aſſembled all his troops, he approached the city, and incamped. An advanced guard behaving negligently in their poſt, the beſieged made a ſally, attacked it vigorouſly, killed many of them, and purſued the reſt almoſt to their camp.

This ſlight advantage fluſhed the Achaians, and in effect proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the Conſul battle. The latter, to increaſe his temerity, kept his troops in the camp, as if with-held by fear. The joy and audacity of the Achaians augmented to a degree not to be expreſſed. They advanced boldly with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences to be witneſſes of the battle, and cauſed a great number of carriages to follow them to carry the ſpoils they ſhould take from the enemy, ſo much did they aſſure themſelves of victory.

Never was confidence more raſh nor more ill-founded. The faction had removed all perſons capable of commanding the troops, and of adminiſtring publick affairs from the ſervice and councils, and had ſubſtituted others to them without talents and ability, in order to ingroſs the government to themſelves, and to lord it without reſiſtance. The Generals, without knowledge of the art-military, courage, or experience, had no other merit but a blind and frantic animoſity. It was exceſs of folly to hazard a battle without neceſſity, that was to decide their fate, inſtead of reſolving long and bravely to defend themſelves in a place ſo ſtrong as Corinth, and to obtain good conditions by a vigorous reſiſtance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra, at the very entrance of the Iſthmus. The Conſul had placed part of his cavalry in an ambuſcade, from which it iſſued very opportunely for attacking that of the Achaians in flank, which,

This place is not known.

which, ſurprized by a ſudden charge, gave way in a moment. The infantry made a little more reſiſtance: but as it was no longer either covered or ſuſtained by the cavalry, it was ſoon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out for ſome time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, who ſought only to terminate this war. But abandoned to deſpair he rode full ſpeed to Megalopolis his country, and having entered his houſe, he ſet fire to it, killed his wife, that ſhe might not fall into the hands of the enemy, ſwallowed poiſon, and in this manner himſelf put an end worthy the many crimes he had committed to his life. A.R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

After the defeat, the inhabitants had no hopes of defending themſelves. As they had neither council, leaders, courage, nor concert, no body thought of rallying the remains of the troops for making ſome farther reſiſtance, and to oblige the victor to grant them ſome ſupportable condition. In conſequence all the Achaians who had retired to Corinth, and moſt of the citizens, quitted it the following night, and eſcaped where they could. The Conſul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered. All the men who remained in it were put to the ſword: the women and children were ſold: after having removed the ſtatues, paintings, and moſt valuable effects, fire was ſet to all the houſes, and the whole city was but one general conflagration that continued ſeveral days. It is pretended, but without foundation, that the gold, ſilver, and copper, melted together in this fire, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demoliſhed to the foundation. All this was executed by order of the Senate, to puniſh the inſolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the laws of nations by inſulting the Ambaſſadors ſent to them by Rome.

Thus periſhed Corinth, the ſame year Carthage was taken and deſtroyed by the Romans. It does not appear, either that they thought of raiſing new troops for the defence of the country, or called any aſſembly to

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. to deliberate upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken; that any body took upon them to propoſe a remedy for the publick calamities, or laſtly ſought to appeaſe the Romans by ſending Deputies to implore their clemency. To ſee this inaction, one might have ſaid, that the whole Achaian League had been buried under the ruins of Corinth; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of that city alarmed and diſcouraged the people in general.

The cities, which joined the Achaians in their revolt, were alſo puniſhed, by demoliſhing their walls and taking away their arms. The ten Commiſſioners, ſent by the Senate to regulate the affairs of Greece in conjunction with the Conſul, aboliſhed the popular government in all the cities, and eſtabliſhed Magiſtrates, choſen out of the richeſt citizens in them. For the reſt they left them their laws and liberty. They alſo aboliſhed all the general aſſemblies held by the Achaians, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other States: but they were re-eſtabliſhed ſoon after. From thenceforth Greece was reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia; becauſe at the time Corinth was taken, the Achaians were the moſt powerful people of Greece: the Roman People ſent a Prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome in deſtroying Corinth, thought it neceſſary to ſet that example of ſeverity, to intimidate the States of Greece, whom her too great clemency rendered bold, and raſh, through the hope they had of obtaining pardon for their faults from the Roman People. Beſides which * the advantageous ſituation of that city, where revolted people might poſt themſelves, and make it a place of arms againſt the Romans, determined them to demoliſh it entirely. Cicero, who does not condemn the treating of Carthage and Numantia

* Majores noſtri——Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus ſuſtulerunt. Nollem Corinthum. Sed credo illos ſecutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne poſſet aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipſe adhortari. Cic. de Offic. lib. i. n. 35.

mantia in this manner, could have wiſhed, that Corinth had been ſpared. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

The plunder taken in Corinth was ſold for very conſiderable ſums of money. Amongſt the paintings there was one done by a great * maſter, which repreſented Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans: they were ignorant at that time of all that relates to paintings and ſculptures. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I ſhall ſoon ſay, had the grief to ſee that painting uſed by the ſoldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was ſold to Attalus, at the ſale made of the plunder, for ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is about three thouſand five hundred pounds. Pliny ſpeaks of another painting, for which the ſame Attalus gave an hundred talents, about twelve thouſand five hundred pounds. That Prince was ſo immenſely rich, that his riches became a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus.* Theſe ſums however ſeem improbable. However it were, the Conſul ſurprized, that the picture of which we are ſpeaking had ſo much money bade for it, interpoſed his authority, and kept it contrary to the publick faith, and notwithſtanding the complaints of Attalus; becauſe he believed there was ſome hidden virtue in this piece that he did not know. Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 7. c. 38. & l. 35. c. 4. & 10.

It † was not from the motive of private intereſt, that he acted in this manner, nor from the deſign of appropriating it to himſelf, as he ſent it to Rome, to be an ornament of the city: Whereby, ſays Cicero, he adorned his own houſe much more, than if he had placed this painting in it. The taking of the

* This was Ariſtides. The painting, here ſpoken of, was ſo much eſteemed, that it was commonly ſaid: "All pictures are nothing in compariſon with the Bacchus."

† Numquid L. Mummius copioſior, cùm copioſiſſimam urbem funditus ſuſtuliſſet? Italiam ornare, quàm domum ſuam, maluit. Quanquam, Italiâ ornatâ, domus ipſe mihi videtur ornatior——Laus abſtinentiæ, non hominis eſt ſolùm, ſed etiam temporum—Habere quæſtui remp. non modò turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium. Cic. de Offic. lib. ii. n. 76, 77.

greateſt

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. greateſt city in Greece did not enrich him one farthing. This noble diſintereſtedneſs was even in thoſe days not uncommon at Rome, and ſeemed leſs the virtue of individuals, than of the age itſelf. To make command the means of enriching one's ſelf, was not only diſgrace and infamy, but a criminal prevarication. The painting, of which I am ſpeaking, was placed in the temple of Ceres, where the people of taſte went out of curioſity to ſee it as a maſterpiece of art, and it remained there till it was deſtroyed with the temple by fire.

Mummius was a great ſoldier, and a man of ſingular worth, but without literature, knowledge of arts, or taſte for works of painting and ſculpture, the merit of which he did not underſtand; not believing that there was any difference between picture and picture, ſtatue and ſtatue; nor that the names of the great maſters of the art gave them their value. This he evidenced upon this occaſion. * He had appointed perſons to get many paintings and ſtatues of the moſt excellent maſters carried to Rome. Never had loſs been leſs reparable than that of ſuch a depoſite, compoſed of the maſter-pieces of thoſe rare artiſts, who contributed as much as the great Captains to render their age glorious to poſterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of this precious collection to thoſe he intruſted with them, threatened them very ſeriouſly, if the ſtatues, paintings, and things, with which he charged them, ſhould happen to be loſt or ſpoiled upon the way, that he would make them find others at their own expence and charges.

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eos reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites. Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. VELL. PATERCUL. l. 1, n. 13.

Were

Were it not to be deſired, ſays an hiſtorian from whom we have this fact, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted, and would not ſuch a groſſneſs be infinitely preferable, with reſpect to publick good, to that extreme refinement to which the preſent age has carried its taſte for rarities of this kind? He ſpeaks at a time, when this taſte for the fine works of art induced the magiſtrates to commit all kinds of rapine, and even thefts, in the provinces. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

I have ſaid, that Polybius, at his return into Peloponneſus, had the grief to ſee the deſtruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of conſoling him in ſo melancholy a conjuncture, it was the occaſion which he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his maſter in the art of war. Polyb. apud Valeſ. p. 190—192.

A Roman having conceived a deſign to cauſe the ſtatues erected to that Hero to be demoliſhed, had the boldneſs to bring a criminal proceſs againſt him, as if he was ſtill alive, and to accuſe him before Mummius of having been an enemy of the Romans, and of having always oppoſed their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. This accuſation was extravagant; but it had ſome colour, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius warmly took upon him his defence. He repreſented Philopæmen as the greateſt Captain Greece had produced in the latter times, who might ſometimes have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but who, on many occaſions, had rendered conſiderable ſervices to the Roman People, as in the wars againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. The Commiſſioners, before whom he pleaded ſo noble a cauſe, moved by his reaſons, and ſtill more by his gratitude for his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of Philopæmen, in whatſoever city they were, ſhould not be touched. Polybius, taking advantage of the good diſpoſition of Mummius, demanded alſo the ſtatues of Aratus and Achæus,

which

A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146. which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponneſus into Acarnania. The Achaians were ſo charmed with the zeal that Polybius had ſhewn upon this occaſion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a marble ſtatue to himſelf.

At the ſame time he gave a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which did him as much honour amongſt his citizens, as his defence of Philopæmen's memory. After the deſtruction of Corinth, they proceeded to puniſh the authors of the inſult committed upon the Roman Ambaſſadors, and their eſtates were ſold by auction. When they came to thoſe of Diæus, who had had moſt ſhare in it, the ten Commiſſioners ordered the Quæſtor, who had the ſelling of them, to let Polybius take what he thought fit of thoſe effects, without demanding or receiving any thing for them. He refuſed that offer, however advantageous it appeared, and ſhould have believed himſelf in ſome ſenſe an accomplice in that wretch's crimes, if he had accepted any part of his fortune: beſides which he ſhould have conſidered it as infamous to enrich himſelf, with the ſpoils of his fellow-citizens. He not only would accept nothing: he alſo exhorted his friends not to deſire any thing that belonged to Diæus; and all thoſe who followed his example were highly applauded.

Polyb. apud Valeſ. 190—192. This whole conduct of Polybius made the Commiſſioners conceive ſo great an eſteem for him, that on quitting Greece, they deſired him to make the tour of all the cities lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till they ſhould be accuſtomed to the changes that had been made, and the new laws given them. Polybius acquitted himſelf of ſo honourable a commiſſion with ſo much goodneſs, juſtice and prudence, that every thing was made eaſy, every thing reſumed a perfect tranquillity, whether in reſpect to the government in general, or private diviſions. In acknowledgment for ſuch ſignal ſervices, ſtatues

were erected to him in different places, amongſt which the baſe of one had this inſcription: "That Greece "would have committed no faults, if from the firſt "it had been guided by the counſels of Polybius; "but that after its faults he alone had been its de-"liverer." A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

Polybius, after having thus eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, as he had accompanied him before to Carthage.

Metellus, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and he aſſumed the ſirname of Macedonicus. The impoſtor Andriſcus was led before his chariot. Amongſt the ſpoils appeared what was called "the "ſquadron of Alexander." That Prince, at the battle of the Granicus, loſt twenty-five brave horſe of the choſen troops, which were called "the company "of the King's friends." He cauſed each of them to have an equeſtrian ſtatue made by Lyſippus, the moſt excellent artiſt in that way, to which he added his own. Theſe ſtatues had been ſet up at Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus cauſed them to be carried to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius alſo obtained the honour of a triumph, and in conſequence of his conqueſt of Achaia aſſumed the ſirname of Achaicus. He cauſed a great number of ſtatues and paintings to be exhibited in his triumph, which were afterwards the ornament of the publick buildings of Rome, and ſeveral other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the houſe of the triumpher.

END of the FIFTH VOLUME.

BRITISH
22 AP 87
MUSEUM